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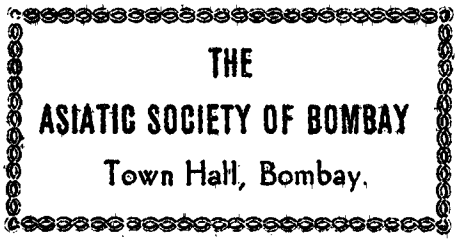

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A

NARRATIVE OF THE MISSION

SENT BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

TO

THE COURT OF AVA

IN 1855,

WITH NOTICES OF THE COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT, AND PEOPLE.

By CAPTAIN HENRY YULE,

BENGAL ENGINEERS, F.R.G.S.,

LATE SECRETARY TO THE ENVOY (MAJOR PHAYRE), AND UNDER-SECRETARY (D.P.W.) TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

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With Numerous Illustrations.

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1858.

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Printed by G. Barclay, Castle St. Leicester Sq.

TO THE

MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, K.T.

This Book,

WHICH OWED ITS ORIGIN TO HIS COMMAND,

IS DEDICATED,

WITH GRATEFUL AND ADMIRING REMEMBRANCE,

BY HIS

ATTACHED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

H. YULE.

PREFACE.

In the beginning of 1855, a year and a half after the termination of the last Burmese War, the present King of Ava sent a mission of compliment, with presents, to the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie. His Lordship promised that the compliment should be returned, and in the summer of the same year Major Arthur Phayre, the *de facto* Governor of the New Province of Pegu, was appointed Envoy.

I had the honour to be named as his secretary, and I was given to understand that one of the chief duties of the office would be the preparation of a narrative of the mission for publication.

Such a narrative was prepared accordingly, and a few copies were printed at Calcutta for the use of the Government. Their warm approval having been accorded, as well as that of others entitled to speak with authority (among whom it is gratifying to me to name my venerable predecessor in this field, Mr. Crawfurd), the work, after undergoing some retrenchment and re-arrangement, is published in its present form.

The task of compilation was an arduous one, and was completed during the tenure of a laborious office totally unconnected with the subject. What may be humorously called the leisure hours of a Calcutta official's life,—such hours as he may redeem from meals and sleep, between 8 P.M. and 10 A.M.—were devoted to it for some twelve months; besides, I fear, not a few borrowed from more professional duties, thanks to the kind forbearance of a chief, under whom it has been my pride and happiness to work for many years, and in various branches of the public service.*

To several of my friends and comrades on the journey my hearty acknowledgments are due for their assistance; chiefly to the Envoy, Major Phayre, to Mr. Oldham, and to Major Grant Allan of the Madras Army.

* Colonel William Erskine Baker of the Bengal Engineers.

And this acknowledgment must be held to apply to much more than is ascribed to them by name in the text. To my friend the Rev. W. D. Maclagan of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, I owe my best thanks for his correction of the press and general supervision of the work in my absence; and to Mr. James Fergusson, for his kind promise to superintend the Plates and to furnish a note on the architecture of the ancient Buddhist Temples at Pagán, a subject on which he can speak with more authority than any man living.

To the dead, also, acknowledgment is due. Many of the Notes in these pages bear the respected name of Colonel Henry Burney, formerly Resident at Ava, and were derived from his copious Journals and other papers in the Calcutta Foreign Office. The MSS. of Dr. Richardson, Dr. Bayfield, Colonel Hannay, and Colonel Macleod, which have never been published, unless in somewhat meagre abstract, were also carefully perused, and have been often referred to. The two last-named officers are, I am happy to say, still living.

There are various other acknowledgments, doubtless, that ought to have been made, and various explanations that ought to have been given, in this Preface. But the majority of readers (not reading Prefaces) will not miss them; and the others must forgive the deficiency, as I write here without a scrap of reference or memorandum pertaining to the subject.

If life be granted, I doubt not all my companions in the Ava Mission will look back to our social progress up the Irawadi, with its many quaint and pleasant memories, as to a bright and joyous holiday; which, indeed, it was. But for one standing here on the margin of those rivers, which a few weeks ago were red with the blood of our murdered brothers and sisters, and straining the ear to catch the echo of our avenging artillery, it is difficult to turn the mind to what seem dreams of past days of peace and security. And memory itself grows dim in the attempt to repass the gulf which the last few months have interposed between the present and the time to which this Narrative refers.

Fortress of Allahabad, October 3, 1857.

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NARRATIVE

OF A

MISSION TO THE COURT OF AVA.

CHAPTER I.

JOURNAL OF THE MISSION FROM THE BRITISH FRONTIER TO PAGÁN-MYO.

List of the Party—Departure from Rangoon—Enter the Burmese Territory—Burmese Carts and Cattle—Abstinence from Milk among Burmese and kindred races—Cultivation, singular Plough—Maloon—Reach Menh'lá and meet Deputation from the Court—The War-Boats, their Htees and glass bottles—Object of the latter—Curious parodies of truth in Buddhist Science and Faith—Town of Menh'lá—*Kalá*, its meaning and probable origin—Different Craft of the Irawadi described—Mengoon—Polynesian resemblances—Character of the Irawadi and its banks—White Umbrellas—Daily Stages of our journey—Town of Magwé—Burmese Bridges—Air of distrust—Monasteries—Beautiful *Thein*, or Chapel for Consecration of Priests—Petrified Posts—Holy Sites of *Theins*—Introduction to the Burmese Drama—The Musical Instruments—The Stage, characters, and prolixity—Puppet Plays—Decency of the Burmese Drama contested—Yenangyoung and its Petroleum Wells—Mode of working and probable amount obtained—Uses of Petroleum—*Poongyis* and Burmese Religion—Punishment of perjury—Animal food not prohibited—Oil loaded in bulk—Ruins at Tantabeng—Paopa Mountain—Silleh-myo—Religious Buildings—Tributary Channels of the Irawadi, their general character—*Bilús* or Ogres—The Sheriff of the River—Reach Pagán—New Spectacle provided—Singularly picturesque anchorage—The Pumpkin Pagoda.

THE Mission party,* having embarked on board the "Sutlej" and "Panlang" flats, in tow of the "Bentinck" and "Nerbudda" steamers, quitted Rangoon at day-break on the 1st of August. Some stay being made at Prome, at Thayet-myo, and at Meaday, where the Envoy received a letter from the Kyoukmau Mengyi, the principal minister at Amara-

* The party was composed as follows:—The Envoy, the Secretary, Dr. John Forsyth (Superintending Surgeon in Pegu), Major Grant Allan of the Quarter-Master General's Department and Special Deputy Commissioner on the Frontier, Mr. Oldham (Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India), Captain Rennie, Lieut. Heathcote and Mr. Ogilvie of the Indian Navy, Captain Willis, of H. M. 84th, commanding the escort, Captain Tripe (of the Madras army) an accomplished photographer, Mr. Colesworthy Grant as artist, Mr. R. Edwards (who had long resided at Ava with Colonel Burney) as interpreter; Lieut. Mackenzie of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, Lieut. Hardy and Ensign Woolhouse of H. M. 84th, and Dr. Cholmeley of the Madras service, as officers of the escort. The latter consisted of the Light Company of H. M. 84th from Rangoon, with a native officer and fifteen men of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, and a part of the band of H. M. 29th taken on board at Thayet-myo.

poora, intimating that a deputation from the Court had been appointed to escort us up the river, we did not quit the last-mentioned frontier station till the morning of the 11th. About 9 A.M. on that day we got under way, saluted by the guns of the Fort, and a little before noon we crossed the frontier, six miles farther north. Small white pillars on either bank mark the change of sovereignty.

We moored for our first night in the Burmese territories at Zoung-gyan-doung, a small village on the west bank, a little below the large and richly wooded island of Loon-gyee. The wooded range of hills which clings to the river on the west side all the way from Prome, with an interruption of a few miles above and below Thayet-myo, continued throughout the extent of this day's voyage.* On the east, the country was lower and undulating. Here and there on either side a narrow champaign tract intervened between the river and the high land, having all that richness of aspect which an intermixture of palms with the larger forest trees bestows. Villages, though far from continuous, as some of the maps of the Irawadi seem to indicate, were pretty numerous on either side. Pleasant and cheerful places they looked, generally with one or two solid dark monasteries raising their triple roofs above the mingled huts and foliage, and with dry-looking turfy hills behind, crowned with pagodas, and ascended by winding paths.

At Zoung-gyan, before landing, the Envoy sent to seek the headman of the village; but as he had gone off to report our approach at Maloon, we landed without further ceremony, and walked to the top of a neighbouring hill, thinly wooded with catechu and other trees. From this we had a fine view of the Loon-gyee island, with its park-like foliage, and the embracing arms of the river. This was apparently the prospect that Col. Symes speaks of so enthusiastically.† It was a pleasing landscape, but with no features to justify such high laudation as he bestows. Away from the river bank no villages were visible, but cart-roads passed inland in various directions, and several of the neat carts of the country were seen drawn homeward at a trot by sturdy and well-conditioned red oxen.

These cattle, though much smaller than the stately breeds of Central India and the Deccan, are considerably larger than the Bengali bullocks, and are more universally in good condition than is the case perhaps in any other country. The carts are small, and the cattle share with their masters in the exemption from everything like overwork. But probably the main reason of their good condition is, that as there is no demand for milk,‡ the calves are robbed of no part of their natural food.

* The hills here bear the name of Let-mah-tse-doung, which I believe means "the hills of unwashen hands," from some Gautamic legend.

† *Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava.* 4to. Ed. p. 252.

‡ I believe the aversion to milk as an article of food obtains among nearly all the Indo-Chinese and Malay races, including specifically the Kasias of our eastern frontier, the Garos and Nagas, the Burmese, the Sumatran races, and the Javanese. In China itself it is also prevalent, as Sir John Bowring mentions in a letter on the population of China, published in the Journal of the Statistical Society.

The use of milk has, however, been adopted at the Burmese Court, and the supply is furnished by some families of Kathé Brahmans, who maintain a number of cows near the capital. But it is a foreign usage.

The ground round Zoung-gyan-doung was undulating, and the bottoms only were cultivated. The implement used in preparing dry cultivation such as this (red pepper being here the intended crop) can scarcely be called a plough. It is rather a single barred harrow, or rake, with three large wooden teeth of tough acacia. A high bow, or loop, of bent wood rises from the cross bar, and enables the ploughman, pressing on the latter with one or both feet, to guide the triple furrow. Near Ava, a plough is used, especially in rice land, more like that of India.

The ploughing executed by the implement described, though imperfect, was neat and regular, much more so than in common Indian tillage. The process, however, excited the scorn of the Irregular Cavalry Resaladar who accompanied us, a burly Hindustani Zemindar from the Doab. "Truly," said he, "it is by the beneficence of the Almighty only that these people get their food, and by no skill or exertion of their own." The people here complained sadly of the want of rain. No rice had been planted for some years past, and they appeared to think there was but small prospect of a good season now.

12*th August*.—From our anchorage below Loon-gyee island we passed up the eastern channel. The country on that side exhibits low undulations covered with sparse, small trees, and with little or no sign of cultivation. On the west, the hills recede or shade away, leaving for some distance on the river bank a level covered with rich wood. Reaching a second considerable island, called after Toung-gwen, a village inland on the east bank which gives its name to a small district, we found a little canoe stationed, with men who warned us to keep the western channel. The island, like Loon-gyee, is covered with fine trees, from which rose several considerable temples, some of them apparently of ancient character. Above Toung-gwen the river narrowed to 1200 or 1300 yards, with high woods and banks on both sides, and so continued for two or three miles till we approached Maloon, when it widened and curved eastward.

Maloon gives its name to a district; but the residence of the governor has been transferred to Menh'lá, some three miles farther up, so we did not land.

It is now but a small village, standing on the gentle slope of a hill, which rises behind to an apex, crowned with numerous temples of various forms. This hill was the nucleus of the stockade taken in the war of 1826. Near the shore is a cenotaph pagoda, in memory of the celebrated Maha Bundoola. The landscape is beautiful, but little population was visible, and few boats. Patnagoh opposite, which boasts a conspicuous place in most of the maps, is scarcely discernible. A dozen huts are seen among fine trees, and two or three boats on the shore; that is all.

About 1 P.M. we reached Menh'lá, and the deputation, appointed by the Court to escort us up the river, at once came on board. The officials composing it had all been members of the Mission to Calcutta in the preceding winter. They were, the Woondouk,* Moung Mhon; the Governor of Tseen-goo, a quaint little elderly man; and Makertich, Governor

* *Woondouk*—a minister of the second order. In the Hlwot-dau, which is the cabinet and high court of the realm, there are four Woon-gyis, or chief ministers, assisted by as many Woondouks.

Woon, a governor or minister, has literally the signification of *Burthen*. *Woongyi*, Great Woon; *Woon-douk*, Prop of the Woon.

of the Maloon district, with jurisdiction extending to the frontier, an Armenian by descent, but adopting the dress of the Burmans, from whom he is distinguished by his features, but not by complexion unless by his darker tint. There were besides two scribes or inferior officers. The party came on board accompanied alongside by five or six war-boats. These, which we now met for the first time, are immense canoes with low sharp bows and high recurving sterns, double-banked, with twenty to thirty rowers on a side, the whole exterior of the hull, and sometimes the oars likewise, being gilt. The crew were rough stalwart fellows with broad conical bamboo hats, and, in some boats, clad in shabby uniform black jackets. Festoons of muslin and tinselled net hang from the high sterns of the war-boats, and a great white banner bordered with silver, and blazoned rudely in the centre

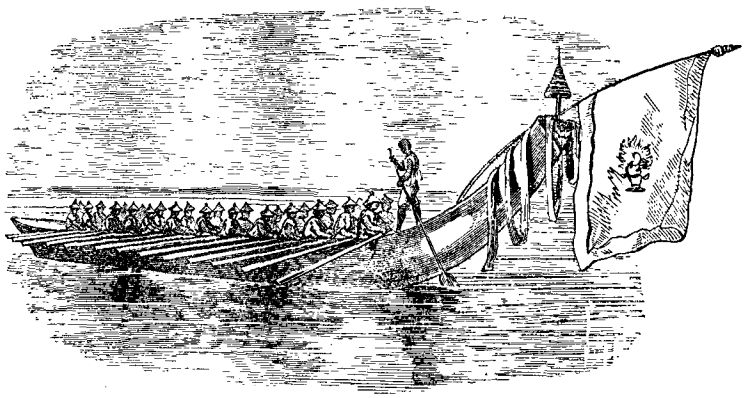


Fig. 1.

with the royal peacock, droops gracefully over from a curving bamboo ensign-staff. This staff is generally decorated at the point with a globe of coloured glass, or an inverted English decanter. The latter is a favourite Burmese ornament, and sometimes, even in the humble form of a soda-water bottle, is seen crowning the apex of the *Htee* on a pagoda.*

* The *Htee* is the umbrella, or canopy, of gilt iron filagree which crowns every pagoda. "When asked why a bottle is put on a Pagoda Htee," writes Major Phayre, "the Burmese tell you that it is to attract attention from its glitter in the sun. I believe the same practice is followed in Ceylon, and it may have arisen from their knowing glass to be a non-conductor of electric fluid." I confess I thought this last suggestion improbable till I met with the following passage :—"Sanghatissa [who died A.D. 246], placed a pinnacle of glass on the spire of Ruwanwelli [a dagoba at Anuradhapoora]," as the author of the Mahawanso says, "to serve as a protection against lightning."—*Forbes's Ceylon*, i. 224.

There seems to turn up now and then in the science of the Buddhists a very curious parody, as it were, or chance suggestion, of some of the great truths or speculations of modern science ; just as there are circumstances of their religion which seem to run parallel with circumstances and forms of Christianity or Christian churches, and which made the old Jesuit fathers think that the Devil had of malice aforethought prepared these travesties of Christian rites and mysteries among the heathen, in order to cast ridicule on the church and bar its progress.

An example of what I allude to is found here as regards electricity, in the apparent knowledge of the non-conducting power of glass. In the Buddhist theory of the universe we have an infinity of contemporary systems each provided with its sun and planets, analogous to the commonly received opinion of the plurality of worlds. We have also their infinite succession of creations and destructions by fire or

A short staff rising from the stern of the war-boat bears this sacred and royal emblem of the *Htee*. The dignified occupant of the boat sits not in the stern sheets as with us, but on a little platform at the prow, shaded by a slight canopy of matting.

The deputation having come on the deck of the flat, a conversation of some length took place, in which the Woondouk begged Major Phayre to consider him as a near relation, and to tell him the most intimate thoughts of his heart; after which, the whole party landed, and went to return the visit at Makertich's residence. This was a very neat structure of bamboo on wooden posts, inside a high bamboo inclosure, as is the usual Burman fashion. An elevated reception-room, open in front, was lined with Indian carpets for the conference. Behind were the muskets of the Governor's guard, neatly racked. His private dwelling was a small place on one side of the court, from which the women peeped out at the *Kalás;** the offices and guards were in other buildings round the inclosure.

In the evening Makertich accompanied us in a walk round the town. It is quite new, having been re-established on an old site since he took up the government of the district, six months before our visit. It was decidedly the neatest town, and the most thriving in appearance, that we had seen in Burma, British or foreign, if we except Rangoon.† Makertich stated that people had come to him from his old district of Pegu, of which he had been governor before the war, and also from Thayet-myo.

The town consists at present of one long row of houses towards the river, a double street behind, and a third commencing in rear, with a short cross-street at intervals. Along the river a wide strand is left unoccupied, an advantage which the Burmese almost universally neglect, and on this strand grow many very noble trees, such as the *simul*,‡ tamarind, and different kinds of *Ficus*, affording a continuous shade. The other streets are smooth, wide, and dry. The number of houses was stated at 1000, and could scarcely be guessed lower. The continuity of the town is broken by a group of monasteries and pagodas, which occupy a part of the river bank, shadowed by a grove of tamarind, palmyra, and talipat trees.

Some of the pagodas were of a quaint structure, different from the conical or rather

water, analogous to a formerly popular geological theory. They hold the circulation of the blood after a fashion. The king's conversations at Amarapoora indicated his belief in the atomic constitution of the body, and of the existence of a microscopic world, though his illustrations were not accurate. And when Mr. Crawfurd published his account of fossil elephant bones from the Irawadi, Colonel Burney tells us that the Burmese philosophers expressed much satisfaction at the discovery, as establishing the doctrine of their books. These taught that in former times there were ten species of elephants, but that the smallest species alone survived. (*Gleanings in Science*, ii. p. 199.)

* *Kalá* means, in the first place, a native of India; and, secondly, any Western foreigner, such as an Arab or European. Major Phayre supposes the word to have been the name applied to the aboriginal inhabitants of India, which we still trace in the names of *Kúlis*, *Kóls*, and other forest tribes of the Peninsula.

It is probably the same as the *Kling* of the Malays, the name which they apply to natives of India; and which again points to the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.

† The Envoy made here a marginal protest in favour of Prome.

‡ The Cotton-tree of Anglo-Indians.

bell-shaped model, which is almost stereotype in Pegu. Where that pattern is departed from, the foundation of the design appears often to be derived from the ecclesiastical buildings of timber, and the plaster ornamentation to be based on the carved work of the latter. Some of this plaster-work showed considerable boldness of design; the scroll parapets of the staircases terminating as usual in monstrous heads of tigers or alligators.

13*th August.* We started about half-past six, after an early visit from the deputation, an inconvenient custom which they continued to practise during our voyage. As the war-boats afford so little space for the accommodation of a passenger, the Woondouk and his companions occupied two barges, which the war-boats took in tow. These barges had, in the superstructure, much the appearance of an Indian budgerow. The hull seemed to be of English build. They were entirely painted white, the royal colour; and at the fore angles of the cabin were erected the gold umbrellas of the occupants. A veranda in front of the cabin was hung with drapery of a roughly embroidered broad-cloth.

At Menh'lá, boats were numerous, and there were some fine specimens of the larger craft of the Irawadi. Two of these could scarcely have been less than 120 or 130 tons in burden.

Two kinds of vessels, of entirely different structure, are used on the river. These larger boats were of the kind called *Hnau,* which is the most common. The model is nearly the same for all sizes, from the merest dinghy upwards. The keel-piece is a single tree hollowed out, and stretched by the aid of fire when green, a complete canoe in fact. From this, ribs and planking are carried up. The bow is low with beautiful hollow lines, strongly resembling those of our finest modern steamers. The stern rises high above the water, and below the run is drawn out fine to an edge. A high bench or platform for the steersman, elaborately carved, is an indispensable appendage. The rudder is a large paddle lashed to the larboard quarter, and having a short tiller passing athwart the steersman's bench.

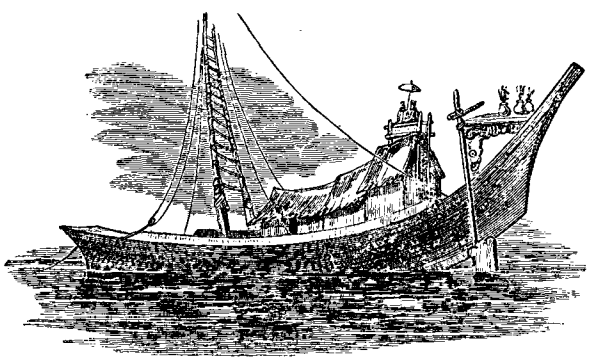


Fig. 2.

The most peculiar part of the arrangement of these vessels is in the spars and rigging. The mast consists of two spars; it is in fact a pair of shears, bolted and lashed to two posts rising out of the keel-piece, so that it can be let down, or unshipped altogether, with little difficulty.* Above the mainyard the two pieces run into one, forming the topmast.

* Nearly the same kind of mast is used by the celebrated Illanon pirates of the Eastern Archipelago. When chased they are thus enabled to run into a creek and drop the mast instanta-

Wooden rounds run as ratlines from one spar of the mast to the other, forming a ladder for going aloft.

The yard is a bamboo, or a line of spliced bamboos, of enormous length, and being perfectly flexible is suspended from the mast-head by numerous guys or halyards, so as to curve upwards in an inverted bow. A rope runs along this, from which the huge mainsail is suspended, running on rings like a curtain outwards both ways from the mast. There is a small topsail of similar arrangement.

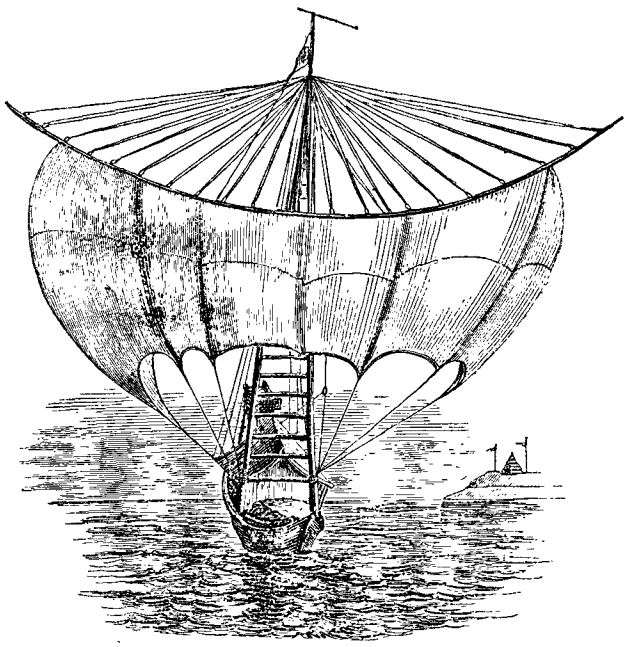


Fig. 3.

The sail-cloth used is the common light cotton stuff for clothing. Of any heavier material it would be impossible to carry the enormous spread of sail which distinguishes these boats. At Menh'lá one vessel was lying so close to the shore that I was enabled to pace the length of the half-yard. I found it to be 65 feet, or for the length of the whole spar, neglecting the curve, 130 feet. The area of the mainsail in this case could not have been very much less than 4000 square feet, or one-eleventh of an acre.

These boats can scarcely sail, of course, except before the wind. But in ascending the Irawadi, as on the Ganges during the rainy season, the wind is almost always favourable. A fleet of them speeding before the wind with the sunlight on their bellying sails has a splendid though fantastic appearance. With their vast spreading wings and almost invisible hulls, they look like a flight of colossal butterflies skimming the water.

The other description of boat is called *Pein-go*. It is said to be the peculiar craft of the Ningthé or Kyendwen river. Though it traffics to all parts of the Irawadi we first took particular notice of it at Ye-nan-gyoung, where it is extensively used for the transport of petroleum. It is flat-bottomed or nearly so, having no canoe or keel-piece like the *Hnau*, but being entirely composed of planks which extend throughout the length of the vessel, wide in the middle, and tapering to stem and stern like the staves of a cask. A wide

neously, so that it gives no guidance to their whereabouts. The coincidences in customs between the Islanders and the Indo-Chinese races of the Continent are very many, though some Ethnologists have classed them apart.

gallery or sponson of bamboo, doubling the apparent beam of the boat, runs the whole circuit of the gunnel. These boats, I believe, are generally propelled by oars or pole, though

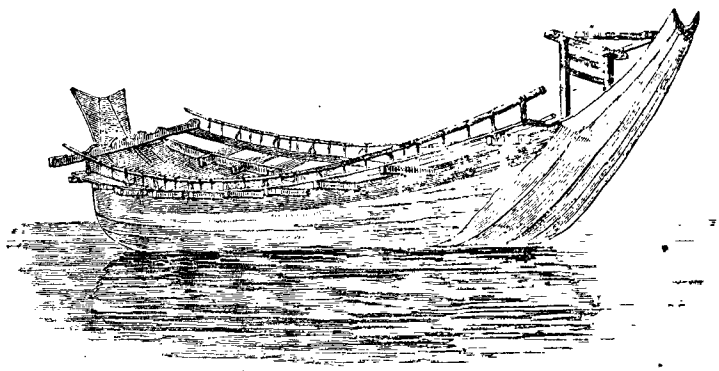


Fig. 4.

occasionally carrying sail, but not the same spread of cloth as the *Hnau*.

I have no doubt that the germs of these two kinds of vessel, so different as to appear the inventions of distinct races, are to be found in two as different types of canoe, both of which are common on the Irawadi.*

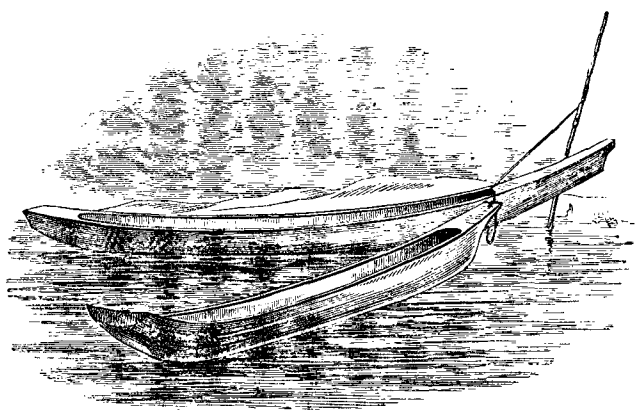


Fig. 5.

Just above Menh'lá the stream runs with great violence, and the steamers for nearly an hour made little or no way. Bold cliffs of red sandstone rose on the left, with lovely little grassy nooks between, and fine wood clustering round the base of the rocks, and overshadowing the eddies. A small pagoda, which stood on the very verge and most prominent point of the cliff, appeared to be the same which was mentioned thirty years ago by Crawfurd, under the name of Myenka-taoung, as threatened every season

* Some of these canoes are ludicrously small in proportion to the number of persons which they carry. Mr. Ruskin says (*Modern Painters*, iii. 319), "The *impossibly* small boats which might be pardoned in a mere illumination, representing the miraculous draught of fishes, become, whatever may be said to the contrary, inexcusably absurd in Raphael's fully realized landscape ; so as at once to destroy the credibility of every circumstance of the event." Whether such boats are likely to have been used by fishermen on the sea of Galilee is another question, but the "inexcusable absurdity" of the Burmese in using such "impossibly small" boats was often witnessed by our party in the "realized landscape" of the Irawadi, and as often recalled to mind the cartoon which Mr. Ruskin criticises.

by the river. According to the same author, it marks the spot where Chaulu, a king of Pagán, was assassinated about the year 1056.

We stopped at Men-goon ("the site of the rustic palace"), a considerable village of 200 to 300 houses on the east bank, two miles above Menh'lá, to relieve the war-boats by taking the barges of the deputation in tow. Here the whole population was collected on the bank, awnings were spread, flags were flying, and a Burmese band playing with full power. The golden boats, and others less brilliant but of similarly centipedal appearance, circled round the ships and manœuvred to and fro, whilst their rowers shouted and yelled in chorus, with an added din of clashing cymbals, braying clarionets, and bamboo clappers; two or three demoniac figures the while gesticulating and dancing furiously on the benches of each boat, and all working themselves into intense excitement. The whole recalled strongly some of the scenes represented in the old plates to Cook's Voyages, and one felt as if transported to Owhyhee or Honolulu, instead of visiting an ancient empire of India beyond the Ganges.

Not far above Men-goon, the river begins to change its aspect, and assumes that form of a spreading channel, from two to five miles wide, embracing numerous alluvial islands, which it retains at least as far as the mouth of the Kyendwen.

Along the whole of this distance, on the eastward, elevated country hugs the stream, and generally rises from the water in bold decided banks, or cliffs of red soil. Near the river it is ravined and very undulating; farther inland it rises in long slopes and rolling ridges. We see that we are no longer within the regular influence of the July rains. From Prome upwards the vegetation has been rapidly losing its rich tropical character, and now these uplands are merely dotted with sparse and stunted trees and bushes, consisting largely of the *bèr* and *khyr* of India (the *zizyphus jujuba* and the *acacia catechu*), of the gaunt and formal euphorbia, generally indicative of a dry inhospitable soil, and of the pale sickly madár, which appears to haunt every unfruitful spot in British India from Peshawur to Pegu.

These uplands sink at pretty frequent intervals into decided valleys running at right angles to the Irawadi, into which they discharge the drainage of the interior by broad shallow sandy channels, always dry, excepting immediately after heavy rain. The *debouchements* of these little rivers, always marked by palm-groves and clusters of noble trees, are generally the sites of snug-looking villages, which with their little environment of ploughed fields and tidy fences form a pleasant contrast to the barren hills that shut them in.

North of Pagán this upland still exists, but is less elevated, seems somewhat less bare and barren, and is separated from the river by a greater or less extent of fruitful soil.

On the west bank of the river, the high bank ceases at Memboo (eighteen miles above Menh'lá), and an extensive alluvial plain stretches into the interior between the river and the outer spurs of the Aracan mountains, the greater part of which lies in the district of Tsalen, one of the richest and most populous subdivisions of the Burmese kingdom. This level is broken for twelve or fifteen miles nearly opposite Pagán by a serrated range of sandstone hills rising from the bank of the river to a height of 800 or 900 feet, and strongly resembling in aspect another isolated range which rises inland some six or seven miles

from the eastern bank. Northward the plain reappears, and continues up the west shore of the Irawadi to the mouth of the Kyendwen, where it runs into the alluvial valley of that river.

Leaving Men-goon, after some hours' navigation among the islands, we passed on the west the long village of Yu-theiya. The barren hills north of it are crowned with the very numerous white pagodas of Kwé-zó, some of them ascended by long staircases from below. A little farther, and these hills shade away, near Memboo, into the wide alluvial plain.

Memboo is the nearest point on the Irawadi to the Aeng pass; and a road runs from this to Ma-p'hé at the foot of the pass, as well as to the now British town of Men-doon, from which passes lead to Maee in Aracan, across the mountains. The Aeng road is however considered to *debouche* at Semphyo-gyoon much farther north, on the direct line from Ma-p'hé to Ava. The Aracan range was visible on this and several following days, but never distinctly.

The Envoy to-day prohibited the use of white umbrellas, which the Woondouk said would, if displayed as they had been, appear disrespectful to the king, by whom alone an umbrella of that colour can be used.

Our daily journeys had been marked out for us by the Burmese authorities; and at almost every stage preparation had been made for our reception and entertainment. The day's stage was generally short enough to afford a few hours of daylight, either before departure or after arrival, an arrangement in which all rejoiced.

Our first halt in company with the Ava deputation was at Magwé, which we reached early in the afternoon. This was the largest town in the Burmese territory that we had yet seen. Some 200 or 300 boats of all sorts and sizes were lying at the ghats, and the number of houses was said by the Woondouk to be 3000, which did not seem much over the mark.

We landed, and were conducted to a large bamboo edifice, where we found some two hundred well-dressed people assembled in front of us as we sat on the bamboo platform. These were the heads of towns and villages in the district, with their attendants, who had been summoned to do us honour.

After the party broke up, the Envoy proceeded with the Woondouk to visit the principal temple of Magwé, called *Mya-Thalwon* (or "the Emerald couch"), from being reputed to contain a relic of the bed of Gautama. It stands on a high commanding summit over the river. The Myo-thoogyee, or Mayor of the place, has lately executed an expensive work for the security of the temple, which the Irawadi threatened. Several tiers of piles have been driven along the foot of the bank, and a brick revetment of forty or fifty feet in height raised under the base of the pagoda.

In going towards the town, from the ghat where the steamers lay, a handsome specimen of a Burmese bridge was passed. The Burmans are, in this matter, in advance of the natives of India, and these bridges are seldom wanting near villages where nullas or inundated fields obstruct the communication. They are sometimes of extraordinary length. The construction I have never seen to vary. Large teak posts are driven in pairs or triplets, with bays between not exceeding twelve or thirteen feet. Mortice-holes

are cut through these posts, in which cross-bearers are laid, with beams and solid planking over these, and a railing is added, which in this case was of handsomely turned balusters.

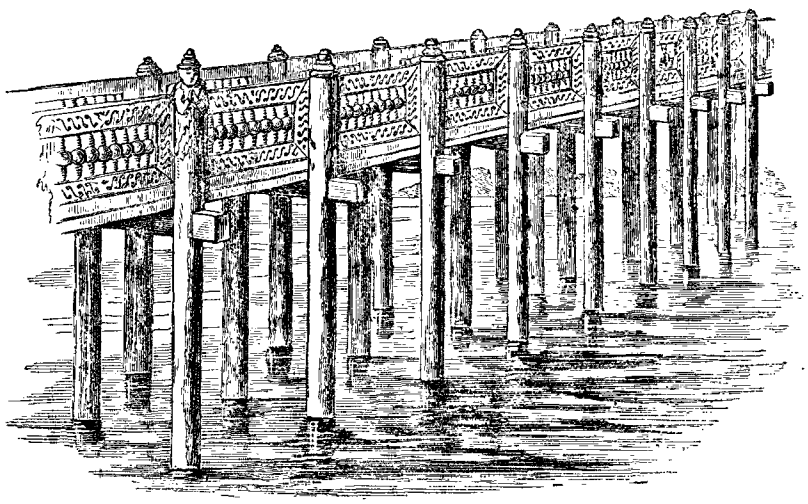


Fig. 6.

I believe no substitute for a pile-engine is used in fixing these posts, which nevertheless appear to stand well.

The cottages in the suburbs of the town were good, and almost all were provided with a large porch, or trellis-shed, over which gourd and cucumber vines were trained.

The principal houses along the main street were occupied by armed men, whose swords and muskets were racked along the verandas. Large numbers of ponies were being led about the town; and the owners both of arms and ponies were doubtless the militia of the district, who had been summoned, with their village chiefs, to make a proper impression on us. We estimated the display of arms to amount to about 500 stand.

From most of the shops the wares had been withdrawn, and it struck us that there was an air of doubt and discomfort on the faces of the people, as well as a silence most alien to the Burman character, as if they mistrusted the object of our coming. In fact, absurd rumours of the meaning and strength of our expedition had been spread extensively, both in our territories and in the king's.

Scarcely any women were visible in the town; no usual circumstance either in Burma. The air of distrust we never noticed again; but the concealment of the women continued, more or less, till we got much nearer the capital. I believe it was enjoined by the local authorities, probably at the suggestion of the Woondouk.

Magwé consists of one main street, with a number of minor streets behind; and though the number of houses was perhaps too highly estimated at 3000, I do not think the population can be probably reckoned at less than 8000 or 9000.

Leaving the town, we found in rear an open rolling country, divided into fields by

hedges, or fences of dead jujube bushes. These fields were chiefly sown with sesamum: The roads and compounds in the exterior of the town were also all substantially fenced, and the whole aspect of things was one associated with an idea of unexpected civilization.

A conspicuous series of ecclesiastical roofs, tier over tier, dark and massive, had attracted our attention from the river. We found them to belong to two large monastic buildings of plain but very solid structure, with a wooden *thein*, or chapel for the consecration of the priesthood, and finally a pagoda. The whole area, including an extensive compound, was enclosed in a very massive teak fence of squared posts and rails, some seven or eight feet high. In one corner were nearly a dozen detached little buildings of the same architectural character as the rest, another indication of manners more akin to those of Europe than of India.

The *thein* was the most beautiful and elaborate building of its kind yet seen by us in Burma; nor did we find it excelled till we became acquainted with the gorgeous monasteries in the environs of Amarapoora, and then rather in splendour than in art.

The carving of the eaves and gables in this case was exquisite, both in design and execution, and bore very close inspection. The interior panels of the ceiling were also set with frames of carved work that, in design at least, would have done no discredit to Gibbons himself; and if we had not his favourite woodcock, there were at least pheasants and peacocks, with elaborate plumage, so cut as to appear to underlie the beautiful scrolls of foliage which filled up the compartment.

The back and base of the *thein* were of brickwork, in the usual style of moulding, but of unusually good execution, the base being surrounded by three tiers of trefoil heads as parapets.

Outside the building were planted posts of the petrified wood which so abounds in the districts of the Irawadi. These were noble specimens, some of them standing four and a half or five feet out of the ground, and not less than fifteen inches in diameter. The sight of these posts, which at the distance of a few feet were not distinguishable from recent timber, explained to us the origin of stories about posts of Kyoungs* seen in a state of half-completed petrifaction, which were very current both in Sir Archibald Campbell's camp in 1826, and in General Godwin's in 1853.†

These posts mark the holy precincts. For every *thein* is holy ground, and the ground on which it stands has been holy ever since the commencement of the Buddhist faith. If a new *thein* is about to be established, the founders generally contrive to dig up some trace of a former *thein*, or other indication of previous consecration (just as Ambrose contrived to dig up the blood of the Martyrs Gervasius and Protasius at Milan), but modern conse-

* *Kyoung*, a Buddhist monastery.

† For instance, in the best personal narrative of the first Burmese war (Captain Trant's) it is said, "in several instances the wooden pillars which supported the Kioums and other buildings were found to be completely petrified at the base of the column, whilst a little higher up the change was only commencing, and at the summit the wood preserved its ordinary qualities." (*Two Years in Ava*, p. 240.) At Prome in 1853, several officers assured me that a similar phenomenon was to be seen at one of the Kyoungs adjoining that city. But I did not succeed in discovering it.

cration is admitted only on some rare occasions, when the king grants authority to build a new *thein*, and thus dedicates the ground to religion.*

This *thein* was finally surrounded by a fence of elaborate turned rails and gates. The finials which crowned the centre posts of the latter were themselves beautiful examples of carved work. These Burmans have in a high degree that artistic instinct of adorning the necessary members of a construction, an instinct which now scarcely exists in England.

The Pagoda behind was remarkable only for the tasteful and unusually accurate execution of its details. For in modern Burmese brickwork, symmetry and parallelism are things generally treated with much contempt.

Sitting down to sketch the group of buildings from the steps of one of the monasteries, we were immediately surrounded by a mob of monks and their pupils, all very inquisitive and good-humoured. When we offered to introduce any one of them in the sketch, he invariably advanced so close as to touch the artist's face, and could not understand that he must be farther off to be seen.

This evening the members of the mission (as such at least) made their first acquaintance with the Burmese Drama; an entertainment which from this time would occupy a very large place in the daily history of our proceedings if all were registered.

The Governor had provided both a puppet-play and a regular dramatic performance for our benefit, and on this first occasion of the kind the Envoy thought it right that we should visit both.

Each performance was attended by a full Burmese orchestra. The principal instruments belonging to this are very remarkable, and, as far as I know, peculiar to Burma.

The chief instrument in size and power is that called in Burmese *Pat-tshaing*, and which I can only name in English as a Drum-Harmonicon. It consists of a circular tub-like frame about thirty inches high and four feet six inches in diameter. This frame is formed of separate wooden staves fancifully carved, and fitting by tenon into a hoop which keeps them in place. Round the interior of the frame are suspended vertically some eighteen or twenty drums, or tom-toms, graduated in tone, and in size from about two and a half inches diameter up to ten. In tuning the instrument

Fig. 7.

* This propensity to attribute a pre-existing sanctity to the sites of holy buildings appears to be common in Buddhism. Thus in Ceylon; "in ages of impenetrable antiquity the plain on which Anuradhapoora was afterwards built had acquired a sacred character; for it is recorded that when the first Budha of the present era visited this place, he found it already hallowed as a scene of the ancient religious rites of preceding generations, and consecrated by Budhas of a former age." *Forbes's Ceylon*, i. 207.

the tone of each drum is modified as required by the application of a little moist clay with a sweep of the thumb, in the centre of the parchment. The whole system then forms a sort of harmonicon, on which the performer, squatted in the middle, plays with the natural plectra of his fingers and palms, and with great dexterity and musical effect.

Another somewhat similar instrument consists of a system of small gongs, arranged between two concentric circular frames. In this case the outer frame, which is carved like that of the Pat-tshaing, is about four feet diameter by fourteen inches high. The player sits within the inner circle and strikes the gongs with small drumsticks. This instrument is one of singular sweetness and melody.

Fig. 8.

In a theatre of respectable pretensions there are generally two sets of these instruments, each with its minor accompaniments to form the orchestra, one set being placed on each side of the scene.

The remaining instruments consist of two or three clarionets with broad brass mouths and a vile penny-trumpet tone; cymbals; sometimes a large tom-tom: and invariably several clappers of split bamboo which make themselves heard, in excellent time, but always too liberally.

The instruments used in what we may call concert music, as distinguished from the dramatic orchestra, are different from those we have described. The principal are the harp, and the bamboo harmonicon. The harp (Fig. 9) is held across the lap when played, the curved horn being to the left, and the right hand passed round and over the strings, instead of being kept upright like the Welsh harp. It has a sounding-board of rounded buffalo leather, and thirteen strings of silk. Like the ancient Egyptian harp of Bruce's celebrated tomb, it has no pillar or front to the frame. Tasselled

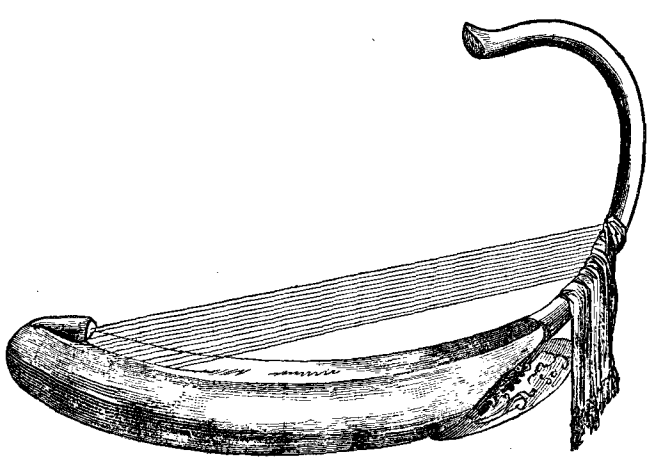


Fig. 9.

cords attached to the ends of the strings and twisted round the curved head, serve for tuning. This is done by pushing them up or down, so that the curvature of the head increases or diminishes the tension. These cords are at the same time ornamental appendages to the harp. This harp is a pleasing instrument by itself, but it is usually only an accompaniment to unmelodious chants of intolerable prolixity.

The bamboo harmonicon or staccato is a curious example of the production of melody by simple and unexpected means. Its use, though unknown in India, extends throughout the Eastern Archipelago;* and something similar is possessed, I believe, by the negro slaves in Brazil. Eighteen to twenty-four flat slips of bamboo, about an inch and a half broad, and of graduated length, are strung upon a double string and suspended in a catenary over the mouth of a trough-like sounding box. The roundish outside of the bamboo is uppermost, and whilst the extremities of the slips are left to their original thickness, the middle part of each is thinned and hollowed out below. The tuning is accomplished partly by the regulation of this thinning of the middle part. The scale so formed is played with one or two drumsticks, and the instrument is one of very mellow and pleasing tone. Though the materials are of no value, a good old harmonicon is prized by the owner, like a good old Cremona, and he can rarely be induced to part with it.

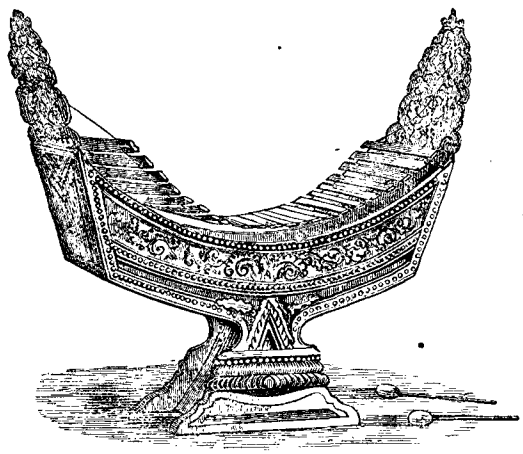


Fig. 10.

There was one example at the Capital, of a similar instrument formed of slips of iron or steel. It was said to have been made by the august hands of King Tharawadee himself, who, like Louis Seize, was abler as a smith than as a king. The effect was not unpleasing, and strongly resembled that of a large Geneva musical box, but it was far inferior in sweetness to the bamboo instrument.

Another instrument used in these concerts is a long cylindrical guitar of three strings, shaped like an alligator and so named. It is placed on the ground before the performer.

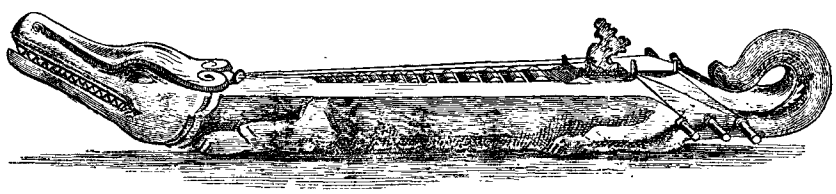


Fig. 11.

* In Java they have a number of such instruments made both in wood and metal, and only slightly differing from one another, but distinguished by different names: (see plate of them in *Raffles*, vol. ii.)

But to return to our drama.

The stage of the Burmese theatre is the ground, generally spread with mats. On one, two, or three sides are raised bamboo platforms for the more distinguished spectators; the *plebs* crowd in and squat upon the ground in all vacant spaces.

In the middle of the stage arena, stuck into the ground, or lashed to one of the poles supporting the roof, is always a small tree, or rather a large branch of a tree, which, like the altar on the Greek stage, forms a sort of centre to the action. I never could learn the real meaning of this tree. The answer usually was that it was there in case a scene in a garden or forest should occur. But there is no other attempt at the representation of scenic locality, and I have a very strong impression that this tree has had some other meaning and origin, now probably forgotten.

The foot-lights generally consisted of several earthen pots full of petroleum, or of cotton-seed soaked in petroleum, which stood on the ground blazing and flaring round the symbolic tree, and were occasionally replenished with a ladleful of oil by one of the performers. On one side or both was the orchestra, such as it has been described, and near it generally stood a sort of bamboo horse or stand, on which were suspended a variety of grotesque masques. The property-chest of the company occupied another side of the stage, and constantly did duty as a throne for the royal personages who figure so abundantly in their plays.

Indeed kings, princes, princesses, and their ministers and courtiers, are the usual dramatic characters. As to the plot, we usually found it very difficult to obtain the slightest idea of it. A young prince was almost always there as the hero, and he as constantly had a clownish servant, a sort of Shaksperian Lance, half fool, half wit, who did the "comic business" with immense success among the native audience, as their rattling and unanimous peals of laughter proved. It was in this character only that anything to be called acting was to be seen, and *that* was often highly humorous, and appreciable even without understanding the dialogue. Then there was always a princess whom the prince was in love with. The interminable prolixity of dialogue was beyond all conception and endurance. What came of it all, we could not tell. I doubt if any one could; for with the usual rate at which the action advances it must have taken several weeks to arrive at a *denouement*.*

Much of the dialogue was always in singing, and in those parts the attitudes, action, and sustained wailings, had a savour of the Italian opera which was intensely comical at first. Dancing by both the male and female characters was often interspersed, or combined with the action. The female characters in the towns more remote from the capital were often personated by boys, but so naturally that we were indisposed at first to credit it.†

* Mr. Crawfurd mentions in his mission to Siam, that a Siamese play founded on the Ramayana took three weeks to act!

We are less patient than our ancestors. When Sir David Lyndsay's Satire of the Three Estates was recited at Edinburgh in the days of King James V., the audience listened with enjoyment from nine A.M. till six in the evening.

† This is also common in the somewhat similar dances of the Javanese (*Raffles*, ii. 242), and is the universal practice on the Chinese stage; as it was in the days of the Roman republic, and of the early English theatre.

From a Sketch by Capt.n Vuia background from Photo by Capt.n Tripe

Day & Son, Lith.rs to The Queen.

THE BURMESE DRAMA.

London, Smith, Elder & Co. 65, Cornhill.

The puppet plays seem to be even more popular among the Burmese than the live drama. For these little performers an elevated stage of bamboos and mats is provided, generally some thirty feet long. This affords room for a transfer of the scene of action, and very commonly one end of the stage was furnished with a throne to represent the court, whilst the other had two or three little branches to represent the forest.

The style of play acted by these marionnettes seemed to us very similar to that of the large actors, and was equally prolix in its dialogue and operatic episodes. But I fancied that more often in the former there was a tendency to the supernatural; to the introduction of enchanted princesses, dragons, *nàts*,* and flying chariots, probably from the greater facility of producing the necessary effects on the small scale. Some of the puppet plays too were "mysteries" founded on the history of Gautama, which possibly it would not have been admissible for living actors to perform.†

The puppets are from ten to fifteen inches high and are rather skilfully manipulated. Not seldom however they got entangled, and then the large brown arm of the *Deus ex machinâ* was seen descending from the dramatic welkin to solve the *nodus*. Or a pair of huge legs striding across the stage, with a view to the adjustment of the foot-lights perfectly realized Gulliver in Lilliput.

It has sometimes been said that in a Burmese play you will never hear an indecent word or see an indecent action. As to words I cannot speak; that indecent action was comparatively rare, in our experience of the dramatic representations which were so abundantly forced on us in our journey up the river, and in the first days of our residence at the capital, may be admitted; that it would have been prevented from becoming frequent may be supposed. But it did occur, and seemed to be to the taste of the native audience. On this subject, I may quote from the MS. Journal of Mr. Oldham, who had travelled for some months in the Tenasserim provinces, and had a much larger experience in the Burmese drama than I had.

"I have now seen a good many of their *pués*,‡ and independently altogether of the absolute impossibility, as it appears to me, of imagining a people in their present state of civilization, and with the loose notions of marriage that they have, not having such things as some of the lax enjoyments in which they revel in private life represented on the stage, I can speak from actual experience and say that it could scarcely be possible to imagine anything more abominable than some of their conceptions and representations without altering the conditions from those of scenic representation to actual life."

Major Phayre, a very high authority it must be admitted, strongly protests against the view here expressed. He observes, in a note with which he has favoured me, as

* Sprites, corresponding to the Hindu dewas, whose place they take in the Burman Buddhist system. They are supposed to have been the objects of Burman worship in pre-Buddhistic times.

† A partial translation of a Burmese play, kindly furnished to me by Major Phayre, will be found in the Appendix.

‡ Plays.

follows:—"These remarks, if supposed to be true of the Burmese national character, or of their real and constant drama, require a strong corrective. I have now seen a good many Burmese plays, and I declare, as a man of honour, that I never saw anything approaching to indecency, except when there was a sprinkling of Europeans. And I have not the slightest doubt but that the indecent actions I allude to were supposed to be conformable to the tastes of their civilized visitors. I have been at numbers of these entertainments where I was the only European, and then never saw anything of the kind. I have witnessed broad and coarse scenes certainly, and heard indelicate allusions, but most certainly not worse than I have seen in booths at English fairs, roared at by a rude audience. In one of the plays we were present at something rather broad was exhibited, (out of compliment to our tastes!), and what was the remark of the Woondouk to me? 'You will not see anything of that kind at the capital. Here it passes among rude people. How could one sit at a play with one's wife and daughter, were anything improper exhibited?'

"What I object to is Oldham's remark being supposed a true one with reference to Burmese taste and practice. As you say, 'It seemed to be to the taste of the audience.' Take indiscriminately any company of English folks, put them in a theatre, and let such a scene as we witnessed be exhibited. There would be a loud shout at once."

Now for the other side. Mr. Oldham, having seen the question mooted elsewhere, sent me another note in which he clearly established, from what he himself witnessed in a performance at Maulmain by a party of actors from Rangoon, the fact that things for which indecency would be far too mild a name were there exhibited, not as extemporised interludes, but as part and parcel of the substantive plot of the play, and that they were so was confirmed by his having the opportunity of examining with a competent interpreter the text of two of the pieces, in which the whole was laid down, with stage directions of the grossest character, and with graphic illustrations of the most filthy kind, needing no interpreter. In this case I think Major Phayre cannot build much on the circumstance that the representation took place in a British dependency. These things are brought forward as facts, not as subjects for futile comparisons. We are in no position to throw stones in this matter, and need not go back to Wycherley and Mrs. Behn for stage immoralities.

The true reconciliation of the controversy no doubt lies in the fact that there is a high and a low in the Burmese drama. It does not follow from Mr. Oldham's evidence that His Majesty the "*Great King of Justice*" with his courtiers would tolerate the ribaldry which delights Maulmain.

14*th August.*—We started about 6½ A.M., and reached our halting-place at Ye-nan-gyoung at 2½ P.M.

We hugged the eastern bank for the greater part of the distance. This, from the Mya-tha-lwon Pagoda about Magwé, became very bold, consisting of a succession of sandstone and clay cliffs, cut by the rain into a quasi-stalactitic form. The country behind appears to be of a rolling character with brushwood, sparse trees, some good herbage, and occasional fields divided by dry thorn-hedges, which had in the distance a home-like

appearance. Clumps of wood nestled in the ravines which at frequent intervals ran down through the cliffs to the shore. The character of these ravines and the heights between them, strongly reminded me of the rugged country on the Jumna below Agra. Occasionally there were wider openings discharging water-courses of some breadth, now showing wide sandy beds. In the first part of the voyage many of the nooks contained villages, each with its two or three noble trees, and its grove of palms; palmyra, talipat, or cocoa-nut. Much fossil wood was visible on the beach at the foot of the sandstone cliffs, sometimes in pieces of four or five feet long.

The aspect of Ye-nan-gyoung (*Fetid-water-rivulet*, from the petroleum which is so called in Burmese) was striking and fantastic, like what one imagines a Chinese town. This aspect is derived from the numerous pagodas and many-roofed sacred buildings which crown the eminences, in the hollows between which the houses of the town are scattered. Immediately below these eminences is the river from which the town is named, dry at present as regards internal supply, but filled, to some distance, from the Irawadi, and serving as a boat harbour. Here the war-boats and barges of the deputation were moored, and on the flat of the sandy channel the theatre and reception-room was erected. A little space of alluvial level bordered the channel, and was closely occupied by very noble mango and tamarind trees interspersed with palms, and shading numerous cottages. They formed a refreshing contrast to the aridity of the heights all round.

The town proclaims the nature of its staple to nose and eyes. You smell the coal-tarry odour of petroleum everywhere; piles of earthen pots, used to hold it, line the beach, and the outskirts of the town abound in potters' kilns.

In wandering over the heights that surround the town, all, as far as the eye could reach on this side the river, seemed of similar barren character; the soil, sandy and stony with very scanty herbage, scarcely enough to redeem the surface from the title of absolute desert, with occasional scraggy bushes or grim euphorbias. Trees with substantial foliage were only seen in the bottoms, but even there no water was visible, or anything to indicate the season of the monsoon. Fossil wood abounded everywhere, and round a ruined temple on a hill-top were posts of that substance, as seen at Magwé.

15th August.—We started early to visit the earth-oil wells, or mines as they might be called. A cafila of ponies was brought for our selection. The ponies were well enough, but not so their equipment. The saddle is not a bad one; somewhat of the English shape, covered with cloth, and having a large hump on the pummel; but the stirrups are very small, being intended in fact to be gript with the big toe only of a naked foot, and are merely tied to the two ends of a piece of rope which is twisted into the girth on the seat of the saddle.

Our road wound about among the ravines and up the steep sides of the rotten sandstone hills, till, about three miles from the town, we came upon the plateau on which the principal wells are situated. It is an irregular table with a gently rising surface, forming a sort of peninsula among the ravines.

The wells are frequent along its upper surface, and on the sides and spurs of the ravines which bound it on the north and south-east. They are said to be about a hundred in

number, but of these some are exhausted or not worked. The depth of the wells appeared to vary in tolerable proportion with the height of the well-mouth above the river level, but an inspection of the lowest, situated near the bottoms of the ravines, enabled us to ascertain that all were sunk a good deal below the level of the ravine bottoms which bounded the plateau. Those that we measured (by pacing the length of the rope used) on the top of the plateau were 180 feet, 190 feet, and 270 feet, in depth to the oil. One was said to be twenty cubits deeper than this last, which would give a depth of about 306 feet.*

As far as we could judge, the area within which these wells stand, does not exceed half a square mile. The wells are in some places pretty close together; less, that is to say, than a hundred feet apart. They are all exactly alike in appearance; rectangular orifices about four and a half feet by three and a half, and lined with horizontal timbers the whole way down. The oil appears to be found in a stratum of impure lignite, with a good deal of sulphur. In one of the valleys we saw a stratum of this out-cropping, with the oil oozing between the laminæ. Doubtless, it was in this way originally discovered; some Burman, with a large inductive faculty, having been led to sink a shaft from above.

A rude windlass mounted on the trunk of a tree, laid across two forked stems, is all the machinery used. An earthen pot is let down and filled, and then a man or woman walks down the slope of the hill with the rope. There is another group of oil-wells in a valley about a mile to the southward.

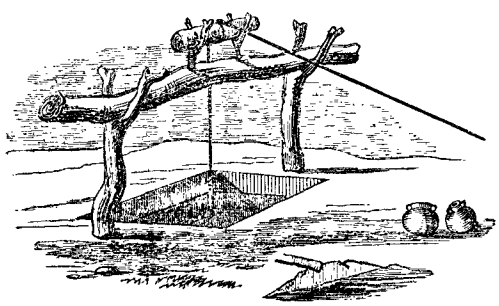
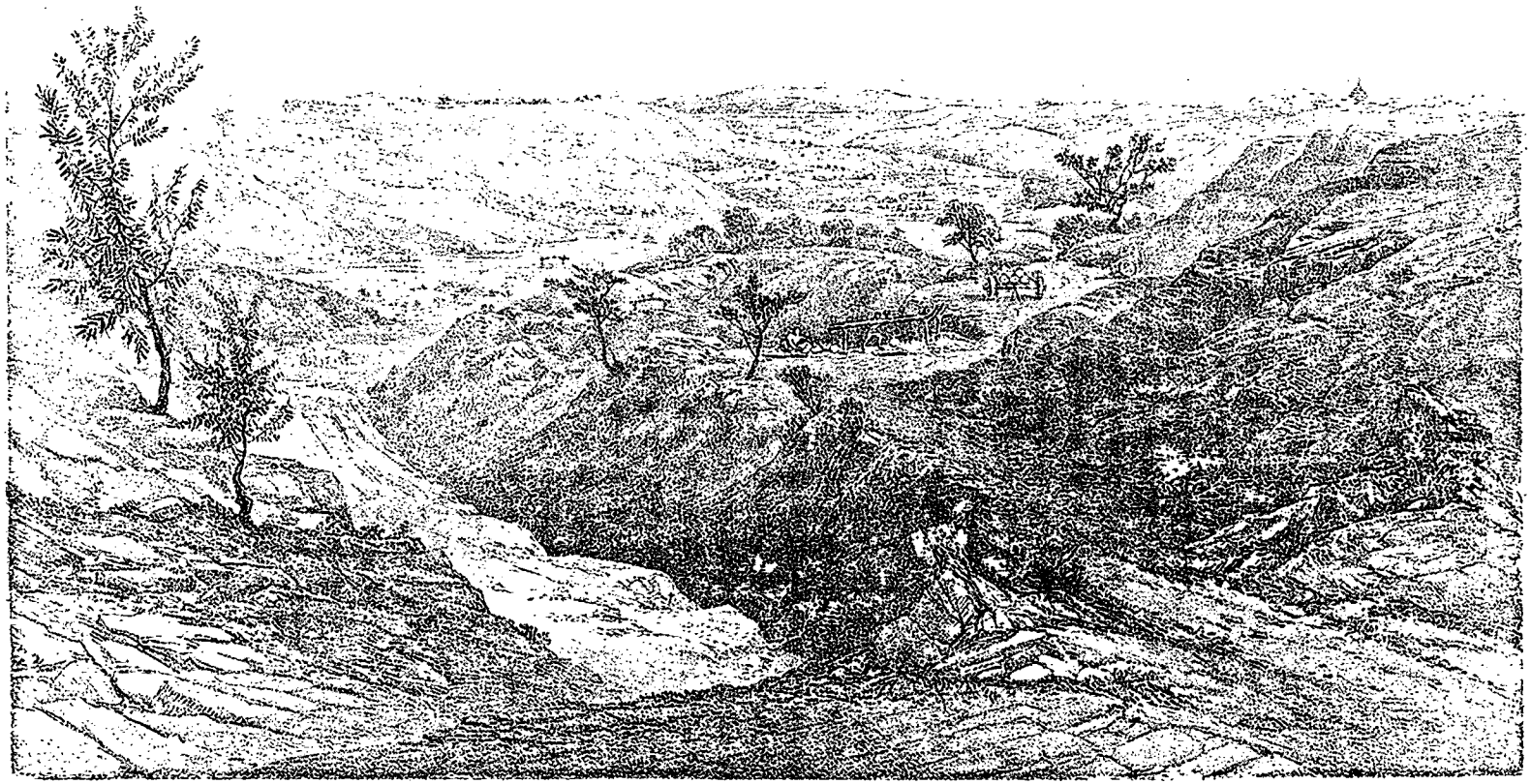


Fig. 12.

The petroleum from these pits is very generally used as a lamp-oil all over Burma. It is also used largely on the woodwork and planking of houses, as a preservative from insects, and for several minor purposes, as a liniment, and even as a medicine taken internally. The Chinese Geography, translated in Thévenot's *Voyages Curieux*, says that it is a sovereign remedy for the itch, which its sulphurous affinities render highly probable. There is now a considerable export of the article from Rangoon to England, and one of the Rangoon houses had a European agent residing on the spot. The demand in England is, I believe, for use to some extent as a lubricating oil, but it is also employed by Price's Company at Lambeth in the manufacture of patent candles, and has been found to yield several valuable products. It has sold in the London market at from 40*l.* to 45*l.* a ton.

The oil itself looks like thin treacle of a greenish colour, and the smell is not unpleasant in the open air, and in moderate strength.

* The cubit was sh own by one of the work-people as his natural cubit (elbow to finger-tips), plus a hand-breadth; which would be about twenty inches.



VIEW OF THE OIL WELLS AT YENANGYOUNG.

The northern group of wells contains, as well as could be learned, about eighty wells now yielding oil. The southern group contains about fifty, which yield an inferior kind of oil mixed with water. At either place there are many exhausted wells. Each group occupies a space of about half a square mile or somewhat less.*

There appears to be no record or tradition as to the original discovery of the petroleum, or as to the lapse of time since it was first worked. The wells are private property, the ground they occupy being owned by twenty-three families, inhabitants of Yenan-gyoung, and the representatives, it is believed, of those who first discovered and worked the petroleum. Among these is the hereditary Myo-thoo-gyee† of the place, who holds at present the office of *Myit-tsin-woon*, or chief magistrate of the great river. They do not allow any stranger to dig a well; and although a respectable owner stated that they had no written grant or confirmation of their exclusive privilege, yet it is upheld by the local Burmese authorities, and apparently they have sufficient influence to prevent any wells being dug by interlopers in the vicinity of their groups or clusters of wells. But independently of the influence they thus exert to prevent any interference with their privileges and profits, the great expense in the present dearth of capital, and the uncertainty of return, prevents any one trying seriously to compete with them. The twenty-three proprietors constitute a kind of corporate body, as regards their joint interests in the land, but possess individual property in their own wells. When once a well has been dug, no one else is allowed to dig within thirty cubits of it. No proprietor is allowed to sell or mortgage his well to any one not a proprietor. They mortgage them among themselves. Formerly they intermarried among themselves only; but latterly, an old and respectable proprietor informed Major Phayre, this custom had been broken through by the "young people."

The cost of digging a well 150 cubits deep was said to be 1500 or 2000 tikals,‡ sometimes even more; and after all, the money might be thrown away, as a well dug within a few yards of others yielding a good supply often proves a failure. The work of excavation becomes dangerous as the oily stratum is approached, and frequently the diggers become senseless from the exhalations. This also happens occasionally in wells that have been long worked. "If a man is brought up to the surface with his tongue hanging out," said one of our informants, "it is a hopeless case. If his tongue is not hanging out, he can be brought round by hand-rubbing and kneading his body all over."§

* Mr. Crawfurd speaks of the pits as being spread over a space of sixteen square miles, which I do not understand. We could, by repeated inquiry, hear of no other groups of wells than the two mentioned in the text.

† *Thoo-gyee* ("great man") is the head-man of a small circle of villages. *Myo* is properly a fortified place, and hence a city or chief town of a district. The *Myo-thoo-gyee* is the Mayor or town magistrate, and may be the deputy of the *Myo-Woon*, who is the governor or Lord Lieutenant of the district; the *Myo-tsa* is the "Eater," a prince, princess, or court official, to whom the revenues of the district have been assigned as an appanage. *Myo-ok* is a subordinate town-magistrate, under the Myo-thoo-gyee.

‡ The tikal averages in value somewhat more than one rupee and a quarter, or 2*s.* 6*d.*

§ Captain Macleod, who saw the people engaged in sinking a well, which had reached a depth of 125 cubits, says that each successive workman remained below only from fourteen to twenty-eight seconds, and appeared much exhausted on coming to the surface. (*MS. Journal*, 1838. *In Foreign Office, Calcutta.*)

The yield of the wells varies greatly. Some afford no more than five or six viss,* whilst others give 700, 1000, and even, it is said, 1500 daily. From all that we could learn, the average yield of the wells in the northern group might be assumed to be about 220 viss, and that of those in the southern group to be 40 viss. Generally the supply from a well deteriorates the longer it is worked. And if it be allowed to lie fallow for a time, it is said that the yield is found to be diminished on the recommencement of work.

The oil is described by the people as gushing like a fountain from openings in the earth. It accumulates in the well during the afternoon and night, and is drawn off in the morning. The proprietors have the oil conveyed to the river side in carts loaded with earthen pots containing ten viss each. Purchasers generally buy at the river side.

The ordinary price of the article used to be one tikal the hundred viss, or about sixteen shillings a ton. Lately, in consequence of the demand from Rangoon, it has risen to about thirty-five shillings a ton.

As to the amount of revenue derived by the king from the petroleum we found it difficult to get definite information. One intelligent proprietor, who was *myo-ok* of the town, stated, that out of 27,000 viss, which formed the whole monthly yield of his wells, 9000 went in payment to the work-people, 1000 to the king, and 1000 to the lord of the district.

It is an object of some interest to endeavour to ascertain the approximate amount of petroleum yielded by these wells. There was not time to make very minute inquiries on this head, not to mention that questioning closely every proprietor might have given umbrage to the Burmese officers, and excited their jealousy. From the information derived, however, from the proprietors who came to the Envoy, and from general inquiries by other members of the Mission, it appears that there are in the northern group of wells about eighty yielding oil. This would give, at the daily average of 220 viss from each well, an annual amount of 6,424,000 viss drawn from the northern group.

The fifty wells of the southern group are assumed to yield on the average forty viss each daily. Their yield, therefore, annually would be 730,000 viss, making a total quantity of 7,154,000 viss annually, equal to about 11,690 tons. This is very nearly what the Myo-ok stated the produce to be, and it was, in all probability, about the truth. The Myo-ok was a man of intelligence, had the means, from his official position, of knowing the amount produced, and was candid and consistent in his statements, with no apparent reserve whatsoever.

Mr. Crawfurd, in the Journal of his Embassy, deduced from the number of boats employed in taking away the petroleum, that the quantity exported was 17,568,000 viss. He estimates the number of wells at 200, and the average daily yield at 235 viss each. Perhaps the wells give now a less return than formerly; but certainly the produce cannot now be anything like what Crawfurd estimated. To carry away from the wells seventeen and a half millions of viss a-year, at the average ascertained cart-load of 120 viss, would require about 400 carts a-day. As far as could be learned, the carts scarcely ever make

* The viss is equal to 3·6516 lbs. avoirdupois.

more than one trip in the day from the village of Yenan-gyoung to the wells, and 160 to 170 appeared to be about the number employed.*

In the evening I walked with the Envoy to the northward of the town. We had a delightful breeze along the arid heights. In fact, the climate is singularly fine for the month of August in any tropical or Indian region. Except during the very midday power of the sun, there has been no heat worth mentioning since our voyage commenced, and lately the nights have been perfectly cool.

We walked on a gravelly path up and down the low hills to a snug little valley opening only on the river, and containing a small village, with a monastery and its pagoda. The schoolboys from the monastery getting about us, an old poongyi came out to the zayát† as if desiring an interview. The monks never address any one first, but seem generally glad to have a little conversation. Major Phayre remarks that they are the only class in Pegu whom he can treat with familiarity, as they never can be claimants for office of any kind.

The old poongyi‡ was invited to come and see the steamers. But he looked suspiciously at a "Penang lawyer" carried by one of the party, and suggested that he might get beaten.

The people seem to connect the power of speaking Burmese with the practice of their worship, and almost invariably ask the Envoy, "Do you worship the pagodas?" His addressing this old poongyi by the term of respect applied to the priestly class attracted the attention of a grinning black-toothed looker-on, who said, rather impertinently, "What! do *you* worship the poongyi? Then, why didn't you make the proper obeisance to him?" "This is not a worship day," said the Envoy; a reply which raised a loud laugh.

On our way back we spoke of the religion of the Burmese. They utterly, in theory at least, deny an intelligent and Eternal Creator, and yet they distinctly recognise and apprehend future punishment of sin, or rather of the violation of the Buddha's commandments. This punishment, they argue, is worked by the powers of nature in necessary sequence of transgression, "just as you eat sour fruit and a bowel-complaint ensues,"§

* Very various estimates have been formed of the productiveness of these wells. Captain Cox in 1796 calculated the annual product at 56,940,000 viss, but he was undoubtedly misled both as to the number of wells in work and as to their average productiveness. Crawfurd's estimate is noticed in the text. Captain Macleod in his MS. journal makes the quantity only 1,405,440 viss. He takes the number of wells at 160, but assumes the average productiveness as only 36 viss, which is undoubtedly far too low. Further remarks on the oil-wells will be found in Mr. Oldham's paper.

† A *zayát* is a public shed or portico for the accommodation of travellers, loungers, and worshippers, found in every village, and attached to many pagodas. It corresponds, I apprehend, to the *dharmsála* of northern, and the *choultri* of southern India.

‡ *Poon-gyi*, "Great glory," is a name by which the members of the monastic rule of Buddhism are commonly known in Burma.

§ "Mind precedes action. The motive is chief. If any one speak or act from a corrupt mind, suffering will follow the action, as the wheel follows the lifted foot of the ox.

"Mind precedes action. The motive is chief; actions proceed from mind. If any one speak or act with a pure intention, enjoyment will follow the action, as the shadow attends the substance." (From *Damma Padan*, or the Footsteps of Buddha, quoted in Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 28.)

without the interposition of any intelligent Ordainer or Judge. In old persons, the apprehension of punishment is often very lively. An elderly man, of great learning after the Burmese manner, who used to converse much with Major Phayre, and to scoff at the idea of an Eternal God as an absurdity, in coming to visit him at dinner-time declined to eat meat. "Why," said Major Phayre, "you used to eat ducks and fowls readily enough." "Yes," he answered, "but I am growing old now, and I fear hell."*

Another anecdote the Envoy related, of a man who had been giving evidence before a court at Maulmain, and in returning home across the Salween was dragged out of his canoe by one of the alligators which swarm in that river.† The people asserted at once that he had perjured himself, and that this was Nature's punishment of the act.

In the evening we had to visit the play, which had been going on with little intermission since our arrival. The theatre on this occasion was entirely covered in, which made the heat and petroleum smoke very oppressive. The scene commenced (as it often does) with a chorus of Woongyis chaunting the duties of ministers of state, and dancing round the while in a manner worthy of Sir Christopher Hatton, but "high and disposedly" like Sir Christopher's mistress.

They wore long surcoats of white muslin over their dresses (the usual half-dress of gentlemen at the court), and very prim and meagre Burmese turbans; quaint and comic their effect was altogether, though by no means so intended. Four ladies followed who figured both as dancers and singers. The narrow trailing Burmese dress necessarily confines the poetry of motion to artful swayings of the body; or to a sort of pirouetting or winding on both feet, followed by unwinding again, with much quaint angular action of the arms and head. These damsels, as they danced, were attended by a clown, whose chief jocularity consisted in imitating and ridiculing the action of the principal dancer, and in suddenly putting himself in her way when she rapidly unwound again from one of her

* Yet Gautama did not forbid flesh, and himself died of eating the hospitable pork of Chundo the goldsmith. "Those who take life are in fault, but not the persons who eat the flesh; my priests have permission to eat whatever food it is customary to eat in any place or country."—*Hardy's Man. of Bud.* p. 327.

† In the "Book of the Oath," which a Burmese witness places on his head in swearing, one of the numerous and tremendous imprecations on the perjurer which it contains is, "All such as do not speak truth . . . if they travel by water, whether in ships or in boats, may they sink, or may they be bitten and devoured by crocodiles." (Sangermano's *Burmese Empire*, p. 69.)

Of the alligators in the Tenasserim rivers, Mr. Mason says: "They often carry off the natives; and a single animal, emboldened by his successes, will usurp dominion over a particular portion of a river, where he becomes the terror of every boat's crew that passes. The steersman occupies the most dangerous position; for the crocodile's mode of attack is to glide up silently to the bow or stern of a boat, then turn suddenly, when with one stroke of his powerful tail close to the top of the boat, he sweeps into the water whoever is within its reach, and the stunned victim becomes an easy prey. (*Natural Productions of Burma*, p. 336.)

"Another friend of mine," writes Major Phayre, "was carried off by an alligator from his boat in the Salween, and, strange to say, about a week before he had shown me tied up in his *goung-boung* (turban or fillet) some nodules of iron pyrites as a charm against alligators!"

pirouettes. On such occasions she usually gave him a ladylike slap on the face with her fan.*

The whole of the way from the vessels to the theatre, with the surrounding dry channel of the river, was profusely illuminated by blazing cressets of earth-oil.

Having heard that it was often the practice to load the oil *in bulk*, I went in the evening to see some boats that were taking in cargo. One large boat of the kind described above under the name of *Pein-go*, I found actually so loaded. The boat was left empty amidships, to facilitate the baling of the water, which, as heavier than the oil, collected in this, the lowest part of the hull. Forward and aft of this, partitions formed two large cisterns, in which the oil was deposited. This boat carried, we were told, 10,000 viss of oil, or about fifteen tons; a great deal more, the master said, than he could have stowed in earthen pots. The crew consisted of eight men, paid at the rate of six tikáls per month. The hire of such a boat to Rangoon would be 100 tikáls.

17*th August*.—The river has risen three and a half feet during our stay at the oil-wells, and is still rising.

We started at seven, and, as before, continued to hug the eastern shore, which at first was still of much the same character, presenting bold sandstone cliffs cut up by ravines, occasionally a stream, with a snug village at its mouth, and farther inland a rolling table country, with here and there a prominent point, spotted with trees and bushes, which are thicker and greener in the hollows.

About nine, we halted for an hour to visit some ancient-looking ruined temples near the village of Tantabeng, and I landed in company with Mr. Oldham and the two artists. An account of these ruins will be given in connexion with the Pagán remains.

Through an accident to a boiler we made little way, and at last anchored under a low island on the west side, a little below Sem-phyo-gyoon, and just opposite Kyoonyo on the same side, a considerable village with numerous monasteries, &c. Pakhan-gyé was visible a few miles up on the other bank.

18*th August*.—In the morning we moved up opposite Sem-phyo-gyoon, where, on an alluvial island, a theatre had been erected, and a large assemblage gathered to meet us.

The lofty isolated hill of Paopa was distinctly visible far to the eastward, showing here a double hummock top. It must be 3000 feet high at least, allowing for the probable distance.

In the afternoon the repairs were completed, and we sailed a few miles up to Silléh-myo. The river is here very wide and full of islands, so that it was difficult to find the best channel. We had for some time only one fathom, and for a few minutes, in one place, our flat got aground. The river seems notwithstanding to be still rising, and brings down numerous trunks of trees, &c.

* So Raffles says of similar Javanese performances. "It is not unusual for the performances of the *rong-gengs* [dancing-girls] to be varied by the action of a fool or buffoon. Mimicry is a favourite amusement, and besides imitating in a ludicrous manner the action of the *rong-gengs*, there are not wanting performers of this description, who occasionally direct their wit against all classes of society, and evince a considerable degree of low humour." (ii. 344.)

Below Pakhan-glé, a large and thriving-looking place, the aspect of the eastern shore had changed. We had lost the bluffs of sandstone, and had a stretch of more gently swelling country with somewhat more of wood, and fallow fields enclosed in dry thorn-hedges. Above Pakhan-glé the character of the river was more Gangetic; the banks of clay without visible rock; the *churs** and islands abounding in madár and acacia.

At Silléh-myo we had to land in the dark to see the play; the second with which we had been favoured to-day. The place belongs to the Ein-she-men,† or heir-apparent, and the Envoy was particularly desirous to give no ground for offence.

Of the play the less said the better; it was the first indecent exhibition that had been thrust on us. The Governor had no upper clothing on, and was boorish in looks and manners.

19*th August.*—Probably some one of the deputation had admonished the Governor, for he came to the Envoy in the morning well dressed and improved in behaviour, bringing his wife, a pleasing well-mannered woman, with her children.

The main part of the town has lately been enclosed in a bamboo fence. Behind it are numerous religious buildings of different classes. One pagoda, with an octagonal base, had inscribed over the arched doorways the names of the days of the week, or rather of the planets, the eighth being Rahú, the Asúr or Titan whose assault on the moon causes eclipse, or the invisible planet, as he is sometimes represented to be; the personified node, in fact. These names were arranged in a peculiar order, according to that in which the planets are said to be ranged round the cosmical mountain Myen-mo (Meru of the Hindoos).

Under a long shed were several curious groups of figures. One seemed to represent Gautama ill; the other represented him dead, surrounded by nine wailing disciples. These were all gilt except one—Ananda, his favourite disciple, as we were told—because he alone of the disciples was not in the priestly order at the master's death.‡ Other loose figures were grouped together on the floor with a bamboo frame on their shoulders, probably intended when complete to represent Gautama on his bier.

Some brick temples, of ancient appearance, had been originally painted with patterns in the interior. White-wash had been applied over the painting, and on this white-wash in one place was an inscription, in charcoal, dated 287 years ago. Even this at first sight seemed a great age for buildings of indifferent brick. But the climate is evidently a very dry one and favourable to their preservation. An adjoining pagoda, stated to have been built five years ago, looked quite fresh and white. In Bengal or Pegu it would have been stained all over and injured by damp. Two or three miles below the town was a large

* The shifting alluvial deposits of a great river are so called in Bengal.

† *Ein-she-men*, Lord of the eastern house, is the peculiar appellation of the declared heir to the Burmese throne. The King's brother, who holds this position, was believed to be unfavourably disposed to the English.

‡ This is, I find, not quite correct. Ananda, the cousin and favourite disciple of Gautama, was a *thero* (Presbyter) or bhikshu (mendicant), but did not attain the sanctity of the *Rahat*-hood, or qualification for final emancipation without further birth, till the Synod held at Rajagriha in Magadha soon after the death of the Buddha. (See Turnour's *Exam. of the Buddhistical Annals; Journal of the Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. vi. pp. 516–18.)

collection of ruined temples similar to those at Tantabeng. They bear the name of Shen-byeng-sa-gyo ("where the king's bones were met") from a tradition that the body of a king, who had died at a distance from the capital, was met here by the courtiers from Pagán and received the funeral rites.

Silléh used to be celebrated for its silk-weaving, but we observed no symptom of this trade now existing. There were many shops for lacquered ware, and some specimens were of a superior kind.

Dr. Forsyth mentioned *boiled frogs* among other articles of food that he had seen in the bazar.

We left Silléh about nine o'clock and went up to Seeng-goo, which we reached before one o'clock. In the present strength of stream, the war-boats which attend us find it difficult to keep up for longer distances. We passed on the left Zeik-phyo ("White stairs"), where a large gilt pagoda rose amid an extensive grove of palms. Behind, numerous small temples dotted the spurs of a low and barren range of hills, which here interrupted the alluvial plain that commenced at Memboo.

One of the tributary channels enters the Irawadi just below Seeng-goo. These channels are curious, being so very wide as apparently to require a very sudden discharge to fill them, whilst there is no *hilly* source, the general cause of that condition, visible.

Beyond this channel, in the clayey strata of the ravines, Mr. Oldham found numerous fossil shells, sharks' teeth, crabs' claws, &c. Fossil wood is still *excessively* abundant, both on the surface loose, and in chips or masses embedded in the hard breccia which occurs along the banks of both the Irawadi and the tributary channel.

20th August.—The country behind Seeng-goo is formed in long gentle slopes or rolls, and a great deal of it is fenced, as if in habitual cultivation. The deficiency of rain, which has now continued for six or seven years, appears to have thrown this out of tillage. With verdure and crops filling in these hedge-rows this country would be beautiful, but now it was very barren. The bottoms below us all bore old marks of the plough, and of having been dammed across as rice-grounds, but there was no sign of recent culture.

Some fifteen miles northward, and a few miles distant from the river, ran a considerable but isolated range of serrated hills, rising probably to a height of 700 and 1000 feet, and a few of them crowned with white pagodas. This range, called the Tharawadi Hills, lies immediately eastward of Pagán. Across the river, and stretching far upwards, the same hilly range seems to reappear, with the cant of the strata there facing the Irawadi, and giving the hills an aspect of excessive barrenness. Farther down on the same side the golden spire of Zeikphyo looked indescribably rich before the morning sun, gleaming from among the palm-trees.

The remarkable Paopa-doung is a more and more conspicuous object as we advance. The Burmese naturally look with some superstitious dread on this isolated mountain, which they say it is impossible to ascend, and regard as the dwelling of myriads of Náts and Bilús.*

* Bilús, defined by Judson as monsters which eat human flesh and possess certain superhuman powers, are generally depicted as dark-coloured and tusked Calibans. They represent in the Buddhist myths the

In advancing to Pagán, the river was excessively wide, extending sometimes to a breadth of four miles, with many islands. The east bank is very beautiful, never rising more than forty feet, but constantly dipping into hollows brimful of noble trees, and nestling villages with groups of palms. Some of the cotton-trees and ficuses were of incomparable beauty and magnitude. The other shore consists, all along, of the barren hills mentioned above, but the isles at their base are green and woody.

At last the pagodas of Pagán began to appear in the distance. One great bell-shaped mass, with the upper spire ruined or wanting, and in bulk approaching, as it seemed to us, the Shwé Dagon,* led the way; Tsetna-phya by name. Others followed fast, of all quaint shapes, the dark ancient temple with its square base and quadrangular mitre-like spire; the many-storied pyramid, borrowed from the structure of the timber idol houses, and other novel forms white and black, mingled with fine forest trees or humbler jungle. Then villages are interspersed; the Owhyhee scene recommences; war-boats, golden umbrellas, shouting oarsmen, dancing demons gesticulating wildly on the narrow canoes, and deafening music, bring on board the Governor of Pagán and Myit-sing-woon, "a kind of high sheriff of the Irawadi."† Temples become more and more frequent, old trees vaster and more numerous, cottages and population more abundant, till we moor at the modern town of Pagán, close to a theatre as usual.

The retinue of the Myit-sing-woon was the largest and best we had yet met with. In his own boat were fifty men armed with *dhas*, or swords, and twenty of them with fowling-pieces, rifles, &c. of all sizes and bores, but all of them *double-barrelled*. Many of the boats had arm-racks running along the centre line. In some the crew were dressed uniformly. There were in all about twenty boats with average crews of thirty men each.

As we drew near the town a body of two hundred horsemen were seen drawn up on the shore. They were mounted on the small country ponies, and many of these were followed by their young foals.

Rákshasas of the Hindoos. According to a Buddhist legend (Mason's *Nat. Prod. of Burma*, ii. 427) Gautama, when he attempted to land at Martaban, was stoned by the Náts and Bilús, who then inhabited that country, as well as Tavoy and Mergui. May there not be here some dim tradition of an alien and savage race of aborigines, akin perhaps to the quasi-negroes of the Andamans, who have become the Bilús, or Ogres, of Burman legend, just as our Ogres took their name probably from the Ugrians of north-eastern Europe. Considering that these negroes, or the somewhat similar Papuan races, are found (like the links of a broken chain) in the Andamans, in the spinal mountains of the Malacca Peninsula, in the Philippine Islands, in Sumatra, Borneo and New Guinea, &c., it seems not improbable that kindred tribes may have been spread over the Indo-Chinese coasts at a remote period. The description of the Andaman negroes by the Mohammedan travellers of the ninth century, as quoted by Prichard, would answer very well for a Burman Bilú: "The people eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful; their feet are very large and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked."

Something of the comic, however, seems to attach to the Bilú (as in mediæval stories to the Devil), if one may judge from the way in which he is commonly represented, as engaged in some humorous mischief.

* The great temple of Rangoon.

† Mr. Oldham's journal.

Soon after our arrival a new kind of spectacle took place at the theatre. Some two-and-forty damsels from the adjoining villages (not professional performers) came down in procession and went through a sort of choral song before us, reciting, as we were told, the praises and glories of their king. As long as they chanted together, there was something new and pleasing in the effect, but after a while the voices dropt off one by one, whilst one and then another took up a monotonous strain in solo or duet. Then the thing fell back into the old intolerable tedium.

The place where we were anchored was singularly picturesque. Close below us a temple rose from the river bank, small, but of most original shape, like a great pumpkin, with the thick end uppermost, and a simple spire rising from the top.

This stands on a terrace of white chunam, encompassed down to the water with a succession of concentric sloping walls, and parapets crowned with trefoils. Behind was a small carved and gilded wooden image-shrine, and then a brick *thein* with a pyramidal many-storied spire; the latter new, and executed with accuracy and richness of ornament, unusual in modern Burmese brick-work. The whole, as seen from the river, might pass for a scene in another planet, so fantastic and unearthly was the architecture.

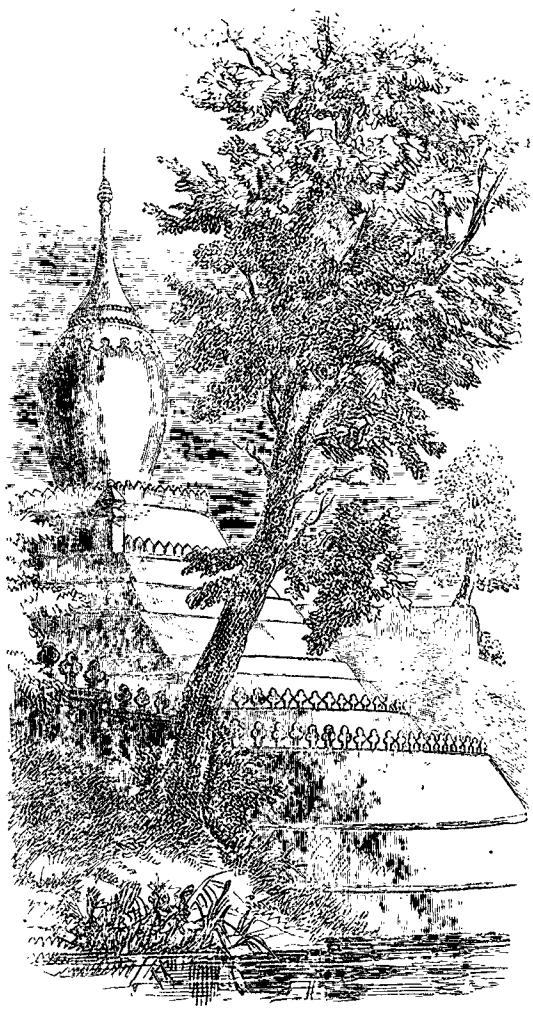


Fig. 13. The Pumpkin Pagoda.

CHAPTER II.

THE REMAINS AT PAGÁN.

Ancient History of Burma—Tagoung and Prome, the Seats of Empire—Foundation of Pagán—Two Cities so called—Upper Pagán—Lower Pagán—Its Capture by the Chinese—Former Notices of the Pagán Remains—Various types of Pagodas—Ruins at Tantabeng, and usual type at Pagán—The *Ananda*—Traditional History—Etymology of Name—Monasteries adjoining the Temple—Mural Paintings—Why Burmese use a round Character—Complexion of the Burmans—Description of the Ananda—Images of the Four Buddhas, and effective mode of Lighting—Impressive Character of Building—Material of the Pagán Temples—Barbarous Inferiority of Repairs—The *Thapinyu* Temple —*Gaudapalen*—*Bauddhi*—Architectural Elements of the Temples—Notion of a European hand in the Design—Mouldings, &c.—Analogies illustrating true Origin of the Architecture—Temple of *Dhamayangyee*—Flat Brick Arch—The *Sudhu Munee*—Enamelled Tiles—The *Shwé Koo*—Triangular Arch—Hindoo Sculptures—Incrustation of Pagodas—Colossal Image—Cromlech—Drawings from Measurements of Temples—Burmese Wall-Scribblings—Memorandum on Hindoo Images in a Temple at Pagán.

The Burmese monarchs derive their stem from the Sakya kings of Kapilavastu, the sacred race from which Gautama sprang. One of them, Abhi-Raja by name, is said to have migrated with his troops and followers into the valley of the Irawadi, and there to have established his sovereignty at the city of Tagoung: a legend manifestly of equal value and like invention to that which deduced the Romans from the migration of the pious Æneas, the ancient Britons from Brut the Trojan, and the Gael from Scota daughter of Pharaoh.*

But that Tagoung was the early capital of the Burmans appears to be admitted; and it is probable, supposing the valley of the Irawadi to have been settled from the north. There, they relate (as is told also of Anuradhapoora in Ceylon), a city, or a succession of cities, had existed even during the times of each of the three Buddhas who preceded Gautama. The last foundation of Tagoung took place, according to story, in the days of Gautama himself, and this city was the seat of seventeen successive kings.†

From Tagoung, a wild legend carries the dynasty to Prome, where an empire under the Pali name of Sare Khettara (*Sri Kshetra*) was established about 484 B.C. It does not

* I see, however, since the text was written, that Lassen accepts the traditions of the Indian origin of the Burmese kings as genuine. (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1034.)

† Col. Burney, in Jour. As. Soc. Ben. vol. v. p. 157.

appear from the authorities whether the kingdom of Tagoung is believed to have continued contemporaneously with that of Prome.

There is no doubt that the frequent shifting of their capitals is characteristic of the Indo-Chinese nations, and is connected with the facilities for migration presented by their great navigable rivers, and by the unsubstantial nature of their dwellings. Still, one cannot but have some suspicion that the desire to carry back to a remoter epoch the existence of the empire as a great monarchy, has led to the representation of what was really the history of various petty principalities, attaining probably an alternate preponderance of dominion, as the history of one dynasty of monarchs in various successive seats.

Pegu, it need not be said, was an independent kingdom, though several times subjected for a longer or shorter period by the Burmans, previous to the last conquest by Alompra, and twice at least in its turn subjecting Ava.* Toungoo also appears undoubtedly to have been a separate kingdom for a considerable period; two of its kings, or princes, in succession having conquered Pegu during the sixteenth century; and Martaban was the seat of an independent prince for at least 140 years. Tavoy was occasionally independent, though at other times subject alternately to Pegu and to Siam. Aracan, bearing much the same relation to Burma that Norway did to Sweden, preserved its independence till the end of the last century. But besides these, there are perhaps indications of other principalities within the boundaries of Burma proper. Kings of Prome are mentioned in the histories of the Portuguese adventurers. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto speaks of several other kingdoms on the Irawadi; but he is, to be sure, a very bad authority. Father Sangermano also, in his abstract of the Burmese chronicles, appears to speak of contemporary kings of Myen-zain or Panya, Ta-goung and Sagain.†

Some of these instances may, however, originate only in the ambiguity of the Burmese title MEN, which is applied equally to the King of England and to the Governor-General of India, to the King of Burma and to all the high dignitaries and princes of his provinces.

The empire of Prome came to an end, it is said, through civil strife;‡ and one of the

* In the thirteenth century three generations of Burman kings reigned over Pegu. In 1554 or thereabouts, the King of Pegu, who was a Burmese prince of Toungoo, conquered Ava and its empire as far as Mogoung and the Shan state of Thein-nee. This was the acmé of Peguan prosperity, but even that was under a Burmese sovereign. About 1613 the King of Ava became master of Pegu, and all the lower provinces. So matters continued till the Peguan revolt of 1740 and the following years, which succeeded not only in the expulsion of the Burmans; but (1752) in the conquest of Ava. This brief ascendancy was upset in the same year by the Hunter-Captain Alompra, whose dynasty still sits on the throne of Ava, though Pegu has past into the hands of the *Kalás*.

† *Description of the Burmese Empire*, pp. 42, 43.

‡ The following quaint legend is related by Sangermano. On the day of the last King's death, it happened that a countryman's cornsieve, or winnowing fan, was carried away by an impetuous wind. The countryman gave chase, crying out: "Oh, my cornsieve! oh, my cornsieve!" The citizens disturbed by the clamour, and not knowing what had happened, began likewise to cry, "Army of the Cornsieve! Soldiers of the Cornsieve!" A great confusion consequently arose, and the citizens divided themselves into three factions, which took up arms against one another, and were afterwards formed into three nations, the Pyu, the Karan, and the Burmese. (The *Pyu* were probably the people in the neighbourhood of Prome; Káran, or Kanran the Aracanese. See Phayre in J. A. S. B. xiii. 29.)

princes, in A.D. 107, flying to the north, established himself at Pagán, where, according to the view taken by Crawfurd and Burney, as well as Sangermano, the Burmese monarchy continued under a succession of fifty-two or fifty-five princes, to the end of the thirteenth century.

But the authority quoted by Mr. Mason* (apparently an edition of the royal chronicle) implies that the city founded, or re-founded in 107, was that of *Upper* Pagán, on the upper Irawadi, closely adjoining Tagoung; and that the Pagán of which we now speak was not founded till 847 or 849.

The site of Upper Pagán has been visited by Captain Hannay in 1835, and by the Rev. Mr. Kincaid in 1837.

Captain Hannay says,† "About a mile to the south of this (Tagoung) is a place called Pagam myo, which is now a complete jungle, but covered with the remains of brick buildings as far as the eye can reach. There are also the ruins of several large temples, which have now more the appearance of earthen mounds than the remains of brick buildings, and they are covered with jungle to the top." The people on the spot told Captain Hannay that the city was much more ancient than the other Pagán. And, indeed, we heard this upper city spoken of as "old Pagán" when we were at the capital.

Some interesting discoveries in Burmese history and antiquities may yet be made among the ruins of which Captain Hannay speaks.

Nine of the oldest temples at Pagán are ascribed, according to Crawfurd, to King Pyán-bya, circa 850. This coincides with the reign and date to which Mr. Mason's account assigns the foundation of the city.

Here, then, twenty-one kings reigned in regular succession from the middle of the ninth to the end of the thirteenth century; and here, in the year 997, under the apostleship of A-ráhan‡ and the reign of Anau-ra-men-zan, Buddhism was established in its present shape as the religion of the country.§

The history of the destruction of Pagán has been related by Colonel Burney from the Burmese chronicles.‖ Indignant at the murder of an ambassador by the Burmese king, the Emperor of China sent a vast army to invade Burma. The king, Naratheeha-padé, in his anxiety to strengthen the defences of his capital, pulled down for the sake of the materials (so the chronicle relates), 1000 large arched temples, 1000 smaller ones, and 4000 square temples. But under one of these temples a prophetic inscription of ominous import was found; the king lost heart, left his new walls defenceless, and fled to Bassein. The Chinese advanced, occupied the city, and continued to pursue the Burman army as far as Taroup-mau, or Chinese point, a considerable distance below Prome. This was in 1284.

Colonel Burney has indicated that this is the same Chinese invasion which is spoken of by Marco Polo. Turning to that traveller (in Purchas, Vol. iii. p. 93), we find that when

* *Natural Productions of Burma*, ii. 450.

† MS. Narrative of a Journey from Ava to the Amber Mines near the Assam Frontier. (In Foreign Office, Calcutta.)

‡ Judson gives this as a name; but is it not merely the *Rahan*, or perfected Buddhist saint?

§ Judson's *Life*, i. 199, and Crawfurd, p. 491.

‖ J. A. S. B. vol. iv. p. 402.

the Great Khan minded to subdue the city of Mien (the Chinese name for Burma), he sent a valiant captain, and an army chiefly composed of jesters, with whom his court was always furnished.

It is curious enough to contrast the contemptuous view of the Burmese enterprise here indicated, with the history of the same event as given by the Burmans in their chronicle. Instead of an army of jesters, they represent the Emperor to have sent a host of at least 6,000,000 of horse, and 20,000,000 of foot, to attack Pagán, and to have been obliged to reinforce these repeatedly before they could overcome the resolute resistance of the Burmese, who encountered the enemy near the mouth of the Bamó river.

From the mention of this locality, it would appear that the Chinese invasion took place by the route still followed by the main body of the Chinese trade with Burma.

Pagán surprised us all. None of the preceding travellers to Ava had prepared us for remains of such importance and interest. I do not find any mention of Pagán and its temples before the middle of the last century, when Captain George Baker and Lieutenant North were sent on a joint embassy to Alompra from the British settlement at Negrais. Lieutenant North died at Pagán, or rather at Nyoung-oo, a considerable trading town at the northern extremity of the ruins. On his way down, Captain Baker seems to have stayed a week at "Pagang Youngoe." He mentions the great number of pagodas in the neighbourhood, and one in particular, "the biggest of any between Dagon [Rangoon] and Momchabue [Moutshobo, the residence of Alompra], kept in good repair, and celebrated by the people for having one of their god's teeth and a collar-bone buried under it."*

Colonel Symes visited some of the temples on his way both up and down the river, and gives a somewhat vague account of the Ananda, which was then undergoing repair at the expense of the Prince Royal. He was told that the prince had collected gold for the purpose of gilding it, an intention which the size of the building renders improbable, and which certainly was not fulfilled.

Cox also describes the Ananda, and he took some measurements with the intention of making a plan of the building.

Among the ruins of the ancient city, on the 8th February, 1826, the Burmese under the hapless Naweng-bhuyen, or "King of Sunset,"† made their last stand against Sir Archibald Campbell's army, which remained encamped there for some days afterwards. Havelock, in his history of the Campaign, notices the numerous monuments, but says: "The sensation of barren wonderment is the only one which Pagahm excites. There is little to admire, nothing to venerate, nothing to exalt the notion of the taste and invention of the people which the traveller might already have formed in Rangoon or Prome." It will be seen presently that we differ widely in opinion from Colonel Havelock.

* Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*, i. 171. This was the Shwé Zeegong, described in the account of our return.

† Otherwise Jaya Súra (Sanskrit), '*Hero of Victory.*' He fled to Ava, and appeared before the King demanding new troops. The King in a rage ordered him to be put to death. The poor fellow was tortured out of life before he reached the place of execution.—Judson's *Life*, i. 295.

The account that conveys the most truthful impression of Pagán is probably that contained in the travels of Mr. Howard Malcom, an American missionary traveller.

Mr. Crawfurd, indeed, devotes several pages of his admirable book to the detailed description of some of these buildings, and gives an engraving of that which he considered the finest architectural work among them. From his selection in this instance I utterly dissent. The temple is altogether uncharacteristic of the peculiar Pagán architecture; nor is it indeed well or accurately represented in the print. Mr. Crawfurd's descriptions too, accurate observer as he is, fail somehow to leave with his readers any just impression of these great and singular relics.

In Pegu and lower Burma, the Buddhist pagoda is seldom found in any other form than that of the solid bell-shaped structure, representing (though with a difference) the Topes of ancient India and the Chaityas of Tibet, and always supposed to cover a sacred relic. Images of Gautama are often attached to these, but do not seem to be essential to them. The great pagodas of Rangoon, Prome, and Pegu, are celebrated examples of this kind of edifice.

The type of the principal temples at Pagán is very different, and they suit better our idea of what the word *temple* implies. Remains of this description, but on a small scale, first attracted our attention at Tantabeng, a place on the east bank of the Irawadi some miles above Yenangyoung.*

The buildings at Tantabeng were numerous, had an air of great antiquity, and were, as far as we examined them, on one general plan. The body of the buildings was cubical in form, inclosing a Gothic-vaulted chamber. The entrance was by a projecting porch to the east, and this porch had also a subsidiary door on its north and south sides. There were also slightly projecting door-places on the three other sides of the main building, sometimes blank, and sometimes real entrances. The plan of the building, it will be seen, was cruciform. Several terraces rose successively above the body of the temple, and from the highest terrace rose a spire bearing a strong general resemblance to that of the common temples of Eastern India, being, like the latter, a tall pyramid with bulging sides. The angles of this spire were marked as quoins, with deep joints, and a little apex at the projecting angle of each, which gave a peculiar serrated appearance to the outline when seen against the sky. These buildings were entirely of brick; the ornamental mouldings still partially remained in plaster. The interior of each temple contained an image of Gautama, or its remains. The walls and vaults were plastered, and had been highly decorated with minute fresco-paintings.

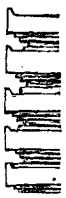


Fig. 14.

Such is the substantial type of all the most important temples at Pagán, though when the area of the ground-plan expands from 30 or 40 feet square to 200 or 300 feet square, the proportions and details of the parts necessarily vary considerably.

* Mr. Oldham says, that he saw a chambered pagoda as low down as Akouktoung (below Prome). There is a conspicuous one also at Thayet Myo. But they are comparatively rare anywhere below the point named, and never, I think, of the antique type here described.

The Pagán ruins extend over a space about eight miles in length along the river, and probably averaging two miles in breadth. The present town of Pagán stands on the river side within the decayed ramparts of the ancient city, near the middle length of this space.

This brick rampart, and fragments of an ancient gateway, showing almost obliterated traces of a highly architectural character, are the only remains at Pagán which are not of a religious description. If any tradition lingers round the site of the ancient palaces of the kings who reigned here for so many centuries, our party missed it.

Of the number of the temples at Pagán I feel scarcely able to form any estimate, the few days which we spent there having been chiefly devoted to a detailed examination of some of the most important. But of all sizes I should not guess them at less than eight hundred, or perhaps a thousand.

Fig. 15.

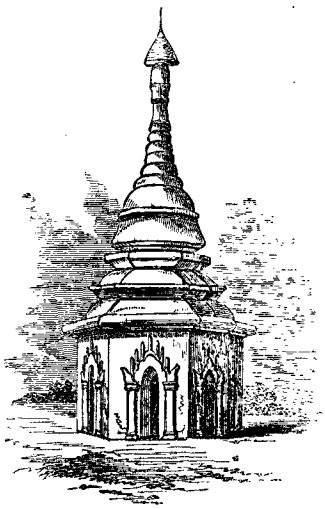


Fig. 16.

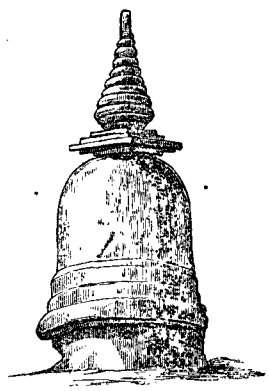


Fig. 17.

All kinds and forms are to be found among them; the bell-shaped pyramid of dead brick-work in all its varieties (Fig. 15); the same, raised over a square or octagonal cell containing an image of the Buddha (Fig. 16); the bluff knob-like dome of the Ceylon Dagobas,* with the square cap which seems to have characterised the most ancient Buddhist Chaityas, as represented in the sculptures at Sanchi, and in the ancient model pagodas found near Buddhist remains in India (Fig. 17); the fantastic Bo-phya, or Pumpkin Pagoda, which seemed rather like a fragment of what we might conceive the architecture of the moon than anything terrestrial (Fig. 13); and many variations on these types. But the predominant and characteristic form is that of the cruciform vaulted temple, which we have described above.

Three at least of the great temples, and a few of the smaller ones of this kind, have been

* *Dagoba* (corr. of Sanscrit words signifying *Relic-receptacle*) is generally supposed to be the original of the word *Pagoda*. De la Loubère in his account of Siam, however, says that the latter is a corruption of a Persian word signifying an idol-temple,—*but-khana*, I suppose.

from time to time repaired, and are still more or less frequented by worshippers. But by far the greater number have been abandoned to the owls and bats, and some have been desecrated into cow-houses by the villagers.

In some respects the most remarkable of the great temples, and that which is still the most frequented as a place of worship, is the Ananda.

"This temple is said to have been built in the reign of Kyan-yeet-tha, about the time of the Norman conquest of England. Tradition has it that five *Rahandahs*, or saints of an order second only to a Buddha, arrived at Pagán from the Hema-woonda, or Himalayan region. They stated that they lived in caves on the Nanda-moola hill (probably the Nunda Devi Peak), and the King requested them to give him a model of their abode, from which he might construct a temple. The Rahandahs did as they were requested, and the temple being built was called *Nanda-tsee goon*, or 'Caves of Nanda.' The term Ananda, by which the temple is now known, is a corruption, arising from the name of Ananda, the cousin and favourite disciple of Gautama, being so well known to the people. The representation of a cave is a favourite style of building among the Burmese for depositing images.* This is not wonderful among the votaries of a religion which regards an ascetic life in the wilderness as the highest state for mortals in this world."†

Major Phayre mentioned another probable origin of the name of this temple, viz. from the Sanskrit *Ananta*, "The Endless;" which seems to be supported by the fact that another great temple close at hand is called *Thapinyu*, "The Omniscient."‡

To reach the Ananda we passed out through the principal eastern gate of the ancient city. The remains of the defences form a distinct mound and ditch, traceable in their entire circuit, and large masses of the brick-work still stand at intervals, but I saw none in which any feature of the architecture, or portion of the battlements, was distinguishable. The gate has some remains of architectural design, and ornament of a rich character in plaster, with foliated pilaster capitals and festoons; but these remnants have been disfigured and obscured by the erection of two coarse modern niches with figures of Warders. A few yards beyond the gate are the square sandstone inscribed pillars mentioned by Mr. Crawfurd. Their appearance is suggestive of great antiquity and interest. But the expectation of the latter would probably be disappointed by an interpretation. The character appeared to be square‖ Burmese of a very neat and uniform type, as indeed most of the Burmese inscriptions are, and very much superior in execution to what *our* lapidary inscriptions were a century ago.

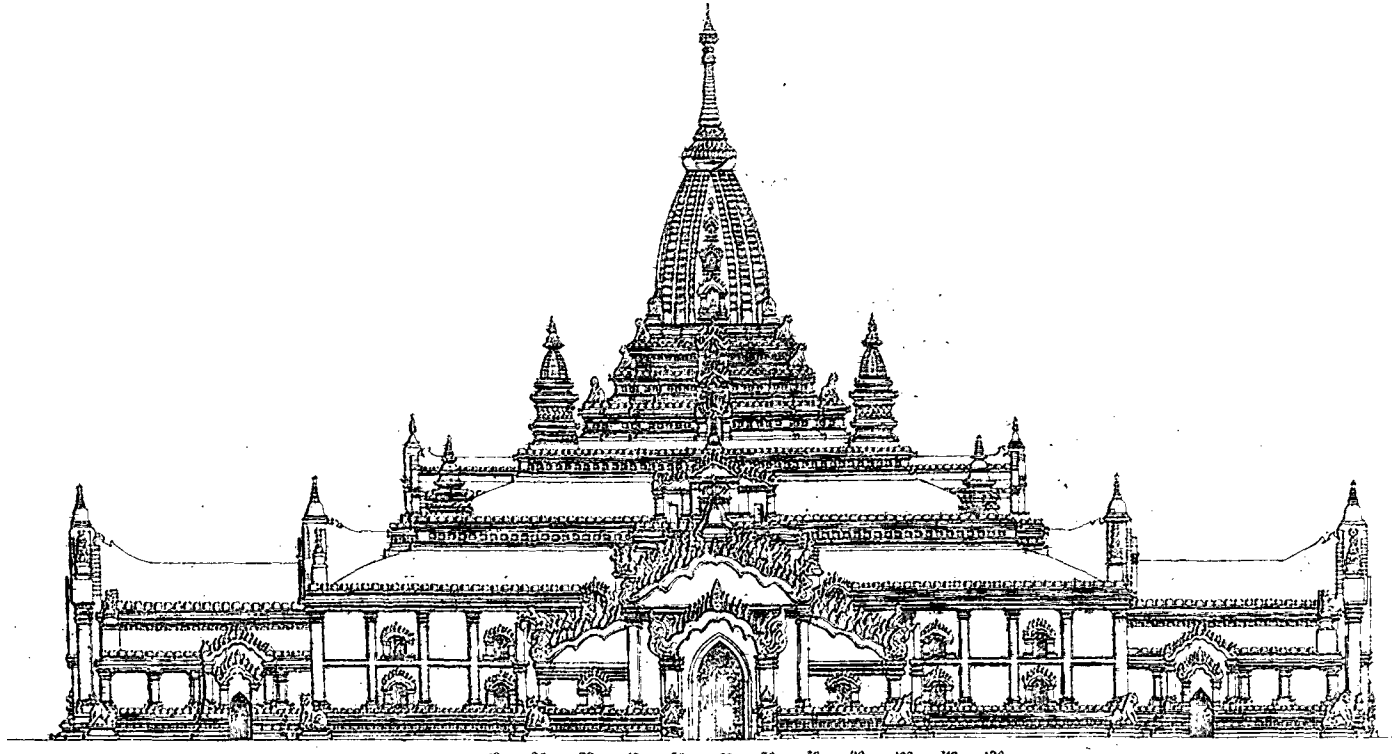
In the precincts of the Ananda we entered a large group of monastic buildings, forming

* Several of the temples at Pagán are named in this way; e.g. *Shwé-koo*, "The Golden Cave;" *Sembyo-koo*, "The White Elephant Cave," &c.

† Note by Major Phayre.

‡ So in a legend given in Hardy's *Manual of Budhism*, Gautama announces himself thus; "I am above all; I am the conqueror of Mára (Death); I am ANANTA JINAYA" (the Ever-living ?).—P. 185.

§ I do not know whether it has been noticed that the circular form of the ordinary Burmese character, as of the Ooria, the Teloogoo, and several other South Indian alphabets, is a necessary result of the practice of writing on palm-leaves with a style. Certain of the sacred books which are written in the *square* character are inscribed with a black gum (the *thit-see*) used as ink.



Drawn by Capt.ⁿ Yule from measurements by himself and friends.

Day & Son, Lith.ʳˢ to the Queen.

ELEVATION OF THE ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGÁN.

London. Smith, Elder & Cº. 65, Cornhill.

a street of some length. These in beauty of detail and combination, were admirable. The wood-carving was rich and effective beyond description; photography only could do it justice.

Great fancy was displayed in the fantastic figures of warriors, dancers, *Náts* (spirits), and *Bilús* (ogres), in high relief, that filled the angles and niches of the sculptured surfaces. The fretted pinnacles of the ridge ornaments were topped with birds cut in profile, in every attitude of sleeping, pecking, stalking, or taking wing. With permission of a venerable and toothless poongyi, we looked into a chamber, which was a perfect museum of quaint and rich gilt carving, in small shrines, book-chests, &c., not unlike the *omnium gatherum* of a Chinese josshouse. One chamber contained, among other things, a neat model of a wooden monastery with its appropriate carving.

The most elaborate of these religious buildings is stated to have been built only a few years ago by a man of Ye-nan-gyoung; probably some millionnaire of the oil-trade.

In the same monastic street a brick building, in the external form of a Kyoung, contains a corridor entirely covered with rude paintings on the plaster. These are all, Major Phayre informs me, representations of *Játs*, or passages in the life of Gautama in various periods of pre-existence. The greater part of the scenes appeared to depict the amusements and employments of ordinary life, such as feasting, hunting, weaving, looking at plays, being *shampooed*, and the like. The persons represented, like the *marionnettes* in the puppet-plays, were all exhibited with pure white complexions. By a curious self-delusion, the Burmans would seem to claim that in theory at least they are a white people.* And, what is still more curious, the Bengalees appear indirectly to admit the claim; for our servants, in speaking of themselves and their countrymen, as distinguished from the Burmans, constantly made use of the term "Kálá admi"—black man, as the representative of the Burmese *Kălá*, a foreigner.

In one part of the series were some representations of punishment in the Buddhist hells. Demons were pictured beating out the brains of the unhappy with clubs, or elephants trampling on them; and in one place was a perfect picture of Prometheus; the victim lying on the ground, whilst a monstrous unclean bird pecked at his side.

From this monastic colony a wooden colonnade, covered with the usual carved gables and tapering slender spires, led to the northern doorway of the Ananda.

This remarkable building, with a general resemblance in character to the other great temples, has some marked peculiarities and felicities of its own. They all suggest, but this perhaps above them all suggests, strange memories of the temples of Southern Catholic Europe. The Ananda is in plan a square of nearly two hundred feet to the side, and broken on each side by the projection of large gabled vestibules, which convert the plan into a perfect Greek cross.† These vestibules are somewhat lower than the square mass of the building, which elevates itself to a height of thirty-five feet in two tiers of windows.

* But so also thought some of the old travellers. Thus Vincent Leblanc says: "The people (of Pegu) are rather whites than blacks, and well shaped." I think I have seen some Brahmins fairer than any Burmans. But the average tint in Burma is much lighter than in India. One never, I believe, sees a Burman to whom the word *black* could be applied fairly.

† See a plan of the Ananda in Plate VIII.

Above this rise six successively diminishing terraces, connected by curved converging roofs, the last terrace just affording breadth for the spire which crowns and completes the edifice. The lower half of this spire is the bulging, mitre-like pyramid adapted from the temples of India, such as I have described at Tantabeng: the upper half is the same moulded taper pinnacle that terminates the common bell-shaped pagodas of Pegu. The gilded *htee* caps the whole at a height of 168 feet above the ground.*

The building internally consists of two concentric and lofty corridors, communicating by passages for light opposite the windows, and by larger openings to the four porches. Opposite each of these latter, and receding from the inner corridor towards the centre of the building, is a cell or chamber for an idol. In each this idol is a colossal standing figure upwards of thirty feet in height. They vary slightly in size and gesture, but all are in attitudes of prayer, preaching, or benediction. Each stands, facing the porch and entrance, on a great carved lotus pedestal, within rails, like the chancel-rails of an English church. There are gates to each of these chambers, noble frames of timber rising to a height of four-and-twenty feet. The frame-bars are nearly a foot in thickness, and richly carved on the surface in undercut foliage; the panels are of lattice work, each intersection of the lattice marked with a gilt rosette.

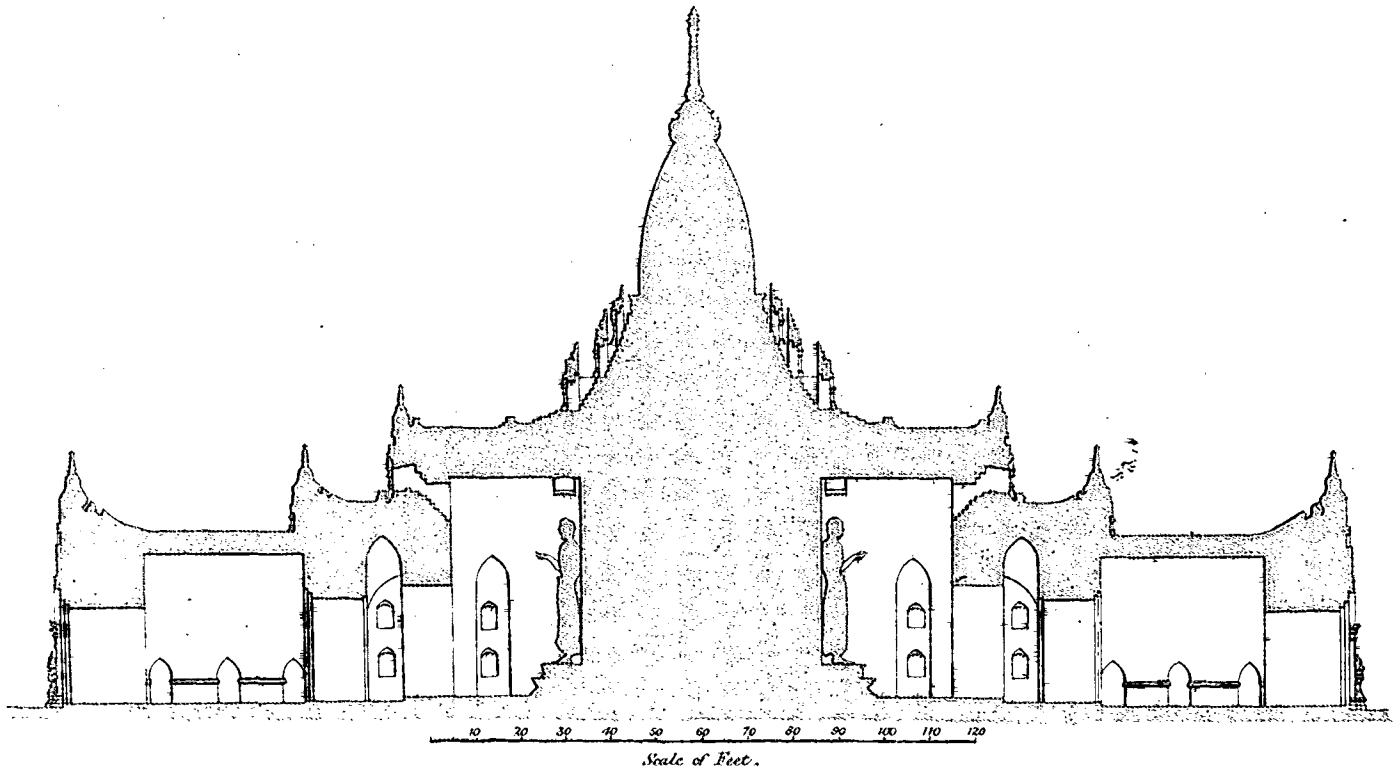
Fig. 18.

The lighting of these image chambers is, perhaps, the most singular feature of the whole. The lofty vault, nearly fifty feet high, in which stands the idol† canopied by a valance of gilt metal curiously wrought, reaches up into the second terrace of the upper structure, and a window pierced in this sends a light from far above the spectator's head, and from an unseen source, upon the head and shoulders of the great gilded image. This unexpected and partial illumination in the dim recesses of these vaulted corridors produces a very powerful and strange effect, especially on the north side, where the front light through the great doorway is entirely subdued by the roofs of the covered approach from the monastic establishments.‡

* See Plate IV. for an elevation of the Ananda.

† See Section in Plate V.

‡ A similar artistic introduction of the light is mentioned by Mr. Fergusson as characterising "the great rock-cut basilicas of India." (*Handbook of Arch.* i. 313). May this not have been imitated in the



Drawn by Capt.ⁿ Yule from measurements by himself and friends.

Day & Son, Lith.rs to the Queen

SECTION OF ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGÁN.

London. Smith, Elder & C.º 65 Cornhill.

These four great statues represent the four Buddhas who have appeared in the present World-Period.*

The temple, like the other great temples here, is surrounded by a square enclosure wall with a gate in each face. "That to the north is the only one in repair. This was, no doubt, intended as the principal entrance, and has the image of Gautama placed there; but it is difficult to say why the western entrance was not chosen for this distinction,† as it is directly in sight of the Tan-Kyee hill and Pagoda, on the opposite side of the Irawadi, where Gautama himself stood with his favourite disciple Ananda, and predicted the future building and greatness of the city of Pagán. Perhaps the north was chosen as being the direction in which Gautama first walked after the moment of his birth."‡

In the centre of the vestibule on the western side stands cut in stone, on an elevated and railed platform, a representation of the impression of Gautama's feet. In the galleries or corridors running round the building, disposed in niches along the massive walls, at regular distances apart, are numerous images of Gautama, and sculptured groups of figures illustrating particular events of his life. These have been covered over with a substance resembling *thitsee* (black gum resin) and vermilion.§ The strong similarity of features and style in these sculptures to the remains found in Central India, appears to indicate that they have been the work of Indian artists. The groups and single figures are upwards of 1500 in number.

The outer corridor is roofed with a continuous flying buttress, or half-pointed arch, abutting on the massive outer walls. The inner corridor and cells are pointed vaults.‖

One of the peculiar features of the Ananda is the curved slope given to the roofs both of the porches and of the main building, as if preserving the extrados of the arch which lies beneath. In all the other temples the roofs are flat. This, with the massive gables which are thus formed at the ends of the porches, and the great scrolls, if we may call them so, at the wings of these gables, probably go far in producing that association with the churches of southern Europe to which I have alluded.¶ Still these scrolls are perfectly Burman,

Ananda, and may the fact not be in some degree a confirmation of the legend that caves were intended to be represented by these vaults? "The vault of a hollow pagoda is called in Burmese *Koo*, which is the word for a cave."—*Phayre.*

* They are said to be composed of different materials as follows:—"The image to the east is the Buddha *Kankathan*, made of a sweet-scented wood called Dan-tsa-goo. To the west is *Ka-thaba*, made of brass. To the north *Gautama*, of fir; to the south *Ganno-goon*, of jasmine-wood. Whatever the original material of these images may have been, it appears now that the outer coating of each is of plaster richly gilt over."—*Major Phayre.*

† Compare Cunningham's *Topes of Bhilsa*, p. 191. It there appears that at No. 1 Tope at Sanchi, within the inclosure and immediately facing each entrance, there is a large figure, once under a canopy. That to the east Major Cunningham considers to be "KRAKUCHANDA, first mortal Buddha; that to the south, KANAKA; to the west, KASYAPA; and to the north, SAKYA SINHA" (Gautama). Hence it would appear that the figures in the Ananda were not placed arbitrarily, but according to orthodox Buddhistic tradition.

‡ Major Phayre.

§ Major Phayre's notes.

‖ See Section of the Ananda, in Plate V.

¶ Compare, for example, the elevation of the entrance to one of the vestibules of the Ananda as given in Plate IV. with a very common type of façade in Italian churches.

and seem identical with the horn-like ornaments which are so characteristic of the Burman timber buildings. Here they are backed (another unique circumstance) by lions rising *gradatim* along each limb of the gable or pediment. The windows also of the main building, standing out from the wall surface with their effective mouldings, pilasters, and canopies, recall the views of some of the great Peninsular monasteries.

But not the exterior only was redolent of kindred suggestions. The impression on us (I speak of Major Allan, Mr. Oldham, and myself), as we again and again paced the dim and lofty corridors of the Ananda, was that of traversing some sombre and gigantic pile appropriated to the cabals and tortures of the Inquisition. No architecture could better suit such uses. And in the evening, as I sat in the western vestibule sketching the colossal idol before me, the chanted prayers of the worshippers before the northern cell boomed along the aisles in strange resemblance to the chant of the priests in a Roman Catholic cathedral.

Of the details of architecture I shall speak below; but before proceeding to describe any of the other temples, it may be well to notice the material of which they are built. This, I believe to be in every case the same, viz. what we call in India *kucha pukka* work, that is to say, brick cemented with mud only. Mr. Crawfurd supposed the temples to be of brick and lime mortar. But I satisfied myself that this is not the case, and that the penetration of the plaster, which had been applied to the walls and corridors, into some of the joints had misled him.* We are not indeed accustomed in India to conceive of mud-cemented edifices 200 feet in height. Of these it is to be said that they are so massive as to be practically almost solid; so that the vaults and corridors rather resemble excavations in the mass than structural interiors. It is also to be said, however, that they are built with a care and elaboration which I never saw bestowed on a structure of such material in India, and which the Burmans of the present day seem remotely incapable of in brickwork of any kind. On the outside at least, in the better buildings, every brick has been cut and rubbed to fit with such nicety that it is difficult, and sometimes not possible, to insert the blade of a knife between the joints.† The arches and semi-arches are carefully formed of bricks moulded in the radiating form of *voussoirs*. The peculiarity of these arches is, that in general the bricks are laid edge to edge in the curve of the arch, instead of being laid parallel with its axis, as among other nations.‡ The exterior arch-faces of the smaller doors and windows are, however, laid in the European way, with the bricks cheek to cheek.§

The bricks are usually about fourteen inches by seven (I here speak from memory), and well moulded, but they are not very well burnt.

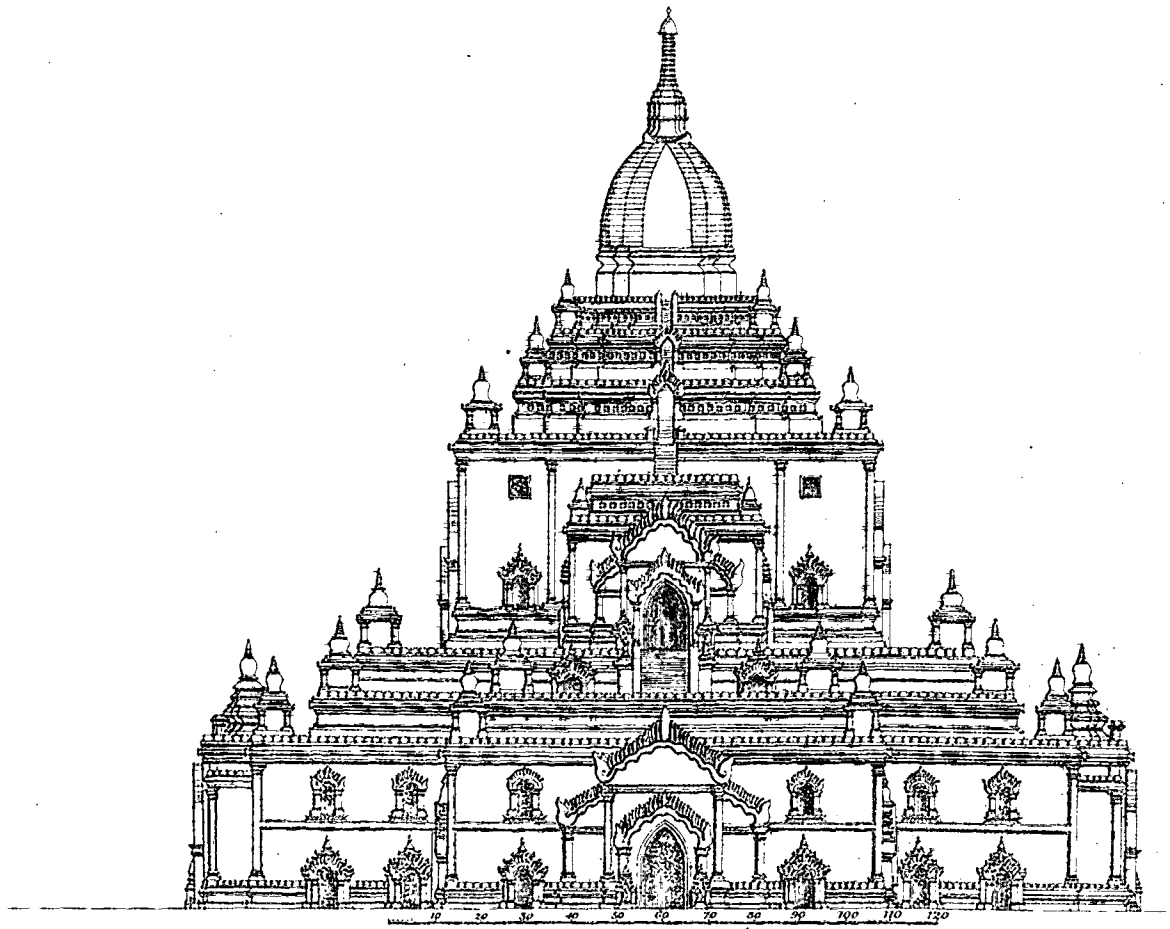
Such being the substance of the structure, all the ornamental finish is consequently executed in the plaster, which, even without view to ornament, would have been essential to the preservation of the buildings.

* Mr. Oldham notes his impression that the *Bodhi* temple is built with lime mortar.

† Captain Chapman, R.A., in his account of the remains of the ancient Ceylonese capital at Anurajapoora, notices the extraordinary closeness and finish of the brickwork in some of them. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ii. 476.) There is, I think, reason to believe, that the Singhalese had to do with the building of Pagán.

‡ See Plate IX. Fig. 6.

§ Ibid. Fig. 2.



Drawn by Capt.n Yule from measurements by himself and friends

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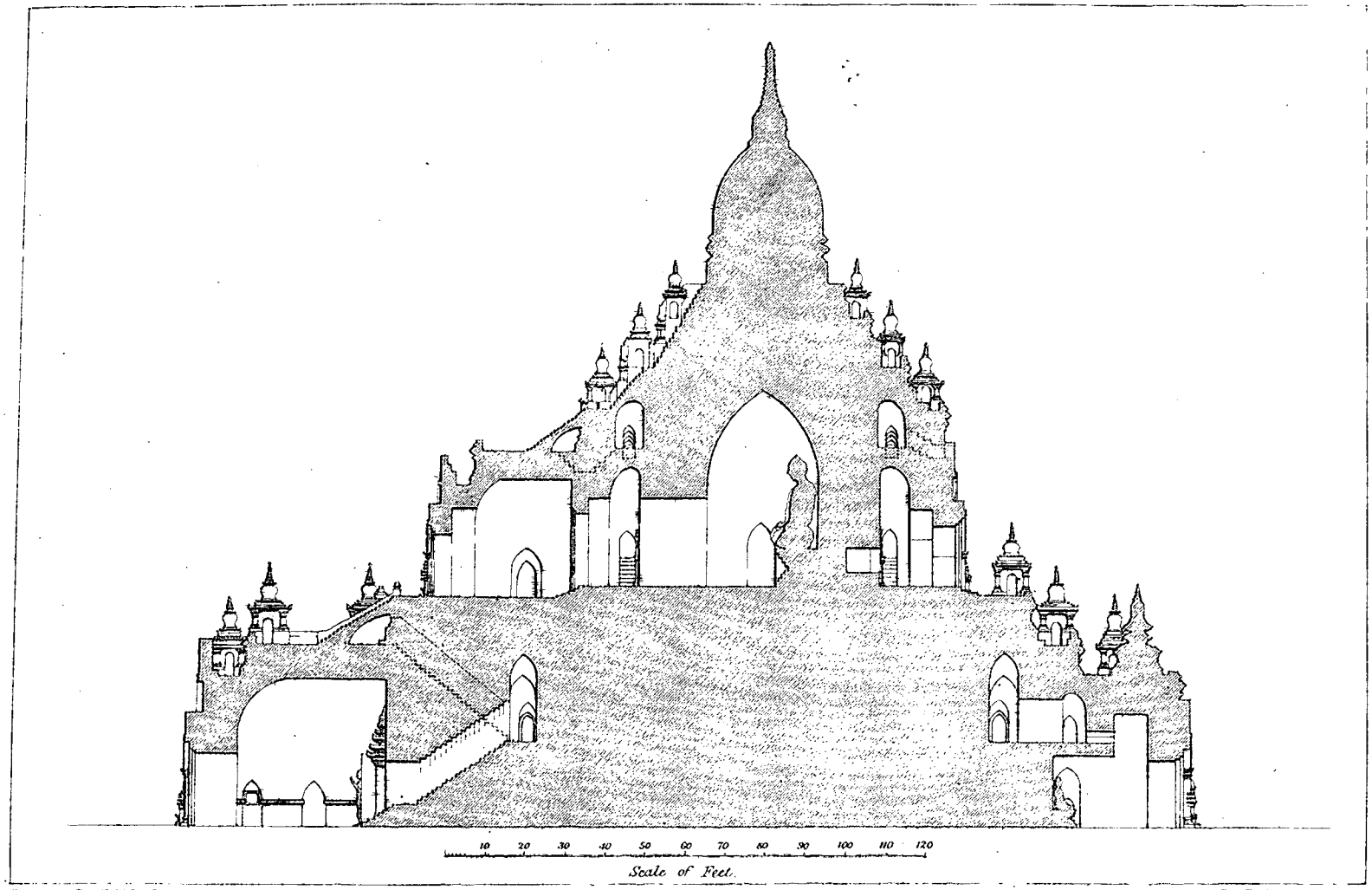
ELEVATION OF THAPINYU TEMPLE AT PAGÁN.

London. Smith, Elder & Co. 65 Cornhill



Drawn by Captn. Yule from measurements by himself and friends

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SECTION OF THAPINYU TEMPLE AT PACÁN.

[illegible] Smith, Elder & Co. 65, Cornhill

Where the plaster has been kept in repair, the buildings remain apparently perfect. Where the original plaster has decayed, and has not been renewed, the temples are in ruins. But it is in the latter only that we can learn to do justice to the spirit of art that adorned these monuments. The renewals and repairs have been executed by barbarous and tasteless hands. Of this I shall speak more fully by-and-by.

The second great temple of Pagán is the *Thapinyu*, "The Omniscient."*

It is stated to have been built in the reign of A-loung-tsee-chyoo Men, grandson of the king who erected the Ananda, about the year of our era 1100.†

It stands within the ancient walls, some five hundred yards to the south-west of the Ananda, and its taper spire, rising to a height of 201 feet from the ground, overtops all the other monuments.

Its general plan is not unlike that of the Ananda,‡ but it does not, like the latter, form a symmetrical cross. The eastern porch alone projects considerably from the wall. The body of the building forms a massive square of more than 180 feet to the side.

The characteristic of the Thapinyu is the great elevation of the mass before considerable diminution of spread takes place, and the position of the principal shrine high above the ground.

We have first a spacious two-storied basement like that of the Ananda; then two receding terraces. But here the usual gradation is interrupted. The third terrace, instead of rising a few feet only like the others, starts at one leap aloft to a height of some fifty feet, in a truly massive and stupendous cubical donjon, crowned again at top by a renewal of the pyramidal gradation of terraces, and by the inevitable culminating spire.§

Within this donjon, in a lofty vaulted hall opening by pointed gateways to the east, north, and south, and directly under the apex of the spire, sits the great image of the shrine. This is, with one exception, the only instance I have seen in these temples, in which the core of the building beneath the central spire had been hollowed into a chamber.‖

The principal shrine of the temple being thus in the lofty upper tower, the basement contains little of interest in the interior arrangements. There is on the ground level but one corridor, with images in the halls opposite the north, south, and west doorways. The main, or eastern doorway, is faced by a staircase leading to the upper terraces, but first to a curious mezzanine or entresol, forming a double corridor running round the basement story at the level of the second tier of windows. This also is a peculiarity of the Thapinyu.

The Gauda-palen is the third and last of the greater temples which have been kept in repair. It dates from the reign of Narapatee-tseethoo, about A.D. 1160.

Crawfurd explains the name as signifying "the throne of Gauda"—a Nát or spirit.

* Sansc. *Sarvajna* is one of the epithets of Buddha, of which I doubt not that *Thapinyu* is a Burmese corruption through the Palee.

† The dates given are those traditionally ascribed to the temples, and are the same with those already given by Crawfurd. Major Phayre considered the inscriptions at Pagán, so far as he had time to examine them, to confirm these dates.

‡ See ground-plan of Thapinyu in Plate VIII.

§ See an elevation of the Thapinyu in Plate VI.

‖ This part of the construction will be understood from the Section in Plate VII.

Major Phayre, though unable to obtain a satisfactory solution of the name, expressed strong disbelief that a Buddhist temple could be named after a Nát.

Though of great size, and rising to a height of 180 feet, this temple covers a considerably less area than the two already described. It is within the city walls, and stands on lower ground than they do. But being nearer the river it is very conspicuous in approaching Pagán from the southward. Gleaming in its white plaster, with numerous pinnacles and tall central spire, we had seen it from far down the Irawadi rising like a dim vision of Milan Cathedral. This enchantment is lost of course on nearer approach, though still strongly suggestive of south European church architecture, more so perhaps than any other of these buildings, except the Ananda. It is cruciform in plan, and stands on a low parapetted terrace irregularly following the outline.*

It is more compact and elevated in proportion to its bulk than the two former buildings, but resembles them in general character, exhibiting a massive basement with porches, and rising above in a pyramidal gradation of terraces, crowned by a spire and *htee*. The latter has broken from its stays at one side, and now leans over almost horizontally, having torn with it the acorn of brick-work which caps the spire, and threatening speedy downfal.

From the last terrace below the spire we had a noble prospect of the vast field of ruined temples stretching north, east, and south; and Mr. Grant devoted many laborious hours to sketching this panorama.

All these three buildings have been kept in repair, and "beautified" in some church-warden spirit, more to their loss than gain. One other important temple within the city walls has also been kept in repair. Its date is given by Mr. Crawfurd as about the year 1200. This is the *Bodhi*† described and delineated by him. It is different in style from the other temples, and very inferior in size, majesty, and art. The basement is a quadrangular block of no great height, supporting a tall spire strongly resembling that of the ordinary Hindoo *Siválaya*, and still more strongly the *Sikra* of the Jain temples near the river Barákar in Bengal, and of some of the ancient Hindoo temples delineated by Mr. Fergusson, such as those at Bhubaneswar in Orissa and that at Barolli in Rajputana. The latter, in general effect, has a considerable resemblance to the *Bodhi* as seen from a distance.‡ Both base and spire are covered with niches, bearing seated Gautamas, and interspersed with ornamental panels and mouldings. This gives the building a very rich appearance at a little distance; but, closely viewed, the execution is execrably rough and inaccurate, and there is an absence of the whole spirit of art visible in what I must call the greater and purer works.

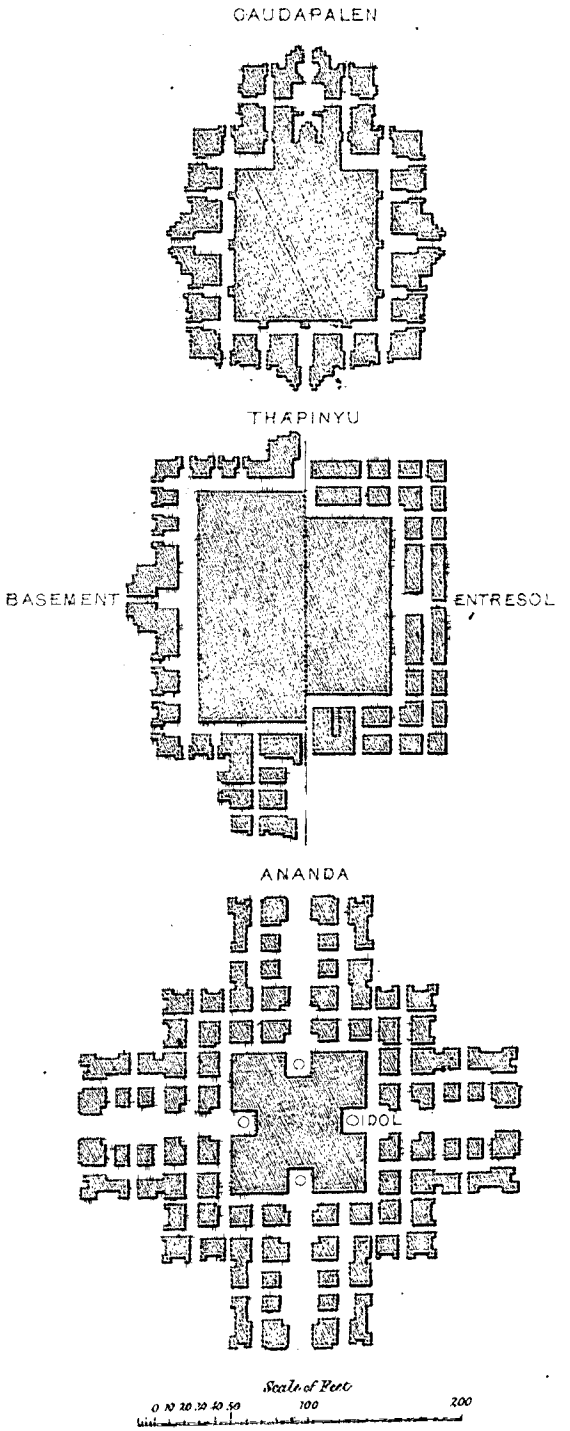
In these there is an actual sublimity of architectural effect, which excites wonder, almost awe, and takes hold of the imagination in a manner that renders apology for them as "Burmese," absurdly out of place.§ There is no such spell in the *Bodhi*, which only

* See Plate VIII. for a ground-plan of Gauda-palen, and Place X. for a view of it as seen from the north-east.

† *Bodhi* signifies the Peepul-tree, under which Gautama attained the Buddha-hood.

‡ See Fergusson's *Ancient Architecture of Hindustan*, Plate VII.

§ "We were all struck with awe," says Mr. Oldham, in his Journal, "at the littleness of our individual might in the presence of such evidence of combined power and exertion."

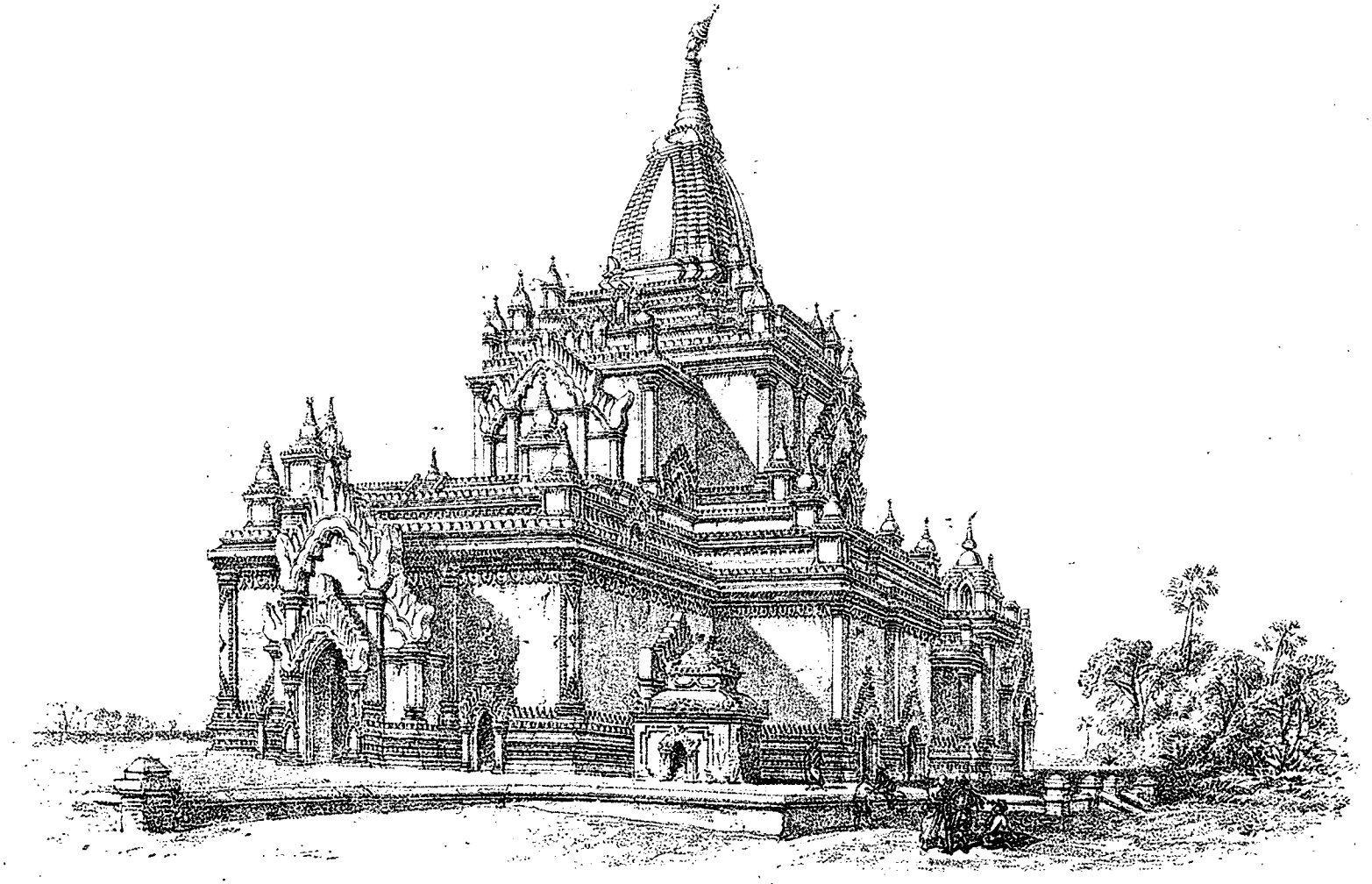


Drawn by Capt.ⁿ Yule from measurements by himself and friends.

Day & Son, Lith.ʳˢ to the Queen

GROUND PLANS OF THREE TEMPLES AT PACÁN.

London, Smith, Elder & C.º 65 Cornhill.



From a sketch by Capt.n Yule

Day & Son, Lith.rs to The Queen.

N.E. VIEW OF GAUDAPALEN TEMPLE AT PAGAN.

recalls the Hindoo temple, of which a thousand specimens infinitely superior in material and workmanship are to be seen at Benares and Mirzapoor; to say nothing of the older and finer works in other parts of India, of which I have scarcely any personal knowledge.

Omitting further consideration of the last-named building, the architectural elements of which the great temples are composed, with hundreds of smaller ones in the same style, are nearly the same in all, though combined in considerable variety.

The pointed arch is found in all, and is almost universally the form of the doorways. It is universally inclosed in a framework, or façade, exhibiting an arch dressing of a triangular or almost parabolic shape, drooping in cusps of a characteristic form, and surmounted by a sort of pediment of graduated flame-like spires and horns of very peculiar character. This cusped arch and these flamboyant spires and horns are, in a modified form, part of the style of ornament universal in the elaborate timber monasteries of Burma. The style seemed to me more natural in the latter material, and I felt more inclined to believe that the masonry ornamentation had been (as in so many other climates) adapted from that of timber, than the architecture of the temples modified to suit the timber structures. This opinion changed, after my return to Calcutta, and access to drawings enabled me to trace the prototype of this flamboyant ornament in the temples of Southern India. Whether, again, this pattern did not originate in a preceding timber model is too remote a question. Even in the cave-temples of Western India Mr. Fergusson traces distinctly the imitation of timber construction.

In the greater doorways, this cusped arch face and pediment is generally supported at each side by a semi-arch and semi-pediment of like character, at a lower level.

All these arches and semi-arches rest on regular pilasters, with base, capital, and cornice, the singular resemblance of which, both in general character and in many of the details of mouldings, to the pilasters of Roman architecture, is startling, perplexing, and unaccountable to me by any theory I have yet heard propounded, if anything like the true date has been assigned to these buildings.

The following extract from Mr. Oldham's Journal well expresses the feeling with which several members of the Mission involuntarily viewed these structures with reference to their origin:—

"So strongly unlike all other Burman buildings, can these have owed their origin to the skill of a Western Christian or Missionary, who may have adopted largely the ornamentation of the Burmese, and ingrafted much of their detail and arrangements on his own idea of a temple? May not the true cross-like plan of the Ananda be thus symbolical, and may he not, in the long-trusting hope of a zealous worshipper of Christ, have looked forward to the time when this noble pile might be turned from the worship of an unknown god to the service of the Most High?" "I can't think any Burman ever designed or planned such buildings. They are opposed to the general plan of their constructions. . . . . If they did design them, the Burmans of those days were very different from the Burmans of the present day."

Such an impression, I know, was almost irresistible at times when on the spot. But,

without going much into argument on the subject, I cannot think it probably founded in truth. There is not, I believe, reason to believe that any missionaries, or Europeans of any kind, found their way to these trans-Gangetic regions in the days when these temples were founded.* If there had been communication, we must go farther back for it. And the points of resemblance are rather to *Roman* architecture, properly so called, than to anything of later date, so far as I know, before the fifteenth century. And even this Roman character is so mixed up and blended with other touches and details so utterly un-Roman and original, that one cannot conceive so spirited and effective a fusion to have been produced by any chance European aid.

To return to details. The angles of all the chief buildings are formed into pilasters such as we have spoken of, supporting a regular and bold cornice, and resting on a regular and varied series of basement mouldings which run all round the building.

These cornices and basements are, in almost all the buildings, formed of the same succession of members; but it is only from the study and comparison of the remains of the unrepaired and unbarbarised temples that their full intention and true character can be made out.†

Every main cornice, for instance, is crowned with a sort of battlemented parapet, assuming in the repaired buildings a coarse, incongruous appearance in rude plaster-work.‡ In the temples which remain in their original state, such as *Sudha Munee* (of which I have unfortunately no drawings), and *Sembyo-koo* (Plate XI.), we find these battlements to be but the settings of embossed and glazed, and sometimes also richly-coloured tiles, which, in fact, must have formed a brilliant "polychromatic" (to use the slang of the day) coronet to each successive terrace of the temple.

In the basement mouldings, as truly seen in the older buildings, the upper limb is an ogee carved in bold foliation of truly classical character. (See Plate IX. Fig. 17.)

This in the restorations and beautifications, even of such buildings as the Ananda, has been, by the coarse and tasteless perceptions of the modern architects, degraded into an idiotic and misplaced repetition of the battlemented crown of the cornice. (See, for example, the elevation of the Ananda and Thapinyu, and the basement of Gaudapalen, as given in Plate IX. Fig. 11, comparing the latter with Fig. 17.)

The basement, again, always centres in a sort of entablature, or dado, set with alternate recessed panels and projecting blocks. (Plate IX. Figs. 11, 13.)

The true meaning of these has fortunately been preserved in the Ananda, as well as in some of the more shattered buildings. In these the panels are occupied by tiles moulded in relief. In the Ananda, the tiles represent a variety of somewhat rude groups of figures and animals, with alphabetic characters over them.

* * See in Chapter VIII. an abstract of the chronology of Burmese intercourse with the West.

† A small but beautiful example of the Pagán architecture in its typical form is the *Sembyo-Koo*, or "Cave of the White Elephant," of which a part is shown in Plate XI., and several details are given in Plate IX. Figs. 14 to 17.

‡ See, for instance, Plate IX. Fig. 12.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

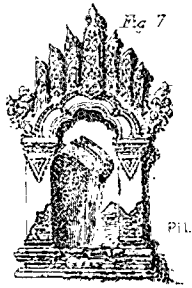


Fig. 7.

WINDOW AT DHAMAYANGYEE.

Fig. 8.

PILASTER OF DHAMAYANGYEE.

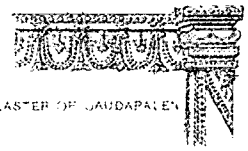


Fig. 9.

PILASTER OF GAUDAPALEN.

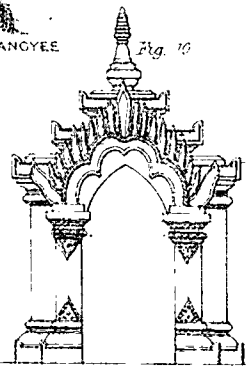


Fig. 10.

DOORWAY AT THAPINYU.

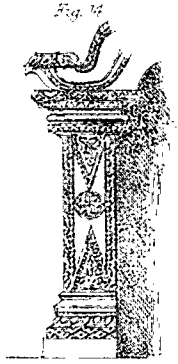


Fig. 14.

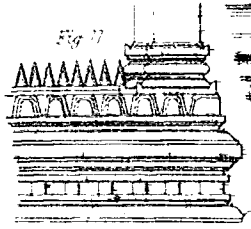


Fig. 11.

BASE OF GAUDAPALEN.

Fig. 12.

CORNICE OF THAPINYU.

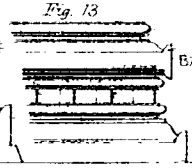


Fig. 13.

BASE OF THAPINYU.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 16.

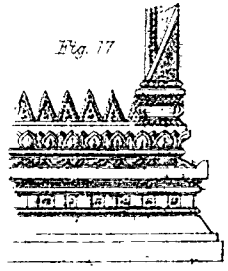


Fig. 17.

Scale of Feet

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Figs. 10. 11. 12. 13. & 17 only are drawn to scale.

Drawn by Capt. Yule from measurements by himself and friends.

ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS OF REMAINS AT PAGÁN

In other smaller buildings we have seen them glazed and artistically embossed, representing a variety of ornamental figures, sometimes the Greek honeysuckle, prancing horses, pelicans, &c. In the Sudha Munee, these impanelled tiles were, like those of the battlements, coloured in enamel.

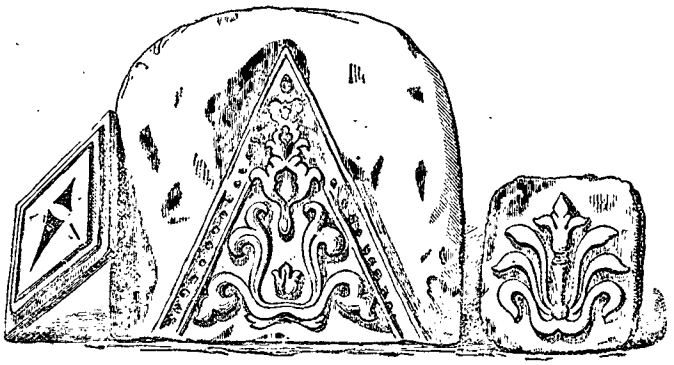


Fig. 19.

Most of the shafts, as well as bases and capitals of pilasters, the cusped arches, flamboyant spires of the door and window canopies, &c., and often, too, the cornice and basement mouldings, appear to have been originally sculptured (in the stucco) with great richness of effect.* And often this effect, in foliage and other ornamentation, is produced by very slight indications and incisions in the plastered surface. These incisions have been made with such instinctive art and suggestive skill, that, viewed at a little distance, the most elaborate modelling could scarcely have produced the desired effect more completely.

All this disappears before the ruthless hand of the restorer, and is replaced by a rude plastered surface, scratched without taste, art, or result. The old work, rough as it is sometimes, is the bold rough sketch of an accomplished artist. The work of the repairer compared with it is like a school-boy's chalkings on the wall.

I may now venture to point out a few analogies bearing on the origin of this remarkable architecture.

My attention had not previously been turned to ancient Hindoo architecture; and over a great part of the Presidency to which I belong there are scarcely any remains affording opportunity to become acquainted with it. But the result of the search that I have been able to make since my return from Burma, will perhaps establish the fact, that nearly the whole of the *details* are of Indian origin.

I have noticed the resemblance of the spire of these Pagán temples to the common Hindoo Siválaya. But its absolute identity with a more ancient form of Hindoo temple will be seen by a comparison of the spire of the Ananda (Plate IV.) with the ancient Indian "Vimana," as given by Mr. Fergusson in the introduction to his "Ancient Architecture of Hindoostan."

The most universal and characteristic feature in the Pagán architecture is, perhaps, the pediment, or canopy, of flamboyant spires over the doors and windows. Compare some of the doorways in Ram Raz's "Essay on the Architecture of Southern India," with the

* See examples of this stucco-work in Plate IX. Figs. 14, 15, and 16, for which I am indebted to the kind help of Mr. Oldham. Captain Tripe's illness on our second short visit to Pagán unfortunately prevented the photographic illustration of these and other details.

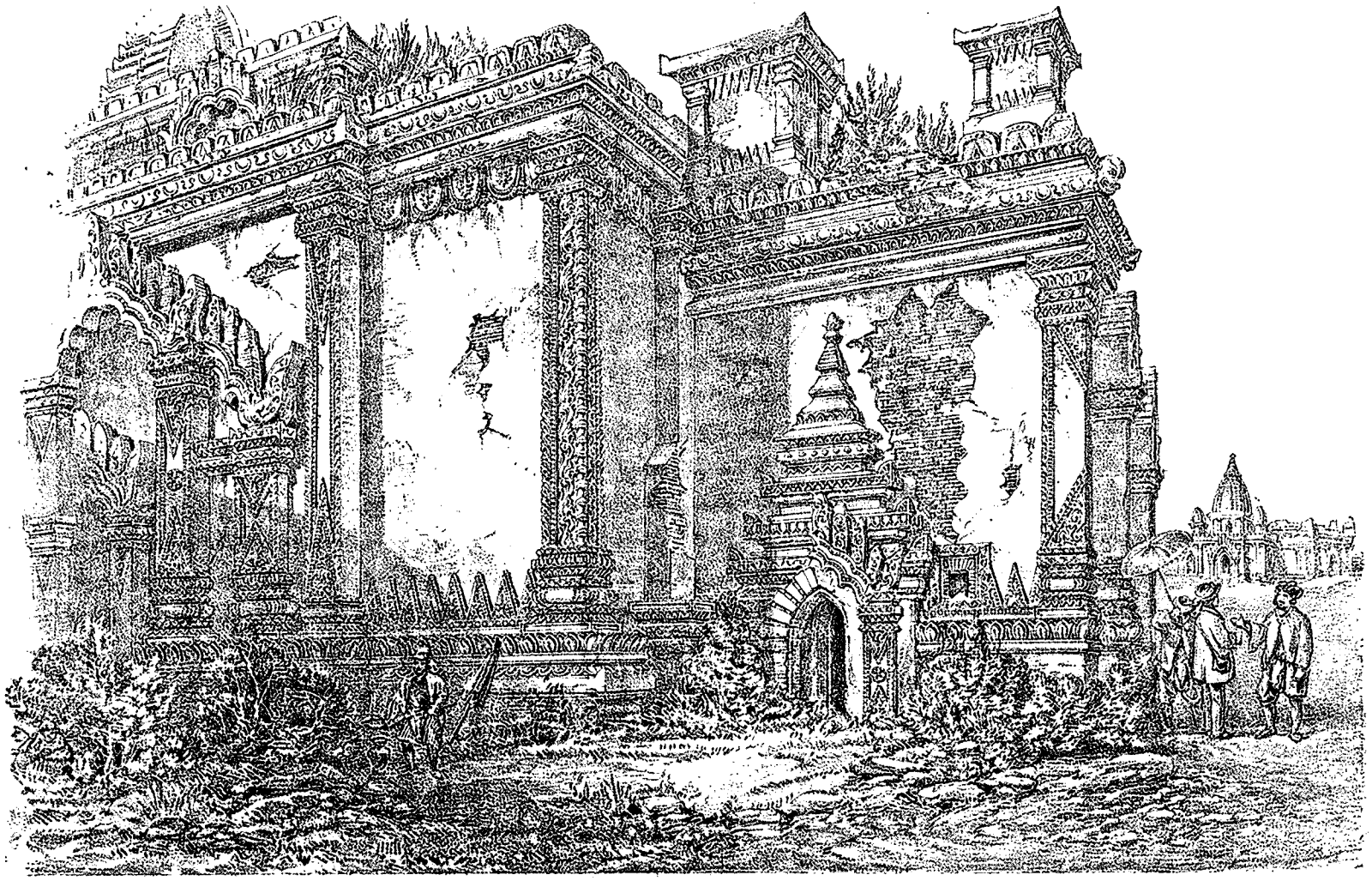
window of Dhamayangyee at Pagán, as shown in Plate IX. Fig. 4, and it will be impossible, I think, to doubt that this feature was derived from India.

The resemblance is still closer in the doorway of the great temple of Dambool in Ceylon, as given in Sir J. E. Tennent's book on Christianity in that island. I have not been able to find any good views of the Ceylonese remains, otherwise I doubt not that the closest type of the Burmese architecture would be traced in these.

Compare, again, the horned and grinning heads which occur so constantly at Pagán in the ornamentation of pilasters, as in Figs. 8, 9, and 14, of Plate IX., with heads of a similar character over the doorways in Ram Raz's examples just referred to. If there is any doubt as to the identical origin of these, it must disappear when we find at Pagán such a head (Plate IX. Fig. 7) occupying exactly the same position as in the Indian doorway, and surrounded by the same flame-like spires in both cases. This Gorgon-head, as Raffles calls it, in nearly all the ancient Javanese temples, occupies the same position over the doorways. It is there usually on an exaggerated scale; but it assumes its most monstrous form in the "Tiger-cave" of Cuttack, where a colossal tusked and grinning head envelopes the whole entrance. (See "*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*," 1841.) This Gorgon-head, as well as the cusped arch and indications of the flamboyant points, are seen in a plate, by the late Major Kittoe, of a niche at Badeswur containing an image of Parbati. ("*Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*," Vol. viii. p. 384.)

Take, again, the monstrous trunked and toothed creatures, disgorging scroll-work, over the pilasters of the Dhamayangyee window just referred to. In several of the drawings in Colonel Mackenzie's collections, almost exactly similar monsters will be found occupying a similar position over doorways in Southern India.

Look at the festoon ornament of beads and tassels pendent from the mouths of monstrous grinning heads, as seen in the Gaudapalen (Plate IX. Fig. 9), and in the Sembyo-koo (Plate XI.) It is one of those details which at first sight were strongly suggestive of European origin. But it is absolutely identical with the adornments of a pillar in a temple on the Madras coast, given by Colonel Mackenzie in his collections. Similar ornament is seen in the Assam remains described in a late number of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal; on a pillar at Barolli, in Rajpootana, given by Fergusson from Todd's Rajasthan; and on a pillar at Jajeepoor in Cuttack, figured by Major Kittoe in the Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. vii. p. 54; as well as in two sculptured pillars found in the sands of the Ganges near Pubna, which now stand at the door of the Asiatic Society's Museum in Calcutta. A modified rendering of the same, Mr. Oldham tells me, he found on some of the fragments at Benares College, which are said to have been brought from the ancient Buddhist Pagoda of Sarnath, near that city, and very lately on a sculptured stone which he lighted on among the forests of the Nerbudda valley. Remark those curious little peaks, or *acroteria*, which terminate so many of the flat projecting mouldings in all the Pagán temples (*e.g.* see Plate IX. Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 17.) It is a feature found all over India. It is given by Mr. Fergusson as one of the characteristics in his generalized drawing of a *Mantapa*, or vestibule of an ancient Hindoo temple; it appears in Lieutenant Maisey's drawings of Kalinjar; it is seen in many of Colonel



From a sketch by Capt.n Yule

Day & Son, Lith.rs to The Queen

VIEW OF PART OF THE SMALL TEMPLE CALLED SEM-BYO-KOO AT PAGÁN.

Mackenzie's drawings; and the closest resemblance, not only in this feature, but in the manner of its application, will be seen at a glance, on comparing the gate of Bhubaneswar, in Orissa, as given by Mr. Fergusson, with that very common form of doorway at Pagán, of which an elevation is shown in Plate IX. Fig. 10. The same feature is seen in an Assam column in the article referred to above, and is found on a large scale in the temples of Java. (See *Raffles*, Vol. ii.)*

Enough has been made out, I think, to show that all, or nearly all, the details of work at Pagán must have had an Indian origin. But this is far from removing the perplexity connected with the origin of these buildings. Grant that all details were borrowed from India. But where shall we find in India any model of the composition? where anything approaching the classical beauty of the Sem-byo-koo, or the stupendous architectural majesty of the Thapinyu and the Ananda?†

The Burman, rejecting indeed, in the pride of his philosophy, the idea of an Eternal Divinity, but recognising the eternal sanctities of nature and conscience, has reared nobler fanes and far more worthy to become the temples of the true God than the Hindoo, with those his deities so numerous and impure.

I have said above, that nearly all the details at Pagán must have had an Indian origin. But this does not apply to *construction*. The arches and vaults, which are such marked features in the Pagán temples, are quite unknown to ancient Hindoo architecture. "As far as my own knowledge and researches go," says Mr. Fergusson, "I am certain that I have never been able to detect any trace of an arch in any ancient (Indian) building."‡

Having no more to say on the general subject of this architecture, I have still to offer a few notices of remarkable temples not yet described.

About three quarters of a mile south-east of the ancient city is the great temple of Dhamayangyee.

This temple, which dates from the reign of Kalá-Kyá Men ("The king dethroned by foreigners"),§ about A.D. 1153, in its general arrangement resembles the Ananda more closely than any other, and covers about the same area, though the greater bulk of the

* The necessity of putting limits to illustration compels me to omit a plate of these analogies, for which I had prepared a drawing.

† Perhaps the nearest analogy in general form is to be found in the rock-cut *Raths* (as they are called) of Mahabalipooram near Sadras.

There is also something suggestive of the Pagán style in the general arrangement of the Javanese temples described by Raffles (including the peculiarity of the cruciform plan), as well as in some of the details which I have already noticed.

Mr. Fergusson, to whom I have had the pleasure of showing the drawings since the text was written, has kindly promised me a note on the architecture of the remains, which will be found in the Appendix.

‡ Ancient Architecture of Hindustan, p. 12.

§ Colonel Forbes (*Eleven Years in Ceylon*) quotes the allusion in Crawfurd's Narrative to this dethroned founder of the temple, as remarkably confirmatory of a passage in Turnour's Epitome of the Singhalese chronology.

This passage states that "the king of Cambodia and *Arramana*," having inflicted many outrages and insults on Singhalese subjects and ambassadors, the king Praa-krama-bahoo, who came to the throne

vestibules, and greater height of the main walls of the building, must have rendered it, when perfect, even more imposing. A view of the Dhamayangyee is given in Plate XII., and some of the architectural details in Plate IX. Figs. 7 and 8. The upper part of the temple is all in sad decay, and the six terraces and crowning spire have well-nigh become a shapeless pyramid of brick rubbish. The lower story, however, is in good general preservation; and, as it is nearly stript of its plaster, it affords a good opportunity of examining the admirable workmanship of these buildings, of which I have already spoken. Where the plaster-work remains it shows a boldness and richness superior to anything in the more perfect temples. For the usual horn-like wing of the door-pediments is here generally substituted a monstrous animal disgorging up-curving scrolls from his gaping jaws. (See Plate IX. Fig. 6.) Here, too, are seen in perfection those perplexing pilasters with their quasi-Roman mouldings (Figs. 6 and 7); and here, to my delight, I discovered a perfect flat brick arch over a window.* There were two of these in each wing of the temple, and one of them in particular was as perfect in construction, in joints and radiation, as any London builder could turn out. No suggestion of European or Indian aid would help here. At least I doubt if in the twelfth century the flat brick arch was known in Europe,† and I know that in the nineteenth it is one of the most difficult things to get done decently in India. In one of the other buildings Mr. Oldham told me that he saw not only a flat arch (not however correctly radiated), but also a segmental discharging arch over it.

The interior of Dhamayangyee contains but one accessible corridor. All the openings leading farther inward have been built up for some unknown reason. Major Phayre was of opinion that this temple never had been finished. I think there are good reasons on the other side, but the question is, perhaps, not worth arguing.

The arch of the western main entrances, and probably the others, have the edges of the intrados entirely composed of roughly-dressed stone *voussoirs*, regularly arranged as headers and stretchers.‡ In the corner of the building and in the minor arches stones are introduced occasionally as binders.§ This has been noticed by Mr. Crawfurd, as well as the inscribed stones which are found in the northern and western vestibules. In the latter, opposite the entrance, is a remarkable group of sitting figures.

The Dhamayangyee is encompassed by a high brick wall of some 250 yards square. This wall is built with as much care and skill, and with almost as elaborate mouldings, as the edifice which it incloses, and consequently it remains very perfect. More beautiful

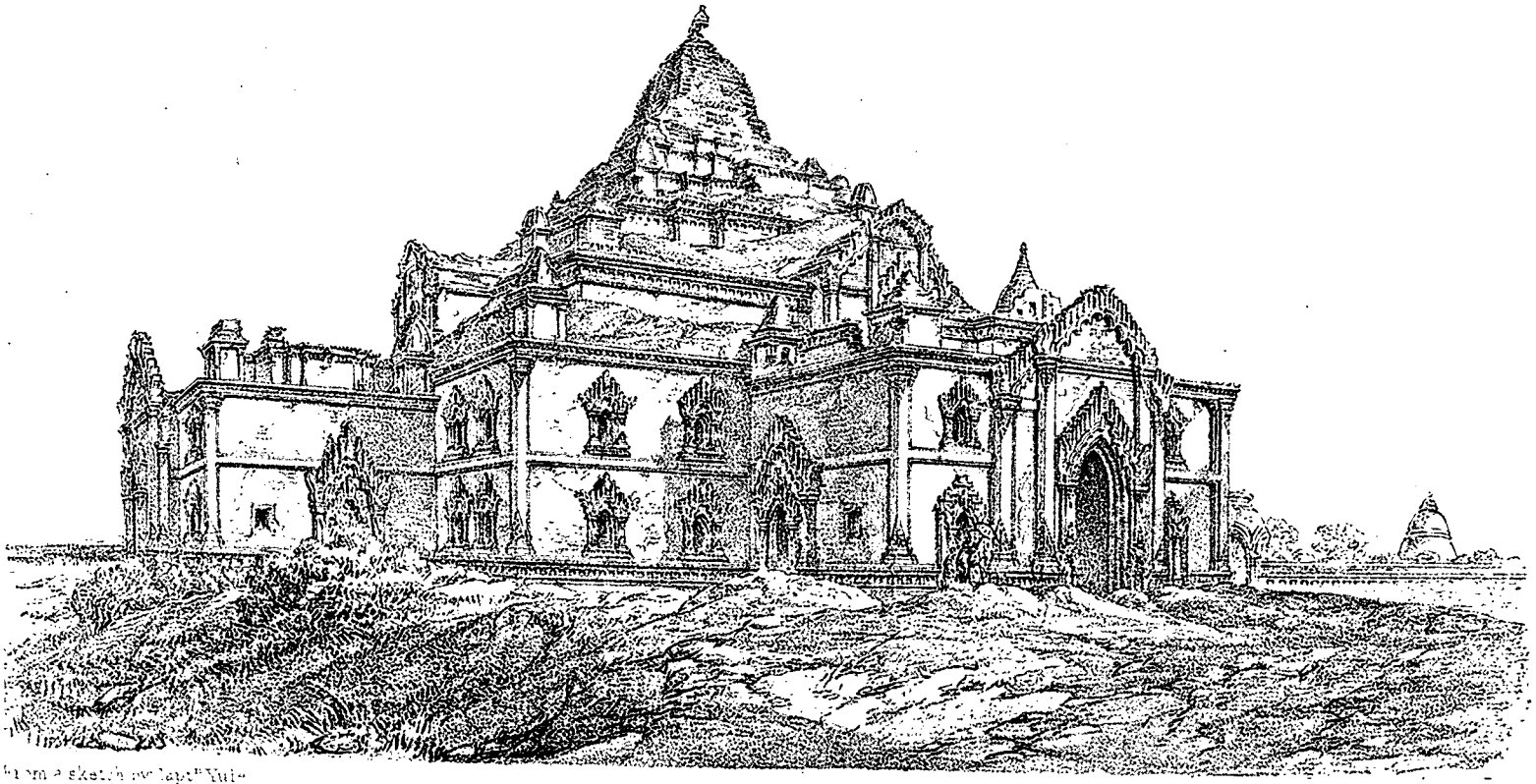
A.D. 1153, sailed with a great armament, landed in *Arramana*, vanquished the enemy, and obtained full satisfaction.

Turnour says that *Arramana* "comprises probably the provinces between Arracan and Siam." In the great inscription on marble at the Khoung-mhoo-dau pagoda near Ava, the districts of Hentha-wadee (Pegu), Digoun (Rangoon), Dala, Kothein (Bassein), Young-mya, and Mouttama (Martaban), are said to constitute the kingdom of *Yamaniya* (Ramaniya); which is doubtless the Arramana of the Ceylonese.

* See this arch in Plate IX. Fig. 3. Justice is not done to the fineness of the work.

† The only flat *stone* arches that I recollect to have seen in mediæval buildings are in the side-aisles of Roslin Chapel, in some ancient chimney-pieces, and in the magnificent Saracen gateway of Cairo called Bab-El-Fitoor. They may be more common than I am aware of.

‡ See Plate IX. Fig. 1. § Ditto, Fig. 2.



From a sketch by Capt. Yule.

Day & Son, Lith.rs to The Queen.

S. E. VIEW OF DHAMAYANGYEE TEMPLE AT PAGÁN.

brick-work could scarcely be seen anywhere. The gates in the centre of each side are however dilapidated..

Half a mile or more eastward of the Dhamayangyi is another remarkable temple called the *Sudha Munee*. In construction it resembles the Thapinyu, but is smaller, and has never been repaired in later times. The brick-work of the upper part is much dilapidated, as much so nearly as that of Dhamayangyi. But that this temple was finished there can be no doubt. The plaster on the walls of a staircase leading to the upper terraces, at the height of a man's shoulder, was rubbed and polished, as if by the passage of multitudes during ages of occupancy.

I have not learned to what date this temple is attributed. No one of the remaining structures gives so vivid an idea of what these buildings must have been in the brilliancy of their original condition. The plaster-work of the pilasters and mouldings which remains is of a highly florid and artistic character; the battlemented crown of the parapet is set with large tiles embossed and enamelled in colours; the panels of the basement with smaller tiles in the form of diamonds, rosettes, and other ornamental patterns; and in the flamboyant rays and spires of the pediments even up to the highest remaining terraces the tips were composed of pointed glazed white tiles, which must once have given an extraordinary lustre and sparkling effect to the elevation, a good deal of which remains perceptible even in the present decay.

The ground-plan is a single corridor, the vaults and walls of which have been originally covered with tasteful diaper painting in bright colours. This remains visible on the soffit of the arching, but the walls have been whitewashed over, and repainted in an inferior style with life-size saints and Buddhas, and with a smaller series of the *Jats*, or pre-existences of Gautama.

The plan of the upper story is rather more complicated than usual. There is a principal image-chamber, with a well-lighted corridor running all round it, but this inner chamber has not been placed, as in the Thapinyu, centrically under the spire.

An inclosure wall surrounds the temple, equally remarkable with that of Dhamayangyi for the beautiful finish of the brick-work. To the north of this there is a second court, surrounded on three sides by a curious range of vaulted and now dilapidated cells. We could not ascertain the object of these, whether for the residence of the religious order, or for the accommodation of worshippers from a distance, or merely for the deposit of images of Gautama. No traces at least of the latter remained. At one side there was a small house-like building, apparently once two-storied, which may have been the residence of the poongyi, or prior, if this was indeed a conventual establishment, as it most probably was. There was also a small tank surrounded by brick steps. The whole of this court appeared to be of later date than the temple inclosure, and of inferior workmanship.

The Shwé Koo, or "Golden Cave," which an inscription, of which Mr. Crawfurd has given a translation by Dr. Judson, assigns to about the year 1552, is a very elegant and elaborately white building of no great size, and stands on an elevated terrace, within the

city walls and near the Thapinyu. It is of the same general plan and church-like appearance as the Gaudapalen, but with much concentrated ornament. The projecting vestibule faces the north, which is unusual. In nearly all the other temples which are not absolutely symmetrical on the four sides, the principal entrance is to the east. The interior is unusually light and spacious in proportion to the area of the building. It is a square vaulted chamber, in the centre of which rises a square mass of masonry supporting the spire, and on the four sides exhibiting as many Gautamas. It contains several inscriptions; two of them, in very clear and elegant square Burmese characters, being built into the wall, and covered with a very hard black varnish so as perfectly to resemble black marble, though a knife forcibly applied at the edge will show the sandstone beneath.

There are several other minor temples of interest near Thapinyu. A little to the south, and outside the ramparts, stands the group of temples called Sem-byo-koo, to the beautiful details of which I have several times referred. The most conspicuous of the ruins to the westward of Thapinyu is marked by a very curious dome and spire of the Ceylon Dagoba form, but both dome and spire being polygons of twelve sides. This building, from several peculiarities of aspect, is suggestive of great antiquity. The internal vault, which is of considerable height, springs from the ground on every side. In one part of the entrance-passage, which, in its length through the thick mass of brick-work, exhibits various heights and constructions, a painted timber lintel has been used, now in utter decay. Another part of the entrance vault is a *triangular* arch (see Plate IX. Fig. 5), about nine or ten feet in span, the outer arch which defines the doorway being of the usual pointed form. This temple is called *Putóh-Budho-nya.*

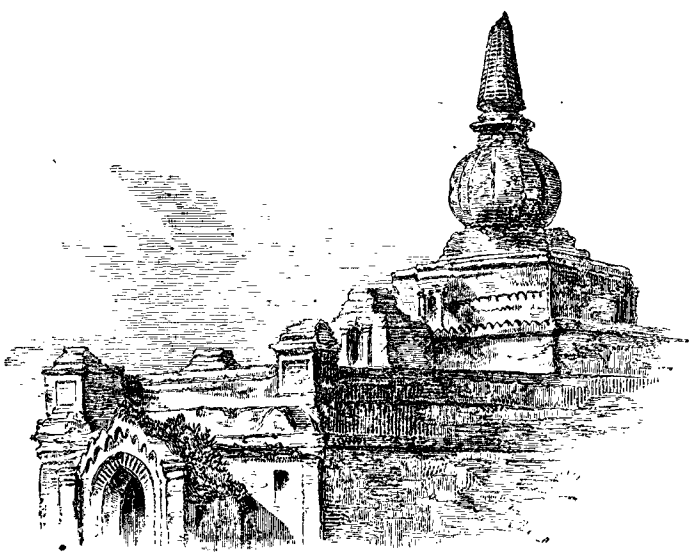


Fig. 20.

Between this and Thapinyu, an almost shapeless ruin, instead of an arched doorway, has a massive stone lintel, now broken. This is noticed by Crawfurd as containing Hindoo sculptures. The sculptures remain; two inside, and several framed in panels on the exterior. The figures have nearly all four arms, and have a very Hindoo character; one of them also in its action strongly resembles the usual Hindoo images of the Monkey-god Hanumán, but the head is defaced. Major Phayre visited this temple in company with

the Woondouk, and has furnished a very interesting note on the subject which is given at the end of this chapter.*

Some distance south of Sembyo Koo is *Thein-ma-tiet*, of a size considerably larger than the common run of the Pagán temples, though still to be classed as small among giants such as Thapinyu and Gaudapalen. It is very much on the model of the latter, and is surrounded by a brick enclosure-wall containing remains of other buildings. It is full of paintings of large figures. On the wall, against which the Gautama was placed, were some sixteen personages depicted, which looked excessively like stiff old figures of the apostles on painted glass. In this, or another temple near it, the whole corridor was diapered with minute paintings of Gautama, about an inch and a half square.

Not far from this, the outside brick-work having partly fallen from a small solid conical pagoda, it became manifest that it was a real brick-and-mortar *palimpsest*. It had been actually built over another, and that other of highly finished construction, adorned with beautiful moulded tiles, &c. † This building formed a sort of pair with another pagoda of similar appearance, in front of a small temple of the church character, and the possible object of the incrustation was to make it symmetrize in size with its neighbour.

In passing eastward from the pagoda just mentioned we arrived at the *Shwé San-dau*, a large and lofty pagoda of the Rangoon and Prome type, on a high pyramidal base, and

* Considering the very proximate derivation of the Buddhism of Burma from the Buddhism of Ceylon, may not the following passage throw some light on the subject:—"The Malabar kings, who at an early period had acquired the sovereignty of Ceylon, on the failure of the native dynasty, introduced the worship of Vishnu and Shiva into the same temples with that of Buddha. The innovation has been perpetuated, and to the present day the statues of these conflicting divinities are to be found within the same buildings; the Diwalas of Hindooism are erected within the same inclosures as the Wihares of the Buddhists; and the Kappoorales of the one religion officiate at the altars almost beneath the same roof with the priests and neophytes of the other."—*Sir J. Emerson Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 222. The same singular fact is mentioned by Mr. Hardy. (*Eastern Monachism*, p. 201.)

† This incrustation of a sacred building appears to be a common Buddhist practice. The great Shwe Madua at Pegu is thus said to have been originally built by two merchants, shortly after the age of Buddha, and to have been only one cubit high, raised by the same individuals to twelve. (Symes's *Embassy*, p. 192.)

Speaking of a great Pagoda at Bintenne near Kandy, Mr. Fergusson writes:—"The Mahawanso, or great Buddhist history of Ceylon, describes the mode by which this building was raised by successive additions, in a manner so illustrative of the principle on which these relic-shrines arrived at completion, that it is well worth quoting. 'The Thero Sarabhu, at the demise of the Buddha receiving at his funeral pile the thorax bone relic, brought and deposited it in that identical dagoba [in which a lock of Buddha's hair had been previously placed]. This inspired personage causing a dagoba to be erected twelve cubits high, and enshrining it, thereon departed. The younger brother of king Devenampiatisso (B.C. 250), discovering this marvellous dagoba constructed another encasing it, thirty cubits in height. King Duttagamini (B.C. 161) while residing there, during his subjugation of the Malabars, constructed a dagoba encasing that one eighty cubits in height. Thus was the Mahayangana dagoba completed. It is possible that at each successive addition some new deposit was made; at least most of the topes examined in Afghanistan and the Punjab show signs of these successive increments, and successive deposits, one above the other.'"—*Hand-book of Architecture*, i. 9.

The same peculiarity is found in some of the Nubian pyramids, and in the Etrurian tombs. (Ibid. p. 291.) So also Captain Macleod mentions a very sacred pagoda at Laboung among the Siamese Laos, or Shans, which was said to have received increments from seven successive kings. The first built it seven cubits high, the next added seven cubits, and so on. It is now eighty feet high.

apparently once gilt. Near it, our attention was attracted by a long gabled house, lighted by a few small windows with flat arches in brick of a peculiar construction (shown in Plate IX. Fig. 4). Looking in, at a small arched doorway, we found the house to contain a Brobdignagian figure of Gautama recumbent on his side. It was built apparently of brick plastered. But a finger of the hand, from which the plaster had been knocked off, was seen to be of sandstone gilt, as if some part at least of the colossus had belonged to a former image of more splendid material.* The eyes were open, and the face, which was the best part of the figure, wore the usual placid smile. The vault of the long chamber in which it lay was painted, rudely enough, with overshadowing palm-trees. The recumbent giant measured sixty-eight feet eleven inches in length, and his nose upwards of a yard.

On our mentioning this huge image after our return to the steamers, a party started to visit it. They missed their way, but lighted on another, of similar character, but much greater size! This last, I think, was stated to be ninety feet long. These, however, are far exceeded in size by one which Sir John Bowring mentions in his book on Siam.

On the east side of the Shwé San-dau was a small *cromlech*, of unmistakable character (Fig. 21), used as a depository table for offerings. It is the only thing of the kind I have

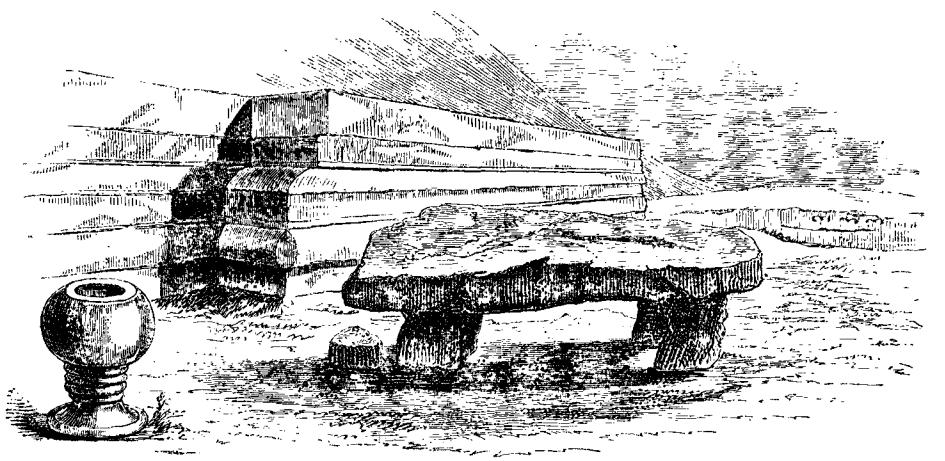


Fig. 21.

heard of in the Burmese countries, and is perhaps an accidental construction, and no relic of primeval customs. The whole of the ground about the base of Shwé San-dau on that

* These gigantic figures are probably direct imitations of what ancient Burman pilgrims had seen in Ceylon. "At Dambool in that island," says Forbes (i. 370), "a chamber contains a gigantic and well-executed figure of Buddha recumbent, and the statue, as well as the couch and pillow on which he reclines, is cut from the solid rock. This figure is forty-seven feet in length. The chamber is long, narrow and dark; Gautama Buddha's position and placid aspect, the stillness of the place, all tend to impress the visitor with the feeling that he is in the chamber of death." The stature of Gautama Buddha was twelve cubits. But Brahma, Sekra, and the other gods tried in vain to measure or compute his dimensions. (Hardy's *Manual*, p. 365.) Some such rude metaphor these large images are probably intended to embody. The Chinese epithet of Buddha, *Amito*, is probably the corruption of a Pali or Sanscrit word, signifying "the Immeasurable."

side was paved with similar masses of sandstone, and this may both have afforded the material and suggested the erection.

So much of Pagán and its remains we saw, but a vast area of ruins remained unvisited by any of the party, and doubtless much of interest has still to be examined. The time which we spent at Pagán altogether was three days and a half in going up, and nearly two days in coming down; but as nearly one whole day was necessarily devoted to public and private letter-writing, and another whole day was abstracted by an attack of fever, I should have come away with much less material for the illustration of these deeply interesting remains, had it not been for the kind assistance of my friends Mr. Oldham, and Lieutenant Heathcote, of the Indian Navy.

The plans and elevations of the buildings are, I believe, substantially accurate; though, in making so many measurements, so hurriedly as these were of necessity made, there were of course omissions, and some inconsistencies became evident in the laborious process of compiling the drawings.

I conclude the chapter with a note of Major Phayre's on the Burmese habit of scribbling on the walls of temples, instances of which abound at Pagán.*

Memorandum on the Pagoda at Pagán with Hindoo Images.

By Major Phayre.

There is a small ruined pagoda standing close to the Thapinyu temple, of the usual form of Buddhist hollow pagodas. It has a stone frame to the doorway, which is unusual. This has been broken from the imperfect construction of the brickwork above. On either side of the doorway are four niches in the outer wall of the building. These are all vacant but one, in which is an erect stone figure about eighteen inches high. It holds a lotus-bud in each hand, and has a pointed crown or cap on its head. There are other niches on the side and back walls of the building, containing similar stone figures. These appear to be Indian in character, and one with a monkey face no doubt represents Hanumán. Entering the temple, the throne, on which an image had evidently once been placed, occupies as usual the centre of the building. It is now vacant. There are also two empty places for upright images right and left of the throne; and above these are deep niches for smaller images, one of which is still occupied.

An image of either kind, standing and sitting, has been displaced from the original position, and these now lie on the ground in the temple. They are of stone. One of the standing figures has disappeared altogether.

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* "Had I thought of it sooner, I might have sent an amusing page or two on the Burmese habit of scribbling upon walls. Brick walls white-washed are so uncommon, that when one is met with, the people appear to cover every corner of it with figures drawn with charcoal, and written sentences. Their habit in this respect is as inveterate as that of the English. Some of these writings are the mere names of visitors to the temples, others are factious, a few of the grave order. The following are specimens, copied from the Bauddhi Pagoda at Pagán:—

"'On the first day of the waning moon, Dengyot 1216 [A.D. 1854], Nga Phyoo, Nga Kyen, and Ko Byeen, three persons who live beneath the Golden feet, worshipped the images and pagodas at Pagán.'

"Here is another:—

"'Moung Kha and his wife have worshipped and presented offerings at all the Pagodas—applaud! applaud!'"

That which has come from the smaller niche above is a seated figure with the legs crossed, somewhat in the Buddha attitude. The figure has four arms, long pendent ears, and a high cap or crown on the head. The two left arms hold a conch shell and a mallet (?); the upper right hand has a *tsek*,* or discus; the other hand is broken. The figure is supported by a *gya-loon*,* or bird with a man's head. This is evidently an image of Vishnoo.

The standing figure is about four feet high, and was pronounced by the Woondouk who accompanied me, to represent the same person as the sitting figure. This, however, is an error. It also has four arms; in the two right hands are placed a sword and a trident (supposed by the Burmese to be a lotus-bud). In the left hands are a club and a mallet. The image is much disfigured, but its Indian anklets are visible, and beneath the feet is an animal half broken away, but which probably represents a bull. The image, no doubt, is that of Siva.

The figure up in the niche was too much concealed by the gloom to be minutely observed. It was apparently riding on a bird.

The Woondouk considered the standing and the seated figures above described as being images of "Parameethwa, a *Nát* worshipped by Brahmins,"† and that they, as well as some standing figures of plaster round the centre throne, had been introduced as subordinate guardian Náts, in honour of Buddha's image which once occupied the central place. This image was no doubt of plaster, and has decayed by time.

This view of the fact of Hindoo deities being introduced into a Buddhist temple is quite consistent with the practice of the present day in Burma. At the Shwé Zeegoon temple in Pagán, which attracts more worshippers than any other, there are in the inclosure figures of *Náts*, to which the people make offering, in the very presence of Buddha's images, though such is contrary to the tenets of strict Buddhism.

That these stone figures were, as supposed by Crawfurd, the principal objects of worship in the small temple where they are found, I see no reason for considering probable. I rather think with the Woondouk, that they were simply guardian Náts around the Buddha, to whose memory the temple has been erected. The Woondouk added, however, that these images may have been put into the temple to attract Brahminical worshippers, which, as from indications elsewhere Indian workmen have apparently been employed on the Pagán temples and sculptures, is not improbable.

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* The *chakr* and *garúr* are both emblems of Vishnu. (Y.)

† *Parmeshwar*—a name applied, I believe, to Siva. (P.) *Parameswaru*, "the supreme lord," may be applied to either of the three principal Hindu deities, accordingly as each is considered to be the most eminent by his respective votaries: it is more especially a denomination of the Supreme Being. (W.)

CHAPTER III.

JOURNAL FROM PAGÁN TO THE CAPITAL.

Leave Pagán—Nyoung-oo—Caves and Tunnel—Great Width of River—Long Villages—Koon-yuwá—Large Town of Meen-gyan—Puppet-play—the Kyendwen—Inundation—Yan-da-bo—Samaikgón (Sumei-kioum)—Saltpetre Manufacture—Kyouk-ta-loung—Wait for Deputation from Court—Villages and Country about Kyouk-ta-loung—Start and meet Deputation—Ensuing Dialogue—Messrs. Spears and Camaretta—Arrival at Sagain—Former Method of providing for the Charges of a Foreign Mission by a Tax on Outcasts—Summary Punishment—Town of Sagain—Traces of Earthquake—Glorious View from a Pagoda—Visit to Koung-moo-dau Pagoda—Marble-Cutters and Paper-Makers—*Parabeiks*, or Quasi-Slates—the Pagoda—Fine Inscribed Slab—Visit from Chief Woongyee (Magwé Mengyee)—Cosmical Controversies—Refections from the Palace—Singular Sweetmeat—Talk about a Treaty—Excursion to the Sagain Hills and their Numerous Edifices—Burmese Skill in representing the Elephant—the *Tsalwé*, or Chain of Nobility—Proceed (1st September) from Sagain by the Myit-ngé, or Little River, to the Residency—Burmese Militia—Singular Cavalry Equipments—Description of our Dwelling—Artificial Trees with Edible Fruit—Theatricals—Royal Water-jars—Distance from the Vessels.

On the morning of the 24th August we left Pagán with regret. Near the northern extremity of the remains is the gilt pagoda of Shwé-Zeegoong, a favourite resort of worshippers, and hard by, the large and busy village of Nyoung-oo. This is the chief seat of the manufactory of the lacquered ware, of which a large quantity is exported upwards to the capital and downwards to Prome and Rangoon. Boats of all sorts and sizes lined the shore here for nearly a mile.

Above Nyoung-oo the sandstone cliffs again appear, rising boldly from the water to a height sometimes of 130 feet or more, and broken by frequent inlets. The waters, now at their highest level, filled the winding gorges, and above their woody banks rose groups of the ancient temples, affording many beautiful pictures, of which our hurried passage allowed us to bring away no record. In one projecting ridge of sandstone there was a tunnel, apparently natural, through the wall of rock, admitting the passage of a rude staircase descending from the village behind. Close to this, in the soft sandstone cliff overlooking the river, were five caves. The entrances were partially bricked up, so as to reduce the passage to a small doorway; and people, who stood along the ledge in front, appeared to inhabit them.

All the eastern shore, for many miles above this, is beautifully wooded, and thickly set with palm-groves, interspersed with occasional pagodas, and with villages surrounded by hedged fields of pleasant aspect. The land rises behind in a long general slope, broken by ravines towards the lower ground that fringes the river, but more clothed with wood or

brushwood than the country farther south, though still apparently unproductive. Paopa-doung was now more conspicuous than ever, but his head almost continually wrapt in cloud. The river was immensely wide, scarcely less than five miles in places, but much of this appeared to be a shallow spread of inundation. Many islands, with houses on them, stood in the middle of the present water-way, just emerging from the surface and no more; whilst other small villages, or groups of cottages, rose on their stilts directly out of the waters, with no visible land beneath them at all.

On the west, the country had much the same character as on the east, numerous long straggling villages edging the water-line. One continuous town, under the names of Mee-en-tha and Pako-ko, seemed to stretch for three or four miles. Some miles from the river two or three isolated hills rose out of the nearly level surface.

Striking across towards the western shore, we approached the large village of Koon-yuwá, marked by conspicuous temples and two gigantic griffin-lions. The shore was lined with magnificent trees, their large boles surrounded by the risen stream, which now washed almost the floors of the cottages. The stooping branches laden with thick foliage, the numerous cottages buried in the trees, and the small pagoda-spires here and there visible rising through the further groves, presented a succession of beautiful pictures.

We anchored almost among the lofty stems of a palmyra grove, which the waters had inundated, and immediately landing, were met by our friend the Woondouk, accompanied by the Myo-Woon of this district of Pakhan; and with them we took a walk through the town.

It is of considerable size, containing probably not less than 1000 or 1200 houses, and the immediately adjoining country seems peopled and productive. Running behind the town, and parallel to the river, we found a very capital, wide, and well-ordered road. I have before noticed the civilized appearance of the outskirts of a Burman town, bestowed by the defined cart-roads and fences. The people were somewhat boorish; but we have never experienced any positive incivility.

Pakhan, the head-quarters of the Governor, is said to be about ten miles inland, near one of the isolated hills mentioned above, and to be a rich and handsome town with fine pagodas.

To-day the Woondouk asked the Envoy if the scientific professors had discovered anything yet. Had they been successful? Had they found traces of gold and silver?

25th August.—There was little of interest to-day in our run of fifteen or sixteen miles to Meen-gyan. The width of the apparent river was excessive, and it was difficult to guess where the proper channel lay. Much was evidently superficial inundation. Not only were long grassy meadows converted into plashy islands, but many villages were seen rising directly out of the waters far from the apparent shore.

Approaching Meen-gyan, we were met by the governor of the Taroup-myo* district, with eleven war-boats. The arms of the crew, dhás and muskets of various kinds, were erected on regular arm-racks amidships in each boat. The number of muskets displayed was estimated at about 300.

* "Chinese Town."

The town is a large one, and presented by far the most busy and evidently numerous population that we had yet seen. It lies very low, just above the water-level at its greatest height, as it now was, and without an inch to spare. The streets were full of business and bustle, rice-cleaning and the like. The place is a great mart for rice both from Pegu and from the adjoining low lands, and many large boats of 50 and even 100 tons burden were lying alongside to load or discharge. Some were taking away cotton for the Chinese market. What we saw was uncleaned, and of very short staple.

The people crowded in thousands to see the vessels, staring in at the windows, and putting their questions or cutting their jokes on what they saw going on in the way of toilette operations, &c., without ceremony.

In the evening we attended a puppet-play, the best we had yet seen as to manipulation and general *getting up*. The drama was a sort of mystery or morality on the story of the youth of Gautama, his communication of his resolution to adopt the ascetic life, and the dissuasions of his father's courtiers. These latter introduced successive fair damsels of the court, that their attractions might shake his resolution; and the humorous running commentary made by the old foster-father of the Buddha, who sat among the courtiers, produced hearty peals of laughter among the Burman audience. The Envoy conceived that these jocular dialogues in connexion with a personage so sacred could never have been written down. They must have depended on their extemporaneous character for apology.

26*th.*—The river continued still of great width, and abounded in low and partly inundated islands. The shores were populous and finely wooded, the day was calm and sultry, and the half-flooded villages and trees were beautifully reflected in the smooth waters. Whole villages were passed with the water spreading beneath the houses, and with their carts hung up to the trees to prevent their being floated off by the current. Even small pagodas were seen half immersed. On the westward, the landscape showed now a dead alluvial flat, with abounding palm-groves. On the other shore, the alluvial tract was limited. A higher plain, or slightly rolling country, rose behind; and about eight miles inland was seen a short range of hills, like those near Pagán and Seeng-goo. At Meen-gyan there was, about five miles from the town, a remarkable pair of twin hills, rising to a height of 900 or 1000 feet.

It was scarcely possible in the existing state of the river, brimming over as it was among the trees and meadows on both sides, to distinguish exactly the accession of the Kyendwen,* though a tract of inundation running northerly, opposite the pagodas of of Taroup-myo, marked the position of some of the inlets at this season. At the junction of one of the more defined channels, a little model of a kyoung, or monastery, was set on four poles near the point of confluence. This, we were told, was a house erected to propitiate a Nát, who hovered about here, and vexed the boatmen as they passed. Above the

* We had passed the principal mouth of the Kyendwen the preceding day, but the Irawadi was there so wide and ill-defined that the tributary channel was not distinguishable. The island, or small delta, enclosed by the mouths of the Kyendwen is called Alé-gyoon ("Middle Island"), and contains a good number of villages.

Kyendwen's junction, the body of water sensibly diminished, and the amount of sediment also. The water was clearer and purer.

Among the villages passed to-day was Yan-da-bo, the turning-point of the British army in 1826, and which gave its name to the treaty of peace. It is now, as at the time of Crawfurd's visit, marked by huge piles of earthen pots, which are here made in great numbers. The village is a poor one, and not populous. We anchored at Samaik-gón (or Sumei-kioum of the maps), after a voyage of about twenty-two miles.

This is a considerable village on the slightly elevated bank of the river and just above the flood level. An expanse of inundation separates it from the higher land behind, and a creek runs through the middle of the village. One of those very long bridges, so characteristic of Burma, crosses the inundation in rear.

27*th.*—At Samaik-gón a considerable amount of saltpetre is made. Major Allan and Mr. Oldham visited the scene of the manufacture this morning.

As in Upper India, it is derived from the ordinary soil of the country. This is scraped off to a depth of about six inches during the dry weather and stored. When the manufacture is about to be commenced, conical baskets are provided, which are mounted on wooden frames, and lined with a coating of clay. Into these the loose earth is now put, and covered with a layer of rice husks; water is then poured in, and allowed to trickle through. The water takes up the salt, and carries it in solution into an earthen pot below. The same water is a second time filtered through the same earth, and is then removed to be boiled down.

The boiling is performed in broad, shallow, cast-iron pans of Chinese manufacture, which are raised from the ground just enough to permit a small fire to be kindled underneath. In these the brine is evaporated, the salt crystallizing on the sides of the vessel, and being removed thence by a stick. One boiling is completed in twenty-four hours. Each iron pan receives about three of the earthen pots full of brine, and yields three viss of the impure saltpetre, which is again dissolved in pure water, and, by a second boiling of the same duration, is reduced to half the amount of pure white saltpetre. The salt first obtained is very impure, red, and earthy. The iron pans used are said to cost only three tikals per pair. The clean saltpetre sells for between fifteen and twenty tikals per hundred viss. The annual product was stated to Major Allan at 20,000 viss, but this appears a very low estimate.

The use of the layer of rice-husks was said to be to clear the water of its suspended mud, so as to allow pure water only to reach the earth containing the salt. The greater part of the saltpetre goes to the capital for the king's service. But there is no ostensible restriction on the sale here, though if any attempt were made to sell a large quantity for exportation down the river, it would be immediately stopped. What does not go to the capital is chiefly sold for the manufacture of fireworks, in which the Burmese excel.

Our day's journey extended to Kyouk-ta-loung, a distance of twenty-eight miles.

The country was still extensively inundated, so that the limits of the true river-channel were not discernible. The shores were fringed almost continuously with rich wood, embosoming numerous villages and pagoda spires. On our right (the left bank of the

Irawadi) the inundation was limited at a short distance by the rise of the country, in a long slope of slightly undulating ground. Even this, however, seemed to be partially fenced and cultivated; and on the river-side, as we drew near Kyouk-ta-loung, there were beautiful quickset hedges. An extreme richness and variety of vegetation overhung the river at Kyouk-ta-loung; even the cocoa-nut, lately a stranger, was again found here.

At Kyouk-ta-loung, which is nineteen miles below Amarapoora, there is a chokee or guardhouse, the frontier, as it were, of the capital. It is the place at which customs on goods entering the capital used formerly to be levied. They are now taken at a place near the city. The mass of trees, tamarinds especially, which overshadowed the village, rendered it impossible to judge correctly of its size; but it did not appear to be a place of any considerable extent. The number of cattle penned in the compounds round the houses was great, and numerous hedged lanes led through the place in all directions, giving it an aspect very different from that of an Indian village.

There was no *pué* to-day, this being the full moon, and a worship day. This did not, however, prevent the exhibition of a pair of vigorous dancers (male and female) beneath the trees at the landing-place. The performance seemed very much like an Irish jig, in step and music, the pair *setting* to one another every now and then *more Celtico*. In the afternoon it was announced that a deputation from the court would be down next morning to meet us, and escort us to Sagain.

28*th August*.—We remained lying at Kyouk-ta-loung waiting for the promised deputation, but no news of them, and no message from the capital arrived. We had to wait for fuel also, as no store had been provided here.

In the morning I went over the river with some companions to the village opposite us, Yuwa-theit-gyee (" New-town Magna "). It shows from the river cottages and numerous pagodas nestled among fine trees, but we had no conception of its extent till we actually explored it; so completely did the thick foliage (of tamarinds mainly) disguise its extent. The place must contain 700 or 800 houses at least, and among the inhabitants are many Mussulmans and Munnipoorees.* The village is traversed in all directions by hedged lanes, with gates at intervals; the lanes appearing to have been well swept.

We visited a small but handsome gilt pagoda, with a large flat-roofed brick building in front, used probably as a *zayát*, or rest-house for worshippers, and tabernacle for the preaching of the priests. The sides were arcaded with ornamental arches, but above these were solid wooden lintels, as if the architects nowadays mistrusted the sufficiency of their arches.

In another building was a painted chamber resembling that described above, near the Ananda at Pagán. A lower series represented the tortures of Tartarus, beasts, and birds, and demons devouring and hewing in pieces the miserable. A white figure in a chariot appeared to be travelling through these gloomy regions as a spectator, like the pious Æneas. One of the people told us that it represented a prince who was permitted to

* During the wars of Alompra and his successors, many thousands of the people of Munnipoor, on the north-west of Burma, were deported, and located in the villages round Ava.

traverse the other worlds, and came back to devote himself to a religious life. These paintings, however, generally represent the pre-existences of Gautama, as a *Bodhisat*, or candidate for the Buddhahood,* and Major Phayre doubted if the description given would apply to any of these. Among the scenes in the upper series of paintings, soldiers with muskets and bayonets appeared.

These paintings are all sufficiently rude, but still they had much more of life and spirit than Hindoo paintings usually have. We never saw paintings in Burmese temples of the licentious character which Bowring says is common in those of Siam.

At the upper end of the village we observed one pagoda, shaped exactly like a diving-bell, with a *htee*, but no spire. This is an unusual form in Burma, though it is the old and genuine Indian pattern, exhibited in the remains which dot the mountains of Cabul.

Behind Kyouk-ta-loung is a low, undulating tract, scarcely to be called hilly. The whole country inland, as seen from the higher points, was arid, parched, and barren, the sandy, dry, and yellow soil peeping out everywhere, and scarcely hidden by the stunted and half-grown brushwood which sparsely clothed it. Many cart-roads, however, traversed the summits, and were in good order, the natural drainage being favourable. The plough was busy in the hollows preparing the rice-crop. This, with sesamum, a little cotton, and red pepper, was the chief cultivation. Along the higher ground not a tree was to be seen higher than a man. This country must be inconceivably barren in the dry season.

29*th August*.—This morning there was still no intelligence from Ava, and the Envoy announced his determination to start at eight o'clock. The Woondouk was very anxious to keep us till evening, quoting the detention of their envoys last winter for five weeks at Rangoon.† He did not appear to believe Major Phayre's announcement of his intended departure, and did not stir till we had actually got under way.

However, a few miles above Kyouk-ta-loung, we were met by a great fleet of war-boats, many of them gilt, and a deputation came on board. The chief of the party was the Nan-ma-dau Woon, or Governor of the Queen's Palace, a respectable and well-meaning old man, who had been well known at the beginning of the war as the Governor of Dalla,‡ and who had been the head of the Burmese mission to Calcutta. The old man wore a long surcoat of book muslin (the usual half-dress of Burmese courtiers) with a *tsal-wé*, or chain of twelve golden cords, over his shoulder. He looked more like a gentleman than any official whom we had yet met. His own boat was a splendid specimen of the *loung*, with fifty-six rowers.

The whole scene was highly imposing. The fleet of boats divided into two great squadrons, one passing along the western bank, the other waiting on the eastern bank higher up the river till we came abreast. The steamers proceeded slowly till the arrange-

* So, in Ceylon, the walls of the sacred buildings are often covered with paintings. "The style at present adopted in Ceylon greatly resembling in its general appearance that which is presented in the tombs and temples of Egypt. The story most commonly illustrates some passage in the life of Buddha, or in the births he received as a Bodhisat."—*Hardy's Eastern Monachism*, p. 200.

† This was owing to certain improper expressions in the king's letter to the Governor-General, which rendered a reference back to Amarapoora necessary.

‡ The district at the mouth of the Rangoon River.

ments were complete. On the eastern or left bank of the river 150 boats were counted, many of them having fifty rowers, others not more than ten or twelve, thirty perhaps being the average. Supposing there were as many in the other squadron this would give nearly 9000 men, which is perhaps not much above the truth.

All these accompanied the regatta with their usual chants and music.

The Nan-ma-dau Woon was very friendly, saying he had never ceased since he left Bengal to offer up prayers for the Governor-General, that he might be saved from all evil and blessed with all good. It appeared that they had not expected us to reach Sagain until the next day. We had, therefore, anticipated their arrangements. The Woondouk, good-humouredly, though evidently somewhat annoyed, said, "Yes, the Envoy has broken his word, and upset all the arrangements."

Envoy.—"How have I broken my word?"

Woondouk.—"You promised to remain at Kyouk-ta-loung two days."

E.—"I certainly said in general terms that I would remain at Kyouk-ta-loung for a day or two, and I did remain nearly half of the 27th, the whole of the 28th, and till eight o'clock on the 29th. Is that not sufficient to satisfy you?"

W. (Laughing and shaking his head.)—"No, my mind cannot be satisfied."

E.—"The fact is, I had full confidence in the Nan-ma-dau Phra* Woon's arrangements, and knew we should meet him, so I left. You, it is evident, had not faith in him, and now you put the blame on me."

W.—"You say that, now that it has turned out well and we have met him."

Mr. Spears, a British merchant, long resident at Amarapoora, and to whom the members of the mission were afterwards indebted for many attentions, also came on board, accompanied by Mr. Antonio Camaretta, a Goa Portuguese, who has long been a confidential servant of the Burmese Government, and now holds the offices of Collector of Customs at the capital, and of one of the assistant-treasurers to the King, in which capacity he has charge of the King's wardrobe and is nearly all day at the palace. He was appointed to provide for the mission in the capacity of what would be called in western Asia *Mihmandár.*†

* This epithet *Phra*, which occupies so prominent a place in the ceremonial and religious vocabulary of both the Siamese and the Burmese, has been the subject of a good deal of nonsense. It is unfortunate that our Burmese scholars have never (I believe) been Sanscrit scholars, nor *vice versa*, so that the Palee terms used in Burma have had little elucidation. On the word in question Professor H. H. Wilson has kindly favoured me with a note: "*Phrá* is no doubt a corruption of the Sanscrit *Prabhu*, a Lord or Master. The *h* of the aspirate *bh* is often retained alone, leaving *Prahu*, which becomes *Práh* or *Phra*."

† The expenses of provision for the mission, he pointedly assured the Envoy, would be defrayed from the King's treasury. This declaration, it is believed, was made at the express desire of his Majesty. It appears to have been the custom of the Burmese Government, from time immemorial, to defray the expense of provisions supplied to foreign embassies by a rate levied on the outcasts of society, such as lepers and dead-body burners. This course is believed to have been pursued heretofore towards every mission whether British or Chinese, and was probably adopted by way of evincing to their own subjects a secret contempt for foreigners of all countries. The voluntary abandonment of such a barbarism speaks well for the King. He must have strong moral courage as well as an amiable desire to do right, thus to relinquish a custom which by the Burmese nobility has hitherto, doubtless, been regarded as the legiti-

We passed slowly up; the fine mountains beyond the capital appearing now in front, now on our left, and now on our right, as we followed the windings of the stream. On the right bank conspicuously towered the huge dome of the Khoung-moo-dau Pagoda, one of the greatest masses of brickwork in the country.

A few miles above Kyouk-ta-loung, the high ground, which at that place comes close to the Irawadi, retires, leaving the alluvial valley, of considerable width, and now partially inundated over a large expense. In front of this inundated plain a dense mass of wood marked the position of old Ava. A few white spires rose above the trees, and, as we drew nearer, the grass-grown ramparts of the town were visible, with many monastic timber buildings, and minor pagodas, in decay. The site of the Residency, where Col. Burney spent so many years, has been eaten away by the river.

On the other bank, as we advanced, the barren pagoda-crowned hills of Sagain approached the river, gradually contracting the level ground on that side, till opposite Amarapoora they rose almost directly from the water.

We anchored at Sagain, just opposite Old Ava, where a reception-house had been prepared. Here Padre Abbona, a Sardinian priest, of whom we afterwards saw a good deal, came to visit the Envoy. A play, of course, commenced as soon as we arrived.

We had been much amused on the way up by the coxswain of the royal war-boat which brought the old Woon, and who came on board with the latter. He was an immensely big and fat, coarse-looking fellow, who strutted about and elbowed his way among gentle and simple, in all the conscious self-importance of an enormous stomach and of a bran-new and resplendent *putsó;* but his pride had a fall, and we had a curious illustration of how they "manage these things in Burma." In preparing to anchor, some of the war-boats, which he ought to have been looking after, were in the way. One of the chiefs uttered something, and straightway two of the naked lictors, who attend and precede every great man, distinguished by long stout rattans and red-lacquered bell hats,* darted forward, seized the *infelix Palinurus*, who had just landed, by the top-knot, and rolled him over, not uncuffed, among the loose piles of bricks in rear of the reception-house.

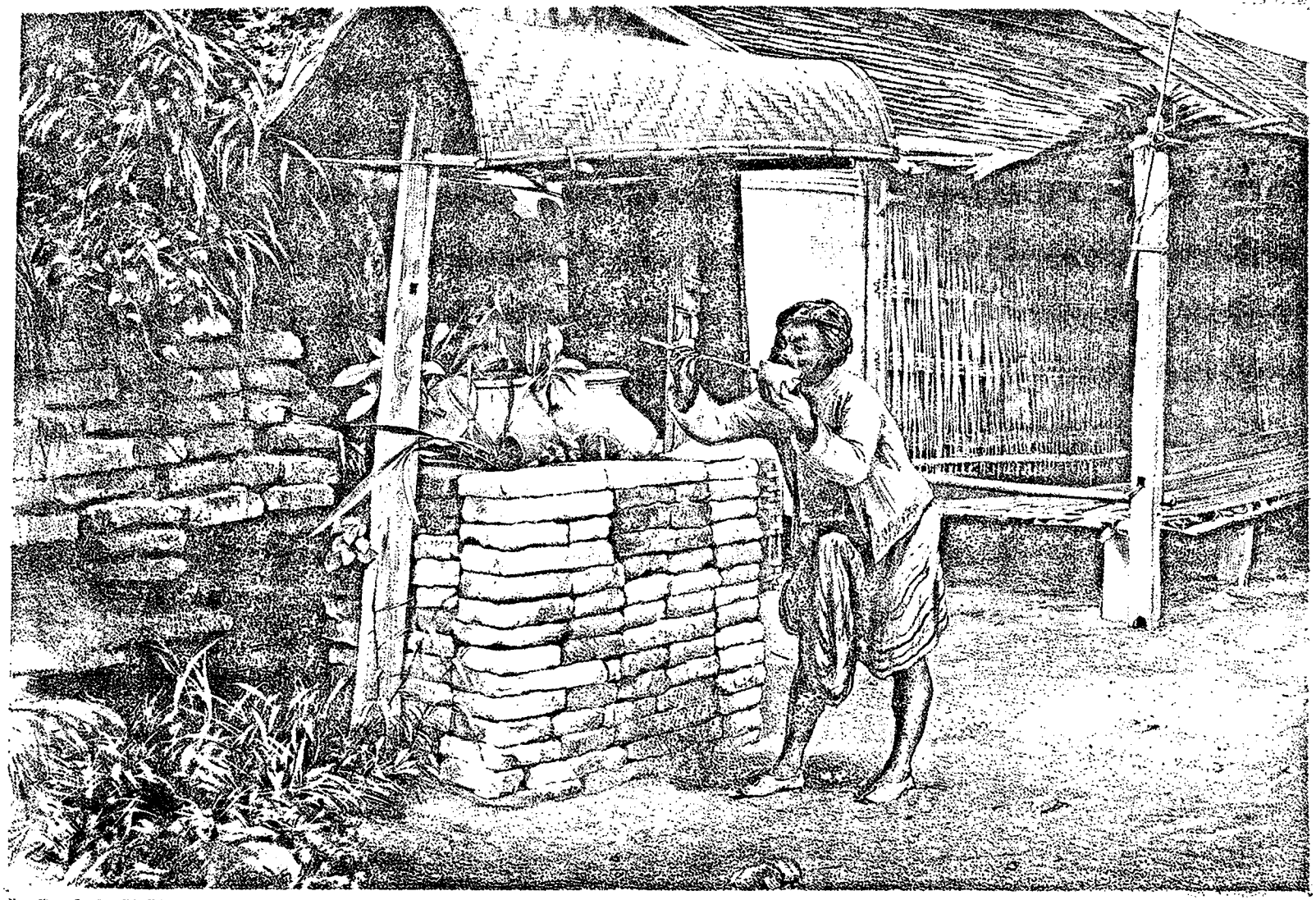
In the evening we explored the town and its environs. The city of Sagain, more than once for a time the metropolis of the kingdom, is of large extent, and is enclosed by a massive, decaying, brick rampart. The interior space is now only very sparsely occupied by houses buried in dark groves of very noble tamarind-trees. A large tank or inundated hollow also exists within the walls.

The shops showed little of interest. Clay pipes of chibouque form, small earthenware trays, with cups on them, apparently intended as children's toys, and a few other

mate method of announcing, without incurring the penalty due to insolence, the superiority of their king and race over all others in the world. (*Major Phayre.*)

It should be noted, however, that Colonel Henry Burney, whilst resident at Ava, persuaded the minister to abolish, in his own case, the custom of providing an envoy and his suite with supplies,—a change to which he attached considerable importance.

* These men are usually convicted felons.



From Photo by Capt. L. Thipe

WATERPOTS FOR THE TRAVELLERS' REFRESHMENT, A BURMESE CHARITY.

London, Smith, Elder & Co. 65 Cornhill

articles of pottery, were the only additions that we noticed to the vegetables, fish, and lead (for small change), which form the usual staples of a Burman bazaar.

The wooded lanes outside the town had, in places, a very English look, which at once evaporated in the presence of an intruding cactus-hedge. Here and there, by the wayside, were sheds containing water-jars for the refreshment of weary travellers; the maintenance of which is the meritorious act of devout Buddhists.*

We examined several pagodas near the town, most of which had been ruined by the great earthquake of 1839, but otherwise were of little interest. Passing on, among numerous lime-kilns, which are fed from the rugged face of the hills behind the town, we reached a half-detached conical promontory of the range rising over the river-bank towards Amarapoora, on the summit of which stood a pagoda called by a name signifying "The King's Victory." The hill was ascended by a very steep and fatiguing staircase of 275 steps, reminding one of the ascent to the Temple of Fame in the frontispieces of school-books of the last age. The pagoda at the top had nothing very remarkable, unless in the grotesque figures of Náts, in both marble and plaster, which were numerous on the terrace. One of these was very ludicrous, representing a Nát female suckling a Nát infant! The usual leo-gryphs had all claws and eyeballs of white marble.

But the view from the platform would have repaid a much more fatiguing ascent than this. The scene was one to be registered in the memory with some half-dozen others which cannot be forgotten. Nothing on the Rhine could be compared to it. At the point where the temple stood, the Irawadi forms a great elbow, almost indeed a right angle, coming down to us from the north, but here diverted to the west. Northward the wide river stretched, embracing innumerable islands, till seemingly hemmed in and lost among the mountains. Behind us, curving rapidly round the point on which we stood, it passed away to the westward, and was lost in the blaze of a dazzling sunset. Northwestward ran the little barren, broken ridges of Sagain, every point and spur of which was marked by some monastic building or pagoda. Nearly opposite to us lay Amarapoora, with just enough haze upon its temples and towers to lend them all the magic of an Italian city. A great bell-shaped spire, rising faintly white in the middle of the town, might well pass for a great Duomo. You could not discern that the domes and spires were those of dead heathen masses of brickwork, and that the body of the city was bamboo and thatch. It might have been Venice, it looked so beautiful. Behind it rose range after range of mountains robed in blue enchantment. Between our station and the river was only a narrow strip of intense green foliage, mingled with white temples, spires, and cottage roofs. The great elbow of the river below us, mirroring the shadows of the wood on its banks, and the glowing clouds above, had been like a lake, were it not that the downward drift of the war-boats, as they crossed and re-crossed, marked so distinctly the rapidity of the kingly stream. The high bank of the river, opposite Sagain eastward, was seen to be a long belt of island covered with glorious

* See Plate XIII.

foliage (and there are no trees like those of Burma); only here and there rose an unwooded crest, crowned with its Cybeleian coronet of towers. Behind this were numerous other wooded islands, or isolated villages, and temples, and monasteries, rising directly out of the flood waters. Southward, across the river, was the old city of Ava, now a thicket of tangled gardens and jungle, but marked by the remaining spires of temples. On this side lay Sagain quite buried in a rich mass of tamarind-trees.

A great deal of the beauty of the scene was, doubtless, due to the singularly fine atmosphere of the evening. But our impression was that the Lake of Como could not be finer, and those who had seen Como said that it was not.

Our description incited the Envoy and others to visit the temple next day. Seeing the whole in the hard light of the late morning sun, they set us down, I doubt not, as guilty of ridiculous exaggeration.

30*th August.*—This morning I went in company with Captain Rennie and Mr. Edwards to see the great Khoung-moo-dau-phya, which had been so conspicuous on our left as we ascended from Kyouk-ta-loung yesterday.

The distance was about six miles, generally through pleasant wooded lanes, with numerous villages and clusters of temples. These villages appear to be occupied specially by different crafts. One was a village of paper-makers, one of smiths, and one of marble-cutters. The latter were not at work. They make innumerable Gautamas in different attitudes for sale, out of the beautiful white marble, which comes from a place (which I afterwards visited with Mr. Oldham) about twenty miles to the northward. To this marble they give an extraordinary perfection of polish, using for the purpose a paste of pulverized fossil wood. A squatted Gautama, three and a half feet high, and very highly polished, was priced at 100 rupees. A small standing figure, about eighteen inches high, and picked out with gilding, cost nine rupees.

Paper-making here is a very rude process. The frame is stretched with the common close woven cotton cloth of the country, bordered with wooden ledges to confine the pulp. This is placed in a shallow trough, the pulp being then poured in, spread over the frame, and rolled with a bamboo. It is then lifted slowly and drained, but the sheet cannot be removed at once, as it is even in the rude Bengalee process. The frame is set for some time to dry in the sun before this is attempted. The material is the fibre of green bamboos. This is macerated in small tanks for some weeks, and then pounded into a coarse pulp. The bamboos which we saw in maceration appeared to have been about an inch and a quarter in diameter, and were split into shavings about one-eighth of an inch in thickness.

The resulting paper is soft, but tough, fibrous, and of unequal thickness, only fit for packing purposes. I am not sure that this is the same paper which, agglutinated into a sort of pasteboard and covered with a charcoal paste, is doubled into note-books, under the name *parabeiks*, and written on with a steatite pencil.* In this form it resembles our

* This paper is said by Mr. Mason, in his *Nat. Prod. of Burma*, to be made from the bark of a species of *Daphne*

school slates rather than writing-paper, the writing being easily obliterated. Yet this was almost the only form in which district records appeared to have been kept in Pegu, when the province fell into our hands.* Writing-paper, properly so called, is not made at all in Burma. Books are written with a style on palm-leaves, as in Ceylon; and for the few letters that are written in ink, English or Chinese paper is made use of.

The Phya, or Pagoda, which we went to see, well deserves a visit, though in antiquity and architectural character it is far inferior to the temples of Pagán. Standing immediately on the bank which rises from the alluvial valley, it is an enormous solid dome, with a massive *htee*, but no spire, raised on three circular terraces or bases. The mass of the dome is about 100 feet in diameter, and not less, I should suppose, than the corresponding part of the great Shwé Dagon at Rangoon. The bases still retain traces of gilding, and, probably, at one time the whole enormous mass was gilt. The lower basement is surrounded with niches containing Gautamas, 240 in all. The whole rises from a plinth about a foot high, and at the edge of this runs round a ring-fence of moulded stone posts, each having the cap hollowed out, apparently to hold a lamp. Of these posts, standing about six feet out of the ground and eight inches in diameter, there are 196 in each quadrant, or 784 in all; and when the light from these was thrown inward on the gilded circumference of the temple the effect must have been very grand.

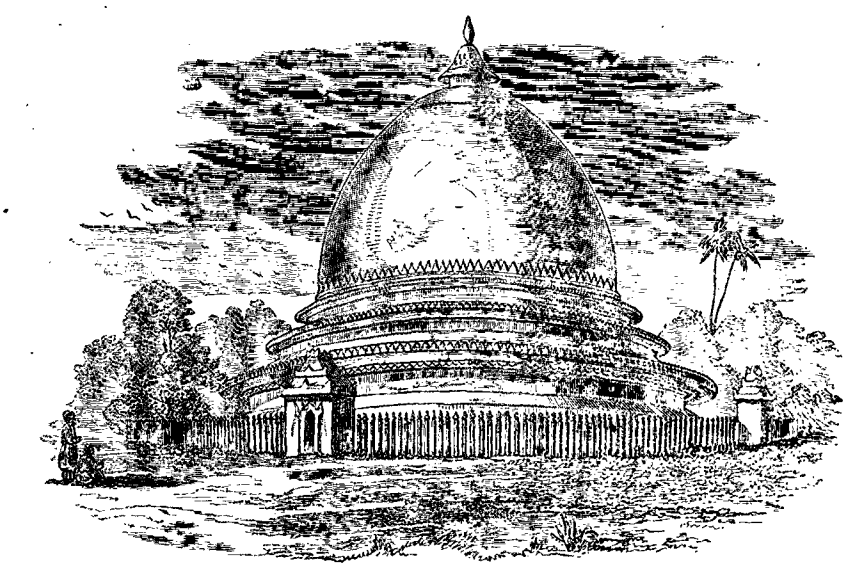


Fig. 22. Khoung-moo-dau Pagoda.

This stone fence, I doubt not, is the lineal representative of the remarkable "Buddhist railing," described by Major Cunningham as surrounding the ancient topes of Bhilsa. It has also, perhaps, its parallel in the forest of taller columns, which surrounds some of the

* The Siamese also very commonly use this manner of writing. (*De la Loubère's Hist. Relation*; Eng. Trans. p. 12.)

great Dagobas of Anuradhapoora in Ceylon, as described by Col. Forbes. But it is in Burma a rare appendage of the pagoda, and we saw it in only one other instance.

The whole area is terraced towards the valley, and the lower terrace wall is of well-hewn stone, a material which we have nowhere else in Burma seen used as the staple material of any structure. The area also has been paved with large stone flags.

The brickwork of the dome itself was good. A rude and dangerous ladder led from the higher basement to the *htee*, and when we arrived two men appeared to be engaged above in clearing off the grass which grows on the top of the dome rather abundantly. The carved and gilded gates of the enclosure are quaint and curious. There is a tradition that a battle was fought here with invaders from Munnipoor, and a large gash in the carved frame of the eastern gate is pointed out as having been made by the sword of the Munnipooree king when forcing an entrance.*

In a cell in the court is the finest inscribed stone which we had seen in Burma or elsewhere. It is a slab of polished white marble, with a richly-carved and gilt pediment and border, standing eight and a half feet out of the ground by six feet in width, and eleven inches in thickness. Each side contains eighty-six lines of beautifully-executed inscription in the square Burmese character. From this inscription the date of the pagoda has been ascertained to be no remoter than A.D. 1636.† Mr. Fergusson (*Hand-book of Architecture*) conjectures this to be the date of the last repair only, judging from its form that it must be of more ancient origin. It seems to be more probable that it was an attempt to resume this more ancient form, influenced by some one who had visited the dagobas of Ceylon. At least, the existing architectural accompaniments were not suggestive of very great antiquity.

As we returned to Sagain we observed standing by the wayside a stone, like a milestone, but of rough white marble, with a short inscription on it. This, Mr. Edwards explained, gave warning that the monastery of So and So was nigh at hand to the westward, and deprecated the slaughter of animals in the sacred vicinity.

A little after noon to-day came another great convoy of war-boats, bringing the Magwé Mengyi to visit the Envoy. This is the Woongyi who conducted the negotiations at Prome in April and May 1853. He is a man who bears a high character among his countrymen for moderation and honesty, and is considered the highest minister of state, mainly from his character and the estimation in which he is held by the King. Strictly speaking, no single member of the *Hlwot-dau*, or Royal Council, has precedence over another.

The Woongyi was seen approaching, seated on the prow of his war-boat‡ under a

* The invasion referred to must have been in 1738, when Pamhaceba, Raja of Munnipoor, more commonly known by the Hindustanee name of Ghareeb Nuwáz, defeated the Burmese on the Kyendwen, and advanced as far as Sagain, which he captured. (*Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier*, p. 37.)

† Mr. Crawfurd says 1636. But see an extract from the inscription as translated by Burney in Appendix B. The greater part of it consists of religious and moral maxims. The square Burmese character is to the round, much as our printed character is to our manuscript. This illustration was used to Col. Burney by one of the Woongyis who knew a few words of English.

‡ The prow of a war-boat appears to be regarded by the Burmese boatmen with almost as much

red umbrella; the gilded umbrellas, which Burmese officials display in the provinces, being prohibited in the capital, where that distinction is reserved for princes of the blood. He is a keen-looking old man, with much good sense and a dash of sensuality in his countenance, reminding one strongly, as Mr. Oldham happily suggested, of the portraits of some of the abler mediæval popes.

After he had taken his seat on the deck of the flat, by his desire each officer of the Mission was introduced to him, and he asked their separate professions and objects of inquiry. On Mr. Oldham being presented, he inquired if he had met with any copper or lead ore.

The Woongyi was attended by a Woondouk, or minister of the second order of the Hlwot-dau, and by a Tsáye-dau-gyi, or royal clerk.

He greeted the Envoy in a very friendly manner, reminding him of their former meeting at Prome, and asking after General Godwin. He remarked that the General appeared to be short-tempered, but expressed regret on hearing of his death.*

He then asked if the arrangements for our comforts on the way up had been satisfactory, and particularly at Magwé, his own district. Major Phayre assured him that they had been everything that we could possibly have desired; and took an opportunity of saying that the Woondouk, who had acted as our conductor, had everywhere studied our convenience, and done everything exactly as we wished. The Woondouk subsequently thanked the Envoy for this, saying, it would be of great service to his interests.

Sitting, as we were, opposite the site of the deserted city of Ava, the conversation turned upon former times, and the Woongyi spoke of his own early life, of the present King's father Tharawadi, of Colonel Burney the Resident, of the earthquake which so damaged the city in the year 1839, and other topics. He appeared to regret that Ava had been abandoned. The party then went on board the Bentinck steamer, where they got into a discussion on the solar system. This commenced from the Woondouk's saying that the Envoy told him of a country north of Europe, where the sun, during a part of the summer, remained above the horizon without setting, and for some period of the season set below the horizon only for a very short time. The Woongyi said he had never heard of this from any foreigner before. Major Phayre endeavoured to explain the solar system; but as the Burmese theory is that of a central mountain called Myen-Mo, several millions of miles high, around which are firmly fixed four great islands, on the southern of which Asia and Europe are situated,† the sun which lights them revolving round the central mountain, the Envoy of course did not succeed in convincing the Minister of the truth of

superstitious veneration as the quarterdeck of a frigate is by an English post-captain. One day, as some of the party were stepping across a gilt war-boat to reach a canoe on the other side, the boatman in charge became excessively excited in deprecation of our treading on the sacred prow, and spread himself supine on it to prevent our doing so.

* "It is worthy of notice," says Major Phayre, "that none of the Burmese officials, except the Dallawoon, ever ask after Commodore Lambert. In the official correspondence at the time of the negotiations from the capital, and since in personal intercourse with Burmese of rank, they have studiously avoided mentioning his name."

† America, it is believed, they consider to be on another mundane island altogether. (P.)

our view of the case. As he said he had never before heard such a statement, Major Phayre requested him to ask Mr. Spears, who was on board. That gentleman came, and, at the Woongyi's request, Major Phayre addressed him in Burmese, lest (the Minister jokingly said) he should instruct him. Mr. Spears having confirmed the Envoy's view of the case, the Woongyi brought forward the Myen-Mo-Mount in refutation of the Copernican theory. Mr. Spears then denied the existence of the said mount, which Major Phayre had only done inferentially. The Woongyi somewhat indignantly said, "It is spoken of in our sacred books, and its height is given, and the inhabitants of each region are known exactly." Major Phayre endeavoured to pacify him by saying that we considered these subjects as pertaining to science, and not as a portion of our religious books. The Woondouk here came to the assistance of his superior by saying, with an air of ridicule, that he was once told by Mr. Edwards of an account being written of bees having a queen to lead them, workers, soldiers, and so on. "Ah," says the Woongyi, "that's from the book of science the Envoy speaks of. Well," at last he said good-humouredly to Mr. Spears, "you have been among us all these years like one of us, and now an English Envoy comes you turn against us." Then, turning to Major Phayre, he continued, "Who, besides yourselves, hold these opinions?" Major Phayre replied, "All European nations; the English, French, Russians, Portuguese, Americans." "Why," replied he, "that includes all the white foreigners. I shall ask the Poongyi about this," meaning Father Abbona. "Do so," said Major Phayre; "you will find he cannot reply otherwise than I have done"

The Woongyi seemed pleased with his visit and did not leave till near three o'clock. He then took a friendly farewell, having to go direct to the palace to report his reception to the King.

The honour of a visit from such a dignitary at this distance from the capital is unprecedented in British intercourse with the court of Ava.

This afternoon Mr. Camaretta arrived, accompanied by a large train of porters bearing some thirty massive silver dishes with conical silver covers, containing a variety of sweetmeats and other choice viands sent in the name of the King and Queen, with a gracious message to the gentlemen of the Mission. The sweetmeats were stated to have been made under the superintendence of the Princess of Pakhan, the widow of the prince of that name. She is half-sister to the King, and is a lady of about thirty.

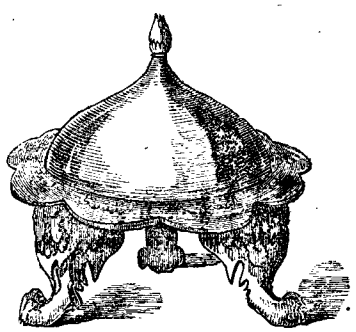


Fig. 23.

The dishes, as the first specimens of genuine Burmese cookery which some of us had seen, were curiously examined. One, which we had served at dinner, a sort of *vol-au-vent* of rice-paste containing a *mélange* of pork and chicken, had quite a Parisian nicety of appearance, and was pronounced good and savoury, but rather rich. One sweetmeat was very curious and very palatable. It consisted apparently of sections of palm-leaf, each strip being tied in a succession of knots or joints, so as to resemble a rude necklace, and

each joint being filled with a dark gelatinous sweetmeat, looking like a small fruit, which in fact we at first supposed it to be, and having a pleasant jujube taste. It was made, we were told, of rice-starch and palm-sugar, and would keep for a considerable time, so that bunches of these necklaces are often taken as viaticum on a journey.

The Envoy having, when he last met Mr. Camaretta, spoken to him of the advantage which would result from the conclusion of a treaty between the two Governments, the latter mentioned to-day that he had broached the subject to His Majesty the previous night. The King said he did not see the use of the treaty. He was anxious to preserve friendship, and would treat British subjects who came to trade with kindness and hospitality, but he did not see the use of a treaty.

The Envoy pointed out that the object was to show openly to the subjects of the two countries, and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring states, that friendship existed. This they could not be convinced of unless a treaty was made. This Mr. Camaretta promised to repeat to the King. As the King had expressed a wish to see Major Phayre at a private audience after the public reception, he did not now press the subject. The King probably dreaded lest the Envoy should make some open demand at a public audience, which it might be inconsistent with his former answers to our demands to comply with. In short it was evident that he feared being again asked to sign away territory.

The Santál insurrection, the accounts of which were in all the papers lately received, extracts of which are regularly translated to the King, was attracting a good deal of attention at the court.

During our visit to Khoung-moo-dau this morning, another party had been exploring the ridges of hills behind Sagain. Every nook and knoll of these hills was found to be occupied by some small monastic building, or zayát, or temple. In fact, every available spot on the hillside has been seized on for the erection of religious structures.

One edifice which had sorely perplexed us, as seen from the river, is thus described by Mr. Oldham. This "is a curious long carved corridor or cloister-like place, which, seen from below, looked not unlike a small crescent in a fashionable watering-place in England. It has been partially cut out of the solid rock behind, and in part has been regularly built up. It consists of one long gallery or cloister with thirty arched entrances at equal intervals, opposite to each of which there is a good-sized image of Gautama in the ordinary Buddha position.* These are of plaster; a broad brick terrace or plateau is formed in front, some twenty feet wide, and this is supported by a carefully constructed revetment wall of great extent and height."

Paths have been scarped along the hill-sides, carefully made, and leading from temple to temple throughout the range, taking the form of staircases in approaching some of the more elevated points. The space between the hills and the river on the east is a perfect labyrinth of temples of every kind.

In the evening I visited a group of pagodas near the river bank east of our anchorage,

* That is to say, the legs *à la Turque* and the soles of the feet turned up, the left hand laid in the lap with the palm uppermost, and the right hand resting on and drooping in front of the right leg. The fingers and toes are always represented as all of uniform length.

passing along the top of the decayed town wall, which affords a path of some six or eight feet wide. The principal pagoda (of the ordinary Pegu form) is very popular as a place of worship. It is richly gilt, and surrounded at the base with a palisade of lamp-pillars, like that at Khoung-moo-dau, but here of pure white marble. Figures of Puck-like Náts, also in white marble, were planted on the successive terraces of the base. Outside the pagoda, under sheds, are a number of very beautiful, massive, and various litters and canopies, such as are used on state occasions by the princes. These are carved and gilt with great richness and fancy, and have been devoted as offerings by different members of the royal family. There were also a number of gilt figures of elephants, executed with admirable spirit and truth. The Burmans have a special gift in representing this animal.

September 1*st.*—About six this morning Makertich, accompanied by one of the Myo-Woons or Governors of the city of Amarapoora (of whom there are two), came to announce that the Woongyis would be ready to receive the Envoy, at the Residency prepared for the Mission, about 7 A. M.

The Myo-Woon is a young man whose sister is one of the King's inferior wives. He wore a *Tsal-wé* of six cords.*

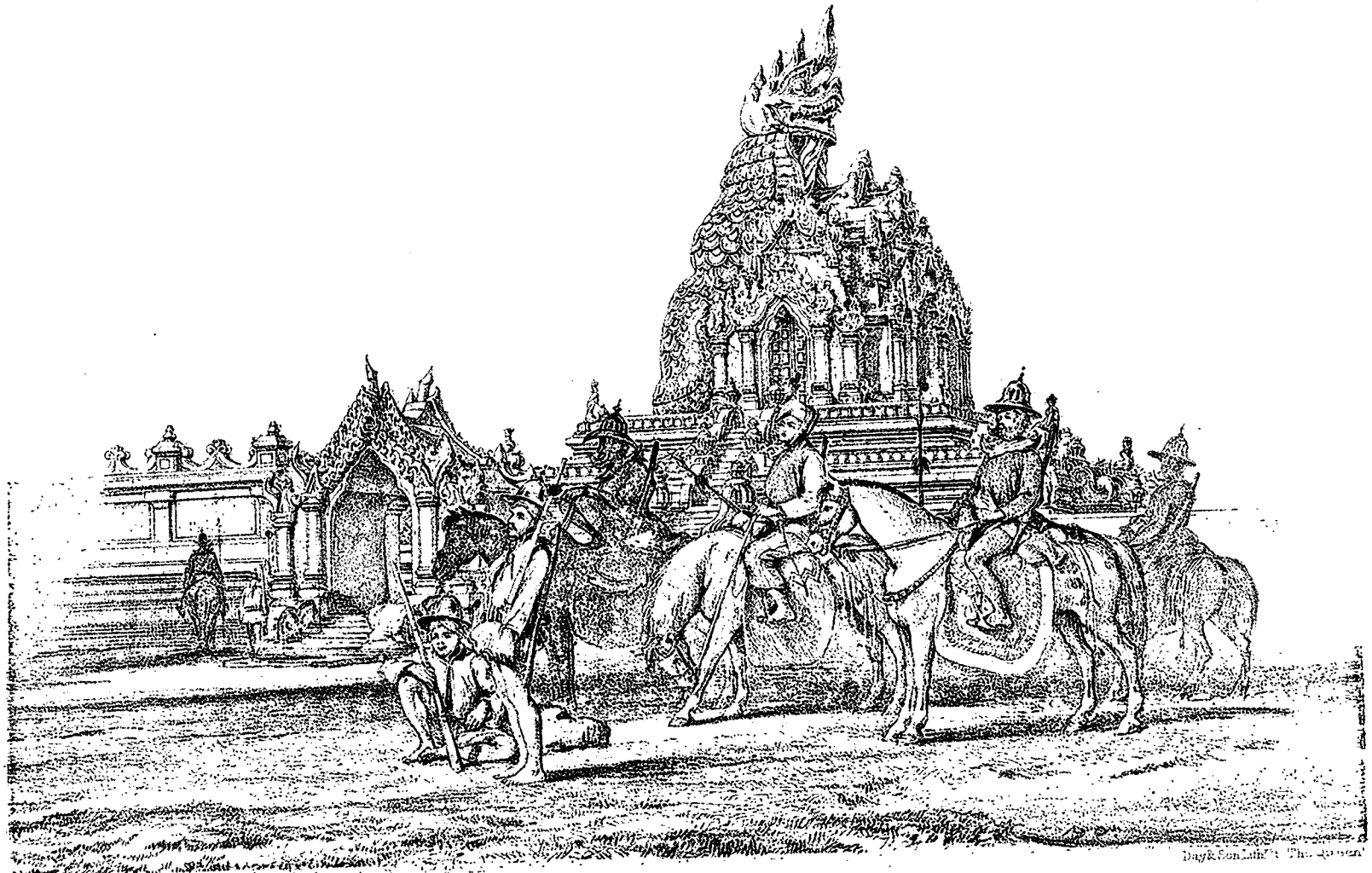
The Woongyis had grievously miscalculated the time that would be occupied in reaching the place of meeting. The Residency had been erected on one of the dry plains to the south of the city, and about a mile distant from its walls, but separated from it by what is now an extensive lake, and always, I believe, contains some water. The directest access would have been by the Sagyen-wa creek which bounds the southwestern suburbs of the city, and is the principal discharger of the lake. But this creek was barred by several wooden bridges, and we had to adopt the more circuitous course of the Myit-ngé, or little river.† This river enters the Irawadi close above old Ava (of which it forms the port), but in the great tortuosity of its course has previously twisted up towards the south side of Amarapoora, and by minor channels and inundated hollows communicates with the Residency lake.‡

The Woondouk having marshalled all his gilded war-boats in front, to show us the proper channel, both steamers and flats got under way, and we started about half-past seven. The voyage occupied us till noon, though in a direct line the distance could not be more than seven or eight miles. Crossing the Irawadi, we entered the Myit-ngé crowded with river craft of all sizes. A mile from the mouth lay some of the King's boats. One was a really royal-looking barge with a many-storied pavilion-roof rising over the deck, and the prow formed as a peacock's head; the whole richly gilt. The river wound and twisted, like the Forth through the alluvial flats below Stirling; and as we advanced, the

* "This is a badge of nobility among the Burmese, and is, I believe, derived from the Brahminical thread of India. It is worn depending from the left shoulder across the breast, and back under the right arm."—*Major Phayre.*

† See Major Allan's survey (Pl. XXIII.)

‡ The lake is called *Toung damán*, which was explained to me as meaning "The southern mirror."



Figures from a sketch by Capn Yule background from a Photo by Capn Tripe.

Day & Son Lith. Pt. The Queen

HORSE AND FOOT SOLDIERS WITH DRAGON TEMPLE IN THE BACKGROUND.

London Smith, Elder & Co 65, Cornhill

pagoda-crowned hills of Sagain seemed to be dancing round us. The river banks were pretty thickly lined with villages, most of them inhabited by Munnipoorees, and the people gazed in crowds as we passed.

Quitting the "Little River" we entered narrower channels, so narrow that the Nurbudda following us up the winding stream looked quite enormous as she emerged from the foliage which she brushed with her paddle-boxes. Pawn-gardens were very numerous, marked by hundreds of irrigation troughs, and scoops lifted by long bamboo sweeps and lines.

Emerging from the narrow creek into an ill-defined lake or flooded extent of rice-grounds, by the aid of guide-posts, which the Burmese had planted the day before, we arrived at the end of our voyage, an apparently interminable wooden bridge which crossed the lake towards Amarapoora. Vast crowds lined the bridge and shores to see us land; and as the front ranks pressed into the lake up to their middle, such a crowd (in heraldic phrase) of "Salvages coupés" had a very quaint appearance.

The steamer moored to the bridge, and the Woondouk having taken the Envoy by the hand, the Myo-Woon the Secretary, and so on, we landed in pairs, and walked in procession to the Residency. Elephants had been provided, but the Envoy preferred walking. The distance did not exceed three-quarters of a mile, but the day was hot and oppressive, and the roads heavy with recent rain.

The road was lined throughout, on both sides, with the Burmese militia, rough and shabby-looking fellows, but all armed with muskets (chiefly of old French pattern), and *dhás*. The regulars or quasi-regulars, who continue on duty in the neighbourhood of the capital, were clad in red jerkins of coarse cloth, having tin bandoliers belted round the waist, and hard, heavy, broad-brimmed, bell-shaped hats of gilt or green lacquer on a bamboo substructure. The irregulars were armed in the same way, but clad more at discretion. The cavalry were ranged at wider intervals behind; mean enough and unformidable they looked, poor fellows, on their shabby ponies, armed with short spears and *dhás*. Some of the officers, however, were magnificent, if not military in display, with their gold-mounted high-pommelled saddles, having on each side, beneath the stirrup, a huge dependent flap of buffalo-leather, brilliantly gilt or picked out with rampant dragons. This flap, sometimes nearly three feet in diameter, is the most curious feature in Burmese "horse millinery," if it be not more properly Kathé.* Its use is difficult to see; I doubt if it has any, but it may be a relic of horse-armour.†

The finest of all these riders would have cut but a poor figure beside the prancing cavalier whom Colonel Michael Symes has depicted in the quarto edition of his 'Embassy,' as a "Cassay Horseman."

Precedent guides the Burmese in all things, and it was, probably, because the said Colonel Symes, as well as his successor, Captain Canning, had been located near this spot during their sojourn at Amarapoora, that our residence was established here.

* *Kathé*, the Burmese name for the state and people of Munnipoor, called by themselves Moité.

† See Plate XIV.

At the foot of the stairs we were met by two Woongyis, and by one of the Atwen Woons,* or privy-councillors. The Magwé Mengyi† again repeated to the Envoy the anxiety felt by his Majesty for our comfort and convenience, and assured him that the King said he felt as anxious for him as for one of his own Woongyis. The Burmese recognise only in a very inferior degree the obligation to be careful for the comfort and honour of a stranger, guest, and foreigner, so that present evident desire to receive us with distinction was thus attributed to his Majesty's having a regard for the Envoy equal, even, to what he had for one of his own ministers. The idea of a Foreign Ambassador being, as the representative of a friendly power, entitled to high distinction and hospitable reception, seemed quite beyond their thoughts. However, the welcome was apparently hearty. There was not much conversation; and after the Woongyi had satisfied himself that the house was suitable, and that we were likely to be comfortable, he and his companions left us.

The Mission Residency was enclosed in a matted bamboo paling some seventy or eighty yards square, with a gate on the east and west sides. Round the outside were sheds for some 600 Burmese soldiers, who continued to be posted there during our stay, nominally for our protection, partly doubtless to watch our proceedings. Similar sheds, for our own escort and followers, ran round the interior of the enclosure. The house itself was a very large bungalow, with many roof-ridges and gables, between which, as we soon learned, copious discharges of rain descended on the rooms below. The skeleton was of substantial teak timber, walled and floored with bamboo. There were two very large public rooms, one of which was upwards of eighty feet long; but our party was rather unreasonably large, and the individual accommodations were somewhat scanty, even including two small cottages at each gate.

The long front-room, which we used as a dining-room, was adorned with large Chinese tubs, containing artificial trees covered with flowers and fruit. These represented jacks, loquots, mangoes, custard apples, peaches, &c., and the fruit was edible, or meant to be so, consisting of little rolls and sweetmeats suspended by loops of wire, intended (as we were informed) to be consumed and replaced daily. The trees, as models, were not badly done, and formed rather pretty decorations.

The room was carpeted with stamped rugs of Chinese felt, was furnished with chairs, tables, and a punka, and was hung with large Chinese lanterns and Anglo-Indian wall-shades. These were filled every evening with little yellow indigenous wax-candles, not much superior to rushlights.

Outside this saloon was a wide veranda looking down on a spacious portico, and this portico was a theatre for our recreation. It was a great circular shed, with a conical roof supported by a central mast, like a single-poled tent. On the further side was a sort of proscenium of blue cloth, with gilt valance, and orthodox stage-doors adorned with gilt pilasters and pediment in the Burman style. Dancing, &c., was going on as a

* There are four of these. They are inferior in rank to the Woongyis; but between them and the Woondouks, precedence is litigated.

† *Mengyi*, 'Great Prince,' a title applied to the Woongyis and a few other chief dignitaries.

matter of course when we arrived, and when the conference broke up, a tumbler was performing with the mask and tail of a monkey. He was a very active and flexible individual, and played his part with wonderful accuracy, not without a too vulgar adherence to nature at times.

There was also a show of puppets in the compound, whose prolonged orchestral entertainments and dreary dialogue were the nightly enjoyment of our Burmese guard, and caused us many sleepless hours.

In the theatro-portico and in the verandas stood immense silver water-jars, each of the largest capable of holding a couple of men without difficulty. Huge silver ladles lay across the mouths for the public use. These jars had a truly royal appearance.

The arrangement was to be regretted which interposed a space of at least two miles between the Mission Residency and our flotilla, but as this place had been selected and elaborately prepared for our reception, the thing was now unavoidable without an open expression of distrust.

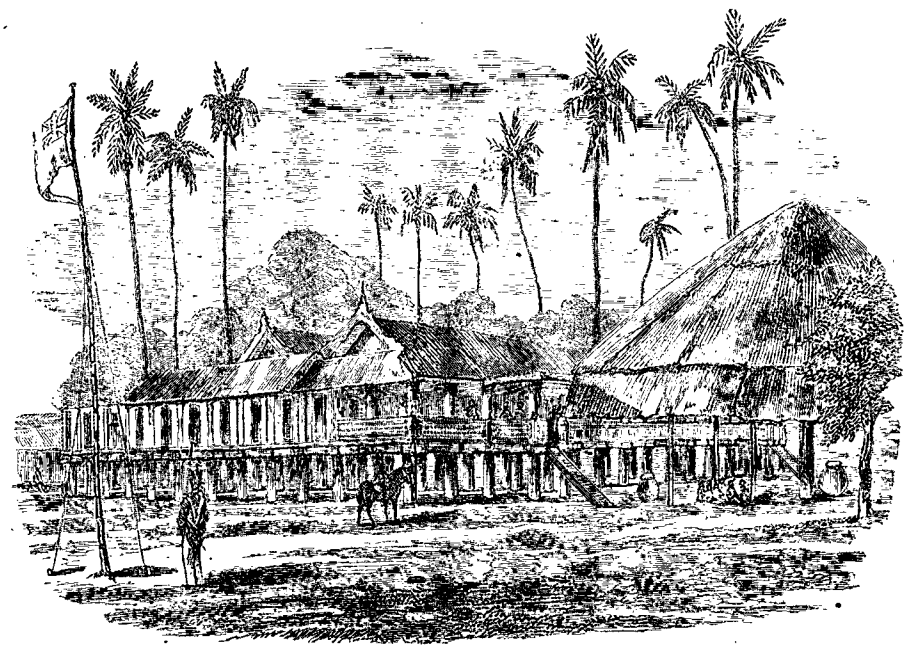


Fig. 4.

CHAPTER IV.

OUR RESIDENCE AT THE CAPITAL.

Father Abbona reports the King's view of a Treaty—Discussion on that Subject—Camaretta—The Santál Insurrection—The King's Feeling towards Lord Dalhousie—The King's Health drunk—Comic Acting—Visits to the City, and Freedom from Insult—King will receive us on any Day—Former Envoys received on "Beg-Pardon" Days—Visitors not allowed to the Ruby Mines—Rain—Hindrances to the Townspeople coming to us—Opening of the Presents—Burmese Impressions of them—The "*Buffer*" of the Mission Party and their Requests—Public Executions—European Deserters—Fate of some such—King wishes to see the Envoy in private—Preservation of Ancient Hindoo Customs at the Burmese Court—Discussions as to Ceremonial of Reception—Shoe Question—Day of Reception (September 13th)—The Court-dress of the Officials escorting us—Passage of the Lake—Order of Procession—The Burmese Troops—Delay at Palace Gate—The Crown-Prince and his Tail—Meaning of his Title—Attempt to induce the Envoy to pay Homage to the Palace—Rationale of the Proceeding—Occurrence on Former Missions—Enter the Palace—Description of the Audience Hall—The Throne, its Typical Form—Advent of the King and Queen—Mr. Camaretta—The King—The Queen is her Husband's Half-sister—Remarks on the Custom—The Henza—Brahmins and their Chants—Letter and Presents from the Governor-General—Formal Questions—Presents to the Mission—Dismissal—Photography—Burmese Intelligence in appreciating Pictures—His Majesty's Pawn-eating—Rain under our Auspices—Visit to the Crown-Prince (September 17th)—The Prince and Princess—Improper Terms used—Extraordinary Visitor, the Hairy Woman—Firework Exhibition—The King's Portrait and his Majesty's Criticism—Albinoes—Major Phayre has an Interview with the King (September 21st)—His Account of it—Talk about a Treaty—on Western Politics—Visit to the Woongyis—Pickled Tea—Royal Ladies—The old Nan-ma-dau Woon, the Mekhara-men—Elephant-taming, and Lieut. Heathcote's Account of the Spectacle—The Envoy has another Audience (October 2d)—Remarks on Strange Disguise of Indian Terms in the Writings of Burmese Scholars—His Majesty's Conversation—His Irony as to the Antiquity of English Kings—General Existence of the Historical Records among the Indo-Chinese People—Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes—The Use of the Number *Ninety-Nine* by the Burmese—His Majesty's Hesitation about a Treaty—Discussions at the Palace—The Envoy has a Conversation with the Magwé-Mengyi—Another Audience of the King—The Regalia—The King on a Near View—His Observations on the Benefit of History—Conversation on various Subjects, Bhilsa Topes, Emerald Mountains—Elements of the Body, Fossil Biloos—The Pawn-box—Fried Locusts—Pleasing Form of Dance—Another Interview with the Magwé-Woongyi (October 16th)—Misrepresentation of Envoy's Language—Another Conference—The Treaty declined—Burmese Contempt for Trade—Natural Curiosities—Preparations for Festivities—The Buddhist Lent—Dancing Elephants—King won't sit for his Portrait—Farewell Visit to Crown-Prince—Improved Impression of his Highness—Dialogue—The Woondouk Moung Mhon—Farewell Audience of the King (October 20th)—Burmese and European Artists—English Band in the Audience Hall—Farewell Call from the Four Woongyis (October 21st)—The King's Letter brought—Our Embarkation.

September 2d.—THIS morning it was ordered by the Envoy that no person, till further intimation, should visit the city. After a day or two, as the King expressed his willingness that we should do so, this restriction was withdrawn. Formerly custom enforced that

the members of a mission should not be seen in public until they had been received at Court.

Thirty stalwart porters came again from the Palace to-day, with silver dishes of sweetmeats, &c. These continued to come daily to the Envoy during the whole of our stay at Amarapoora.

September 3*d.*—The ground was so wet with heavy rain, that we failed to-day in an attempt to explore the country in our neighbourhood. Early this morning Father Abbona, the Piedmontese priest of the Roman Catholic congregation at Amarapoora, who is frequently employed by the King in demi-official negotiation, called upon the Envoy, and a long conversation ensued. The King, he said, was determined to remain friendly with the British. He might possibly sign a treaty, but there were two points which he dreaded to have urged on him. One was signing away territory, which His Majesty said would cause his name to be entered in the *Yadza-Weng*, or royal chronicle, with opprobrium, and the other was entertaining a British resident at his court.

A treaty was lately proposed with the Sardinian Government (doubtless for some object of Father Abbona and the other priests, as there is no other point of contact between the two powers), and in discussing it the King objected to receive a Sardinian consul, because, he said, his consent would probably involve a similar application from the British Government, to which he was much averse. The Padré further said, that the King might consent to a treaty of amity and commerce, but he would expect our frontier duties at Thayet-myo to be removed.

The Envoy recapitulated the advantages to both nations which would result from a treaty, and said that the question of duties must be left to the pleasure of Government. Mr. Abbona then said, that if both the Governments would abolish all duties, the whole trade from Yunan would come down to Rangoon.

The Envoy considered this highly improbable, but not deeming it advisable to let it be thought that the customs-duties formed any point for discussion, he merely said that our Government would not abolish the duties, though on the conclusion of a treaty they would allow the entry of warlike stores.

The Padré observed, that sulphur was now smuggled through in such quantities, that it was scarcely dearer at the capital than it had formerly been.* As to receiving muskets, the King had once said that he never could be so base, in the greatest extremity, as to use against the English muskets which he had received from them.†

The King, as the Woondouk told the Envoy, looked on the latter just as one of his own Woongyis. He was not so well disposed towards the Governor-General, having never forgotten the strong language of a letter, delivered after the abortive negotiations at Prome in 1853, which spoke of driving him and his family from their dominions. The letter had, in fact, been originally penned for delivery to the deposed King. His present

* Mr. Spears confirmed this. The price was one rupee per viss.

† This may have been a flourish; but the sentiment is not inconsistent with the King's character, and the sincerity of the moment may have been in it.

Majesty considered it very hard that such a threat should have been addressed to *him*, who had never, he said, allowed a shot to be fired against the British.

After dinner we drank the King's health, which was duly reported to him by Camaretta, and gave His Majesty (though a devout and zealous teetotaller) great satisfaction.

September 4th.—A great deal of acting was going on to-day in the portico. The play was a comedy, and very cleverly performed. The story was that of a lover objected to by the lady's brother. The pair at last resolve upon an elopement; the lover comes at night to carry off his mistress, but carries off the brother by mistake. A good deal of the dialogue appeared to be extempore. A large dog, belonging to Capt. Willis, having lounged among the performers, a talk about him commenced, which lasted some ten minutes.

The King having expressed no objection to our visiting the city, desiring only that we should go in parties, accompanied by a Burmese conductor to avoid insult, I went over with some of the other officers of the Mission this afternoon.

A full account of the city will be found in another chapter. We soon in our visits disused the attendance of the Burmese conductor; and though I often spent many hours in wandering through the city, often alone, or accompanied only by my Munnipooree interpreter, I never met with any semblance of insult. The only instance in which anything of the kind did occur was to two suwárs of the cavalry escort, who were struck with brickbats, and this was probably the act only of some street *gamins*.

September 5th.—Mr. Spears called to-day. The King had told him that he would receive us on any day convenient to ourselves, only requiring two or three days' notice. This is certainly different from the strenuous efforts made on former occasions to introduce foreign envoys as suppliants on "Beg-pardon days," among the vassals and dependants of the Empire, their presents being represented as deprecatory offerings to avert deserved punishment for offences against their liege lord.*

Mr. Oldham also, he says, may go to the coal-fields. It is, however, evident that the King does not wish him to go to the ruby-mines. In reply to hints on the subject he has twice said that people going there at this season are sure to die.

He had been asking whether at the private audience Major Phayre would address him in all respects as a superior, making use of the Burmese phraseology. The Envoy said that he would address his Majesty in the same terms as one of the King's own ministers would do, so far as his want of fluency in those terms would admit. The King, on hearing this, remarked, "Then we shall want no interpreter."

Rain now became very frequent, at night especially, and very heavy. The river, however, and the lake before the residency, continued, though with fluctuations, to abate.

* This was the fate of both Symes and Crawfurd. Even the ambassadors of the "Great Elder Brother," the Emperor of China, have been subjected habitually to this indignity. (See Burney in *Jour. As. Soc.* vol. vi. parts i. and ii.) Burney himself was the first Envoy who was not presented on a *Kodau*, or "Beg-pardon day." He determinedly resisted it; but consequent rupture was only avoided by the Woongyis telling the King that the Resident was too ill to appear on that day. And this was only four years after the King had signed the humbling treaty of Yandabo!

It was very evident that, whether by the King himself or not, strict orders had been given to prevent the access of the towns-people to us. We could not get them to bring anything for sale, or if they did come, they were turned away.

The cases of presents were now opened. The Woondouk and other officials came to make out a list of them, and they seemed to be much struck by the value and splendour of the gifts on the whole, though some of them were ill adapted to Burmese habits.

A splendid silver centre vase, or wine-cooler, was set down in their list as a *spittoon*, to which constant concomitant of their own dignitaries it bore a nearer resemblance than to aught else within their cognizance. Two fine gold-wrought suits of Hindustanee mail, plate and chain, rather puzzled them. They at once said, however, that they knew it was not English practice to wear such articles. The jewellery in our list they had remarked on as being in excess, and rather suited to women than men. But its beauty, when seen, rather drew their admiration. A small vinaigrette, or essence-bottle, cut out of a single topaz, was particularly admired.

The rain penetrated our house in all directions, and in my room I could scarcely find a dry corner. The Tsare-dau-gyi,* who had been put in charge of the Residency, professedly to meet our petty wants, was a most impassive old man, who in reply to any amount of remonstrance or request merely winked with great deliberation, and puffed his cheroot-smoke in one's face. Apparently, indeed, he had been selected on account of his stolidity as a sort of *buffer* (or Circumlocution Office) to intercept and exhaust applicants. When I at last begged Mr. Edwards to mention the necessity of some improvement to the Woondouk, the latter laughingly remarked that they also (the Burmese Mission) when at Rangoon had been housed in a leaky tenement. So in this also they were but adhering strictly to the precedent that we had set.

Mr. Spears told me that, though he had always avoided being present at an actual execution, he had often, in the time of the ex-King, seen scores of poor wretches led to death, and in passing the burning-place, where executions also occur, he had seen the numerous heads of the decapitated skewered to the earth by spikes of bamboo driven through the cheeks, and the corpses piled behind.

Simple beheading is the usual mode of execution. The condemned kneels down with his elbows pinioned behind him; he is slightly pricked in the loins with a spear, which makes him instinctively start and project his neck; the blow is then struck. But they also occasionally employ more cruel methods, such as crucifixion, amputation of the limbs and joints successively before giving the *coup-de-grace*, or cutting open the bowels and leaving the poor wretch to linger.

There are almost always some deserters here from our European regiments in Pegu or Tenasserim. One poor wretch, an Irishman from the 2d Bengal Fusiliers, is now in gaol, originally for a breach of the peace, and for the additional crime of drawing a knife on the Myo-woon's officer, who apprehended him. Before we came he was working in irons in the city ditch. Many years ago, in Tharawadi's time, fourteen deserters came over at

* Royal scribe.

once. They were very drunken and disorderly, and the King, to get rid of them, sent them away to the Shan country.* They all died except one. He, strange to say, is now with us in charge of the presents. He had got a pardon and discharge before the last war. When Rangoon Pagoda was taken he was found there a prisoner, and narrowly escaped being bayonetted by his countrymen.†

September 7th.—Father Abbona came to breakfast, and had some conversation with the Envoy. There seemed to be some point on which the King wished to see the latter in private, and Major Phayre feared that it might be about the restoration of some portion of Pegu. His Majesty might be, or might affect to be, so ignorant as to suppose that the Envoy had authority to give up British territory. Should the King be so ill-advised as to touch on the subject, Major Phayre would be compelled, however unwillingly, to revive recollections, which are no doubt humiliating, and to refer to the emphatic language of the Governor-General on this point.

Another object of His Majesty, it was gathered, was to have free passage up and down the Irawadi for his steamer, and, probably, to have no inquiry made as to her cargo at the frontier.

The King had asked Father Abbona why the Envoy was always writing, as it was said that he so occupied himself nearly all day long.

During the next few days many tiresome discussions took place on the etiquette to be observed on the day of presentation.‡ It was the Envoy's intention that the Governor-General's letter should be carried under a canopy as far as the members of the Royal House are allowed to carry their umbrellas, that is, to the steps of the Audience Hall. To this the Burmese ministers strongly objected as unprecedented, and at last the King himself sent a private message to Major Phayre, requesting him to withdraw this stipulation. The Envoy did not judge it wise to persist after this, as the result must be offence to the King, and prejudice to the treaty which we were desired to conclude. It was also arranged that, in accordance with a Burmese custom, we should proceed to the *Yoom-dau*,§ or Royal Court-house, which stands at the outer palace gate, and seat ourselves there to witness the procession of the Princes and dignitaries with their retinues on their way to the Hall of Audience. In ascending the Yoom-dau it was stipulated that we were to remove our shoes.

On hearing from the Envoy that he had not thought it desirable to hold out against

* Laos of our geographers.

† This man was originally employed in making gunpowder for King Tharawadi, in which he totally failed. He afterwards was engaged on some drainage work at the ruby-mines, and is probably the only European in later times who has been there.

‡ I believe the Woondouk among other things proposed that the horsemen should not form a part of our escort.

The Burmese looked upon the palpable superiority of our cavalry with much jealousy and mortification, the more perhaps as these men were not Europeans, but belonged to the despised *Kalás* of India.

When at a later period the little party of cavalry occasionally had field-days for the exhibition of their dexterity in horsemanship and the use of arms, though such an exhibition must have been novel and interesting to the Burmese, scarcely any of them attended.

§ The *Roundaw* of old writers.

the King's request put to him as it had been, I took the liberty of expressing (as I had before done) regret at his having consented that the mission party should go on the Yoom-dau without their shoes,—a concession which had been avoided by Crawfurd and Burney, but which would have been compensated for, perhaps, if we had carried the point of bearing the Governor-General's letter to the Palace-stairs under royal honours. To take off our shoes at the Palace itself was unavoidable, as the concession had been made by all preceding Envoys;* but to do this thing (which no amount of argument will render to most Englishmen otherwise than ludicrous and degrading) at an exterior shed, was looked upon by all the officers of the Mission with strong aversion, and with a feeling that if it as well as the canopy question were conceded, the general reception of the Mission would not be so honourable to our Government as that of the preceding missions had been.

Major Phayre was still of opinion that in arranging to go to the Yoom-dau and remove our shoes there, being at the same time received by the highest Minister of State and conducted by him to the Hall of Audience, the Mission would occupy a higher position in the eyes of the court and people, than if we entered any other building with our shoes on.

But though not sympathising with the sentiment that there was any degradation in removing our shoes at the Yoom-dau, out of regard to the feeling of the gentlemen of the Mission he frankly consented to give up going to the Yoom-dau altogether.

September 13*th*.—The King made no objection whatever. It was settled that we should go through without visiting the Yoom at all, and the Woondouk undertook that there should be no vexatious delays.

Early in the morning the old Nan-ma-dau-Phra-Woon, the Woondouk Moung Mhon,

* A circumstance that did not prevent Col. Burney from successfully resisting it when on a mission to the Court of Siam. He made some attempt to the same effect when he first came to Ava, but eventually gave in to the practice of his predecessors.

His remarks (*MS. Journal*, 1830) are, however, worth recording:—"My objections to removing my shoes are founded on the fact that the Burmese require it, not as the fulfilment of a mere custom, but as a means of exalting their King, and gratifying their own pride and vanity, by humiliating and degrading the British character. Besides, the Mussulmans of this place have persuaded the Burmese to carry the etiquette regarding the shoes of Europeans much farther than what it is, I believe, at any other court in Asia. Even in the streets and highways, a European, if he meets with the King or joins his party, is obliged to take off his shoes. Dr. Price always walked and ran barefooted alongside of the King's litter; and Mr. Lane, on one occasion, when he was invited to see the ceremony of the King ploughing the land, which is annually performed here as well as in China and Siam, was obliged to remove his shoes, and walk a mile or two over burning sand, till he was quite lame. When Sir A. Campbell deputed Lieutenants Rawlinson and Montmorency to this place (Ava) in 1828, he prohibited them from taking off their shoes, and they did not therefore see the King.

"Ten Chinese Envoys are said to have been murdered at the Court of Pagán in A.D. 1281, because (as the tradition goes) they insisted on appearing in the royal presence with their boots or shoes on." (See p. 32, and reference there.)

Some of the people have a notion that it is a breach of our *caste*, as it were, to take off shoes on any occasion when dressed. I recollect some surprise being expressed by an Aracanese servant at my taking off my shoes and stockings to ford a stream in the Yoma mountains.

the Tára-Thoogyi, or Chief Judge of the capital, a burly jovial-mannered man, and half-a-dozen other and minor officials came to escort us to the Palace.

They were all in their court robes, and were so disguised thereby that at first I recognised none of the party. The head-dress is very *outré*, consisting of a sort of high mitre of crimson velvet, curving back into a volute and encircled at the base with a coronet of tinsel spear-heads. The robe is a heavy, wide-sleeved mantle of crimson velvet, laced with a broad edging of Benares brocade. It seems to be *ton* to wear the mitre excessively tight on the head, and some of the officials carried a little ivory implement like a paper-knife, which was used (after the fashion of a shoe-horn) for drawing on the cap and for packing away recusant locks of hair. The *tsalwé*, with its cords in number according to the dignity conferred on the wearer, and a trumpet-shaped ear-tube of gold, four or five inches in length, are also essential features in the court costume.

The presents and the cavalry of the escort were despatched in advance by the long bridge, to await us on the other side of the lake. The carriage for the King, being too wide to cross the bridge, was sent across on a raft or platformed boat. Seventy-five men of the Light Company of H. M. 84th which had come with us, and the band (a part of that of the 29th foot), crossed over in boats, with instructions to form in advance of the landing.

During the two previous nights the rain had been excessive. It rained again in the afternoon and next day. But the morning itself was fortunately dry.

The passage of the lake was rather a brilliant scene. The jolly-boats of the steamers led the way with the men of the 84th; the Governor-General's letter followed in the Zenobia's gig with the Company's jack flying at the bow; the officers of the Mission in other gigs and cutters, and a gilt war-boat carrying the Envoy and the Woons with fifty Burman oarsmen rowing to a wild chant. The back-ground of the picture was formed by the white spire and pinnacles of the Ananda temple (a modern imitation of that at Pagán), with a surrounding grove of noble cotton-trees and tall palmyras); the Burmese soldiers of our guard and crowds of villagers lining the banks of the lake, whilst behind all rose the manifold ranges of the Shan Mountains.

On landing we formed procession in the main street of the western suburb. The cases of presents went first, carried by Burmese porters on bamboo litters, and followed successively by four Arab horses and an English carriage intended for the King, by the band, the cavalry of the Escort (fifteen *suwárs* of the 8th Irregulars under Lieutenant A. M. Mackenzie), the Infantry of the Escort (seventy-five men of H. M. 84th under Lieutenant Hardy and Ensign Woolhouse), the Secretary (on an elephant) carrying the Governor-General's letter with the jack flying over it, the Envoy in a tonjon attended by the Nan-ma-dau-Woon and the Woondouk on elephants; Dr. Forsyth and the Tara-thoogyi; Major Allan and one of the Tsa-re-dau-gyis, or Royal Scribes, and the rest of the Mission officers in turn, each paired with a Burmese official in a Burmese howda. This howda is a sort of hemispherical pannier, uneasily poised on the back of the animal and fenced round with a low railing. It is well-enough adapted as the seat of one or

even two of a race accustomed to squat upon the ground, but to a chair-using generation it is intensely inconvenient.

When the flag was first hoisted over the Governor-General's letter some of the minor officials made so much noise about it that the Woondouk was induced to remonstrate, and said he could not move with this flag flying. The Envoy, however, declared that *he* would not move without it, and when the Woondouk persisted in his objections threatened to return to the Residency.

I believe we all felt that the Governor-General's letter went thus much more appropriately honoured than by any number of umbrellas or canopies.

The street by which we first passed is called "Ambassador's Row," and is the very street by which Symes and the Chinese Envoys entered Amarapoora in 1795.

Our route lay to the western central gate of the city. For the whole distance the way was lined with troops; a single line of musketeers on each side and an occasional horseman, perhaps one to every fifteen infantry. All sorts of persons had evidently been pressed into the service, peasants, old men and boys, but the essential point was the exhibition of the store of muskets. At each cross-street stood elephants carrying officers (as they seemed to be), men in gilt Mambrino hats and mountebank costumes, exactly like the histrionic princes in the rustic theatres at Magwé and elsewhere, decked out with triple buckram capes, and shoulder lappets, and paltry embroidery.

Many of the soldiers carried flowers or green leaves in the muzzles of their pieces.

A body of men in red jackets and papier-mâché helmets, who kept alongside the procession, appeared to be more at home with their arms than the motley musketeers who lined the way. Crowds of spectators, among whom more than half were women, peeped through the white lattice that lines the principal streets, and thronged in denser masses at the cross-streets, all silent, or nearly so.

After entering the city by the western gate we were led half round the palace, so as to enter the latter by the eastern gate. The distance from the place where we had crossed the lake was thus fully three miles. There were many halts and hitches on the road, owing to the heavy packages of presents that led the way, and to the occasional difficulty of dragging the royal carriage through the heavy mire.

Inside the city the streets were deluged with water from the last night's rain, and the Burmese soldiers were providentially furnished with little stools or platforms of bamboo to keep them out of the mud. At intervals the officers sat squatted on higher frames of similar construction, each with his spittoon and box of sundries. I did not see one well-looking man among all these *Bos*. Among the spectators were some comely women, and many tastefully dressed and with pleasant sensible expression, though generally disfigured by careworn aspect or by a prominently bad mouth.

At last, with fixed bayonets, and band playing, our escort turned up the street leading to the eastern gate of the palace, and halting, faced inwards for our party to pass.

Just then the procession of the heir-apparent turned in before us from another road to enter the Palace. This no doubt had been timed to keep us waiting at the Palace gate, this being, according to Burmese ideas, a royal method of asserting a high degree

of dignity. The Prince himself was conspicuous, aloft in a massive gilded litter borne by many bearers, with eight long-shafted gold umbrellas flashing overhead. He entered the gate, and it was closed behind him. A retinue of several hundred soldiers attended him to the gate. They then countermarched in a curious manner. An open circle was formed in front of the gate, and round this the two ranks countermarched, circling to right and left respectively so as to change sides. This crossing stream continued for several minutes, and was no doubt intended to have an impressive effect. Indeed we had a shrewd suspicion that each man as he passed out of sight circled round again, and repeated the manœuvre, so as to double or treble the apparent numbers of the force, and to retard our entrance.*

After some little further delay, whilst the Woondouk sent forward a man to the Palace gates to announce our arrival and request permission to enter, we passed through the street of our escort, and dismounted at the stockade which encircles the Palace wall. Here all umbrellas were left, and (more reluctantly) the swords of the officers. This is the strict etiquette of the Palace, which allows no one, except the King's own guards, to carry a weapon inside. Even the heir-apparent is not allowed to do so.

The gate by which we entered is called "Ywé-dau-yoo-Taga," or the "Royal gate of the chosen," because the care of it is intrusted to chosen troops. It is the only gate of the Palace used as a public entrance.†

As we were dismounting, noon was struck by alternate strokes on a great bell and great drum elevated on a square tower within the gate.

Before passing in we formed a sort of procession, in the same order as on our passage through the streets, but the Envoy now took the Governor-General's letter from the Secretary and carried it himself. Our conductors took off their shoes at the gate, and the Woondouk made an ineffectual attempt to induce the Envoy to do likewise. They also, at four different places, as we advanced to the inner gate, dropt on their knees and *shikhoed*‡ towards the Palace. The Woondouk tried to induce the Envoy to imitate him in this also, but also unsuccessfully.§ Indeed I believe no Envoy has been so deluded

* Col. Burney, who for two hours had to watch the procession of the courtiers with their retinues before his first presentation to the King, remarks that some of his party were acute enough to discover that many of the retainers, as well as of the elephants and the bands of music, after passing in the suite of one Prince went round in the rear, and appeared as part of the suite of another Prince. (*MS. Journal.*)

† It is in fact the *front* gate of the Palace, the east being always considered the front by the Burmans, insomuch that *shé* signifies *front* as well as *east*. The title of the Crown-Prince, Ein-shé-men, as before noticed, signifies "Lord of the Eastern Palace;" and Col. Burney points out, as one of the many coincidences of custom between the two states, that in Siam the chief personage next to the King is termed Wangna, or "Front of the Palace." The Wangna of Siam is Sir John Bowring's "Second King." But the latter says the term *means* "Junior King."

‡ An obeisance made by raising the two hands to the forehead and bowing the head to the ground.

§ When Major Phayre afterwards told the Woondouk that he ought not to have addressed him in the manner that he did on this occasion, the latter replied, "When in Calcutta at the Government House, you told me to bow to the Governor-General, which you said was your custom, and I was only telling you what *ours* was."

since the time of Colonel Symes and Captain Cox. Major Allan's companion also, in rather a rude tone, told him to take off his hat, but met with so prompt a rebuke in his own language that he seemed to remember it with benefit to his manners during the rest of our stay.

Both the removal of shoes at the gate, and the prostrations in advancing to the Palace, are part of the regular system of endeavour to throw dust in the eyes of foreigners. It is *never* done, I believe, excepting on the occasion of introducing Envoys from other states, and doubtless is intended to impress on them the almost divine nature of their sovereign, as well as to induce them to perform some act which shall mark them as suppliants at the golden feet.*

Passing the inner gate, we found ourselves immediately in front of the gilded colonnade and spire of the Hall of Audience.† In the corners of the inner court were groups of tumblers, dancers, and jugglers, performing to large circles of spectators. Passing these to the stairs at the north end of the terrace-basement of the hall, Sarkies Manook the Armenian came to conduct us, looking very absurd as he walked in his stockings, and as we all doubtless did presently. For here, at the foot of the staircase, we left our shoes, and mounting the steps, which were dirty and unswept, we passed along the colonnade to the centre of the front, and there entering, advanced a few paces and took our seats upon the carpet, doubling our legs behind us as well as we could.‡

The long wings of the hall formed, as it were, the transepts of a cathedral; in front of us ran back a central hall like the choir; and in the position of the altar stood the throne, under a detached roof which in fact formed the many-storied spire conspicuous from all sides of the city. The central space was bounded by tall columns, lackered and picked out in red towards their bases. Other rows of columns ran along the transepts. The whole, except the red bases of the columns, was a blaze of gilding.

One high step and four of less rise ascended to the daïs on which stood the throne. This was in character exactly like the more adorned seats of Gautama in the temples, and like that from which the High Poongyi preaches. Its form is peculiar, contracting by a gradation of steps from the base upwards to mid-height, and again expanding to the top.§

* Our old Envoys used to give in to this practice. Thus Mr. Edward Fleetwood, who went as Envoy from the Governor of Fort St. George in 1695, says: "When the Palace gates were opened we fell down upon our knees, and made three bows; which done, we entered the garden, the present following; and having gone about half-way from the gate, to the place where the King was seated, we made three bows again as before. When we got within fifteen yards of the King we made three bows again, as we had done before, and were ordered to sit down." (Dalrymple's *Or. Repertory*, i.) Exactly the same did Capt. George Baker in 1755. But Fleetwood is not ashamed; Baker is, and apologizes, so there was some advance. Col. Symes, in 1795, did not go on his knees, but he was bullied into taking his hat off to the Palace. So did Captain Hiram Cox two years later, and even dropt on one knee and bowed his head, to "pay his respects to the throne," before the King's entrance.

The Chinese ambassadors also, according to the Burmese Chronicle quoted by Col. Burney, were made to go through these obeisances. (*Journal Asiat. Soc. Ben.* vi. 409.)

† A description of the Palace will be found in the section on Amarapoora.

‡ It is contrary to etiquette to turn one's feet towards the King.

§ "The original shape is that of two triangles joined at their apices. These typify Fire and Water, the elements mainly instrumental, according to the Buddhist cosmogony, in the destruction and repro-

The top of the throne was mattrassed with crimson velvet, and at one side was an elbow-cushion for the King. A carved door-way closed by gilded lattice-doors led from behind to the top level of the throne.

The material of the throne was a sort of mosaic, of gold, silver, and mirror-work. A few small figures occupied niches in the central band. These were said to represent the progenitors of the human race. In front of it, on the edge of the steps, stood five gilded shafts, with small gilded labels or scrolls attached like flags to them. These also are royal emblems.

On each side of the daïs were railed recesses like pews, and along the walls which ran right and left in rear of the throne were rows of expanded white umbrellas fringed with muslin valances. The centre aisle, near the extremity of which we sat, was laid with velvet-pile carpets of Axminster or Lasswade manufacture. The rest of the hall was matted merely, excepting where some of the higher dignitaries had their special carpets.

The centre aisle in front of us was unoccupied excepting by a double row of young princes, in surcoats of silver and gold brocade with gay silk putsos. Four of these boys next the pillars on our right were the King's sons; four on the left were the sons of the Crown-prince.

Farther forward, near the steps of the daïs, and between two of the pillars on our right, the Ein-she-men himself was seated in a sort of couch or carved litter, scarcely raised above the ground. He wore a dress of Benares gold brocade, and a mitre similar in general form to those worn by the courtiers, but of much richer material and set with precious stones. He never turned round, but confessed his curiosity by the use he was seen to make of a small looking-glass. Behind the pillars on each side, and a little in advance of us, were the Woongyis; and farther forward several elderly princes of the blood, men of sensual aspect, and heavy-jowled, like the heads of some of the burlier Cæsars, or with their heavy robes and jewelled tiaras perhaps recalling rather some of the old popes. Close to us were two of the *Atwen-woons*, or Ministers of the Interior Council, and some *Nekhan-daus* ("Royal Ears"), and other officers of the Palace and Hlwot-dau.

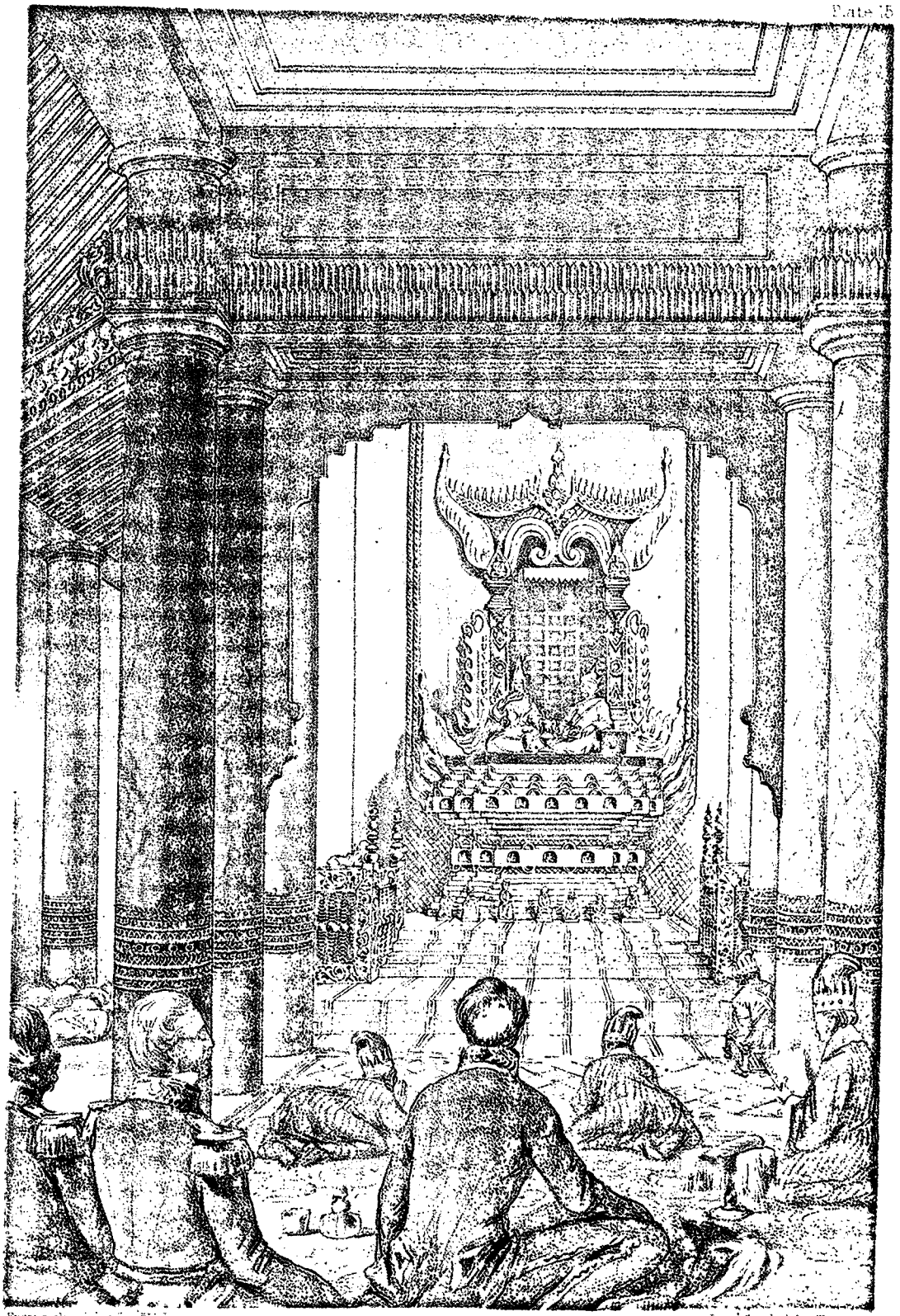
The transepts, as I have called them, on each side were filled with a crowd of minor officials of the Court, with several of the Tsaubwas, or tributary Shan princes, men of a more refined countenance and deportment than the Burmese, as it struck us.*

The Envoy, on taking his seat, deposited the salver holding the Governor-General's letter on a gilt stool covered with muslin which had been placed for the purpose. Little gilt stands containing trays of tobacco, pawn, *hlapet*,† and other curious confections, neatly set out in golden cups or saucers, and accompanied by water goglets and gold drinking-

duction of a world. Hence one seated thereon represents the Lord of the Universe. This title the King of Burma arrogates to himself as the representative of the ancient Buddhist kings of India." (*Major Phayre.*)

* According to Burney, the position of the courtiers, which is all rigorously laid down, is as follows: In the middle in two lines, at right angles to the throne, sit the Princes; behind them the Woongyis and Atwenwoons; then, on each side of these, in six lines parallel to the throne, the Tsaubwas, the Woondouks, Secretaries, &c. The pillars prevented our seeing the general arrangement well.

† "Pickled tea."



THE AUDIENCE HALL AND RECEPTION OF THE ENVOY.

London, Smith, Elder & Co. 65 Cornhill

cups, were then placed before the officers of the Mission. The water was faintly, and to our ideas unpleasantly, perfumed with musk.*

Some twenty minutes or more elapsed before the royal advent, but though our attitude was uneasy we continued to view with curiosity and interest the novel and brilliant scene before us.

At last the King's approach was announced by music, sounding, as it appeared, from some inner court of the Palace. A body of musketeers entered from the verandas in rear of the throne, and passing forward took their places between the pillars on each side of the centre aisle, kneeling down with their muskets (double-barrelled pieces) between their knees, and their hands clasped before them in an attitude of prayer.†

As the last man entered the golden lattice doors behind, the throne rolled back into the wall, and the king was seen mounting a stair leading from a chamber behind to the summit of the throne. He ascended slowly, and as if oppressed by weight, using his golden-sheathed sword as a staff to assist his steps. This is, doubtless, in some degree a royal etiquette, but Mr. Camaretta asserted that the jewelled coat worn by his Majesty actually weighed nearly one hundred pounds.

The Queen followed close upon her husband. The King, after standing for a second or two, slightly dusting the *gudhi* with a small *chowree* which he had carried in his left hand, took his seat on the left side of the throne, resting his elbow on the velvet cushion which was placed for that purpose covered with a white napkin. The Queen seated herself on the King's right and a little in rear, assisting to hand in the gold spittoon and other appendages of a Burmese dignitary, which were presented by female attendants from behind. Between their Majesties in front of the throne stood a large golden figure of the sacred *Henza*‡ on a pedestal. After the Queen had finally taken her seat she fanned herself diligently for a few moments, and then fanned her husband, whilst one of the girls from behind brought her a lighted cheroot, which was immediately placed between her royal lips.§

From the distance at which we viewed the King, he seemed a somewhat portly man, having features of a much more refined character than are common among his subjects, exhibiting indeed the national physiognomy, but much subdued. His expression was good and intelligent; his hands delicately and finely formed. His dress was

* De La Loubère mentions of the Siamese that "they love only to drink water perfumed." (P. 21.)

† Mr. Camaretta accompanied the body-guard, smoking a cheroot, and clothed in an incongruous costume, which gave us a good deal of amusement. He wore a common English hat encircled with a coronet of gold spear-heads and inscribed plates, like that attached to the mitres of the Burmese courtiers, with the *tsalwé* over his shoulder, and carried a *dha*, or Burmese sword, in his hand. These paraphernalia were in rather indifferent keeping with the white jacket and trousers, and black satin waistcoat, which formed the rest of his attire.

‡ Col. Burney calls it a *Peacock*. It is sufficiently unlike both to pass for either. Mr. Howard Malcom, in comical perplexity, explains the Henza to be "the Brahminee goose, a species of *Kite*!" *Henza* gives name to Henzawadee, the name of the province of Pegu. The word is Sanskrit, *Hansa*, a goose, kindred to *anas* and *anser*, *Gänse*, *gander*, and χήν. The Henza (Hansa) is regarded as the king of birds. It is perhaps a mythicised swan.

§ For either subject or stranger, whilst having an audience of the King, it is no breach of etiquette to smoke a cheroot.

a sort of long tunic or surcoat, of a light-coloured silk apparently, but so thickly set with jewels that the fundamental material was scarcely discernible. His cap or crown was a round tiara of similar material, in shape like an Indian morion, rising to a peak crowned with a spire-like ornament several inches high, and having flaps or wings rising over each ear. Over the forehead was a gold plate or frontlet. This crown is called *Thara-poo*.

The Queen was not seen to such advantage. This was partly owing to the character of her head-dress, which would have been a very trying one to any lady. It was a perfectly close cap, covering ears and hair entirely, and rising above into a conical crest strangely resembling in form a rhinoceros horn,* with the point curved forward into a volute. Close lappets fell along the cheeks. The rest of her Majesty's dress had rather an Elizabethan character. The sleeves and skirt appeared to be formed in successive overlapping scolloped lappets, and the throat was surrounded by a high collar, also scolloped or vandyked, and descending to the waist. At the waist she wore a stomacher or breast-plate of large gems. Both cap and robe were covered and stiffened with diamonds, or what appeared to be such. The Queen is her husband's half-sister, as has been always the custom in the royal families of the Burman race, including that of Aracan when independent,† and probably that of Pegu.‡

One of the young girls who appeared at the lattice door in rear of the throne, dressed somewhat after the fashion of the Queen was, as we understood, the King's daughter. Another pretty little girl, with white flowers in her hair, who peeped in occasionally to

* Or perhaps rather the large nipper of a crab's claw.

† Vide Phayre's Hist. of Arracan in *Jour. Asiat. Soc.* vol. xiii. p. 39.

‡ And occasionally, if not always, that of Siam. (See *De la Loubère's Hist. Rel.* p. 52.) Col. Burney mentions in his MS. Journal that a captive Siamese prince, who lived at Ava in his time in the humble position of a druggist, was married to his own niece. In our own day in Europe, Dom Miguel of Portugal was betrothed, if I am not mistaken, to his niece Donna Maria. But such marriages would, I believe, be abhorrent to the Burmese in any other family than that of the blood-royal. I had supposed it to be a relic of one of those anomalies in the customs of marriage and succession which are found very extensively diffused among the Indo-Chinese and kindred races, and probably originates in the same feeling (the desire to secure the transmission of the sacred blood) as the custom of inheritance prevalent among some of those races, by which the *sister's son*, and not the son, is the successor to the sovereignty. This custom holds among the Kasias of the Sylhet mountains, a people probably allied to the Burmese, (see a paper by the present writer in *Jour. Asiat. Soc.* for 1845); and among some of the Malay tribes of Sumatra (see Life of Raffles, p. 435); as it does, or did, among the remoter Nairs of the Malabar coast. (Purchas, ii. 1708, and Ibn Batuta, p. 167); and among some of the Negro tribes of the Niger, (Ibn Batuta, p. 23, and Allen's *Account of the Niger Expedition* in 1841.) The same remarkable custom prevailed among the Indians of Hispaniola when discovered by Columbus (Wash. Irving's *Life of Col. B.* iv. ch. 9); and among the Rajas of Tipura, according to Buchanan Hamilton; (Brewster's *Edin. Jour. of Science*, ii. 51). Such peculiarities will always, I apprehend, be found connected with a lax system of marriage and divorce. It seems as if they must have risen amid the most degraded conditions of humanity, when men, like a litter of kittens, knew their mothers, but not their fathers.

The custom in the royal family of Burma is, however, I find, an imitation of that which the Buddhist legends relate (probably with foundation in fact) to have been practised by the royal race of Sakya. (See the story in Hardy's *Man. of Bud.* p. 133.) In a dispute between the cities of Kapila Vastu and Koli about an irrigation embankment, the latter said the people of Kapila were like pigs and dogs, intermarrying as they did with their sisters. (Ibid. p. 307.)

get a glimpse of the *Kalás*, was said to be a child of the heir-apparent residing in the palace.

When the King had fairly entered, we all took off our hats, which hitherto we had kept on, and at the same time the whole of the native assembly bowed their faces to the ground and clasped their hands in front of them. The two rows of little princes, who lay in file before us, doubled over one another like fallen books on a shelf, and the two Atwenwoons who sat near us grovelled forward in their frog-like attitude to a point about halfway to the throne, as if to establish a "repeating station" between the King and us.

Some eight or ten Brahmins,* in white stoles and white mitres encircled with gold leaves, then entered the screened recesses or pews near the throne, and commenced a choral chant in the Sanscrit language. This was succeeded by a similar chant in Burmese, sung by one of the Brahmins also.

Transcripts of these hymns were afterwards furnished to the Envoy by one of the Brahmins. The Sanscrit is merely a string of names of the chief Hindoo gods, sages, and sacred creatures, whose benediction is invoked on the King's head. The concluding stanza ascribes its composition to Kalidása. A translation, by Major Phayre, of the Burmese Hymn will be found in the Appendix (C.)

When the chants were concluded, our friend the Tara-Thoogyi, or Chief Justice, who was close on our left, read from a *Parabeik* (or black note-book) an address to the King, stating that the offerings which his Majesty purposed making to certain pagodas at the capital were ready, and one of the officials uttered, "Let them be dedicated." The music was then renewed.

"The chant of the Brahmins, accompanied by the ceremony of *A-beit-theit* (literally, a pouring out of water on a solemn occasion)† may be considered as especially preliminary to this religious act of dedicating gifts to the pagodas, and the whole as a solemn inauguration of the proceedings of a Royal Sitting."‡

The Governor-General's letter§ was then taken from its cover, and read aloud by a Than-dau-gan, or "Receiver of the Royal Voice." The lists of the presents to the King and Queen were then read by the same official. The cases had been ranged along the outer colonnade. The railway model, which Mr. (now Sir) Macdonald Stephenson had put at the disposal of the Envoy for presentation, was the only one of the presents

* "Of these Brahmins, two are from Benares, all that remain of eight who were, together with their families, brought from India thirteen years ago. The rest returned to their own country. These two have quarrelled about money matters, and do not speak. They are of the Vaishnava sect. They are the astrologers of the court, and their assistance is considered necessary on great state occasions, but they exercise no religious influence whatever. Besides the Benares Brahmins there are here the descendants of some who were brought from Aracan when that province was conquered by the Burmese in 1783. These had originally been brought from Bengal to Aracan by the kings of that country. Their original language was Bengali. Those I saw spoke Hindostanee, and having been born in this country were familiar with the Burmese language, and could read and write it. In Siam, also, Brahmin astrologers are maintained at the Court."—(*Note by Major Phayre.*)

† This is a Pali perversion of the Sanskrit *abhisheka*, a sprinkling or pouring out of water as a religious ceremonial.—W.

‡ Major Phayre.

§ See Appendix D for the letter.

which was actually exhibited in the hall. It excited a good deal of interest among the Burmese.

All these readings were intoned in a high recitative, strongly resembling that used in the English cathedral service. And the long-drawn Phyá-á-á-á! (My Lord), which terminated each reading, added to the resemblance, as it came in exactly like the Amen of the Liturgy.

Three questions which custom prescribes were then put to the Envoy, as if from the King. His Majesty, however, did not move his lips, though it was thought that he intimated his will by an inclination of the head. The questions were actually put by one of the Atwen-woons, who had taken up their position half-way to the throne. The latter, half turning round his body, said:

"Is the English ruler well?"*

Envoy. "The English ruler is well." The Than-dau-gan repeated in a loud voice: "By reason of your Majesty's great glory and excellence, the English ruler is well, and therefore, with obeisance, I represent the same to your Majesty."

Atwen-Woon. "How long is it since you left the English country?"

Envoy. "It is now fifty-five days since we left Bengal,† and have arrived and lived happily at the royal city."

Thandau-gan. "By reason of your Majesty's great glory and excellence, it is fifty-five days since the Envoy left the English country," (*Bengal*, here interposed Major Phayre), "and he has now happily arrived at the golden feet, therefore with obeisance," &c. &c.

Atwen-Woon. "Are the rain and air propitious, so that the people live in happiness and ease?"

Envoy. "The seasons are favourable, and the people live in happiness." The Than-dau-gan repeated this in the same fashion as before.

Presents were then bestowed on all the officers of the Mission. Major Phayre received a gold cup embossed with the zodiacal signs, a fine ruby, a *tsalwé* of nine cords and a handsome *putso*; other officers, a plain gold cup, ring, and *putso*, or a ring and *putso*, only.‡

The King then rose to depart, the Queen helping him to rise, and then using his sword to help herself up. They passed through the gilded lattice; the music played again, the doors rolled out from the wall, and we were told that we might retire.

The usual court-etiquette is that the highest in rank, the Ein-shé-men, should leave first, but the usual custom having been deviated from in our reception, it appears they altered the ordinary arrangements in the breaking up of the assembly.

* *Ing-leet Men* may apply to the Queen of England, or to the Governor-General. It is an ambiguous expression, purposely, I believe, adopted by the Burmese as a salve to their pride compelled to hold intercourse with a dignitary who is not an anointed king.

† That is, since the Governor-General's letter, under charge of the Secretary, had left Bengal.

‡ Lord Dalhousie was kind enough eventually to permit each of the party to retain one article, as a memorial of his visit to Amarapoora.

We were not sorry to get our dismissal, for we were intensely cramped by the attitude in which we had been sitting, and some of us had found it utterly impossible to preserve it without occasional solecisms, which brought on us the frowns and becks of the old Nan-ma-dau-Woon.

On descending from the palace, we looked for a few moments at the tumbling, juggling, rope-dancing, &c., which was going on in the court, and then we were invited to go and visit the "Lord White Elephant." We found him occupying his state apartment, a large ornamental shed north of the Audience Hall.

We mounted again on quitting the outer court, and returned by the same circuitous route that we had followed in the morning, but traversed it much more rapidly, now that we were relieved of the train of presents. We reached the Residency, not a little tired, about four o'clock.

September 15th.—The King, through the Woondouk, intimated that he was much pleased with the presents, and especially admired the ruby-coloured crystal chandelier. He also wished to know if any one could instruct the Pabé-woon* (Master of the Ordnance), or some of his people, to use the photographic apparatus. Major Phayre explained that it would take a long time for any one to learn, and suggested that a young man should be sent to Calcutta for the purpose.

This photographic apparatus had been introduced among the presents on account of the King's having expressed to Mr. Spears great curiosity on the subject of the "sun-pictures" of which he had heard, and the mode of producing them. A man was afterwards sent occasionally to wait on Capt. Tripe, the able photographer who was attached to the Mission; but the man's desultory attendance, and the difficulty of communication on a subject so involved in niceties and technicalities, left the result of the attempt at instruction *nil*, as might have been expected.

The Burmese, however, took much interest in the pictures which Capt. Tripe, Mr. Grant, and the sketching members of the Mission produced; and even the photographs, though all remaining in the negative stage, appeared to be understood, and in some degree appreciated by them; whilst they were gratified, and perhaps somewhat surprised, at the interest and admiration expressed by us for many of the buildings which formed the subjects of pictorial representation, especially the highly-carved monasteries.

It was very striking to see this capacity for the appreciation of views and sketches on the part of the Burmans, for the organ of such appreciation is absolutely a wanting in all the people of India, with whom we are accustomed to deal.

The fact is singular; but I believe all who have lived in India will bear testimony to it, that to natives of India, of whatever class or caste, Mussulman, Hindoo, or Parsee, "Aryan, or Tamulian," unless they have had a special training, our European paintings, prints, drawings, and photographs, plain or coloured, if they are landscapes, are absolutely unintelligible. If portraits, they may know them to represent humanity; but the most striking *likeness* they scarcely ever recognise. Maps rarely can be made intelligible to

* Literally, *Governor of the Smiths.*

them. I have been asked in good English by a Parsee, who looked over my shoulder at a print of Kensington Palace, whether it did not represent a steamboat. A learned Pundit has been known to inquire, on being shown a print of the Winner of the Derby, "Is that London Khas?" (Royal London.) The memory of every Anglo-Indian will suggest such anecdotes. As to rough pencil sketches, they convey to the natives of India as little intelligible meaning as the graven edicts of Asoka did to the world before James Prinsep.

This defect is the more strange, because found so universally among those Indian races, whose features and language seem to class them as kindred with our German ancestry, whilst among the Indo-Chinese nations, so far as my experience goes, including the people of Burma and Aracan and ruder tribes of our eastern frontier, the faculty of appreciating the meaning and accuracy of drawings and resemblances in portraiture, even when of a very sketchy character, is never altogether absent. Of the objects and meaning of a map also they have generally a very fair idea.*

I present this to the ethnographers as an interesting, distinctive feature, which I do not remember to have seen noticed before.

A great deal of rain has fallen since our arrival, before which it had been much wanted, and the people generally couple the two facts together. The King half-jestingly observed, that he hoped we would stay a good while longer, as rain was still needed.†

In the afternoon Mr. Camaretta came to say that his Majesty desired to confer on the Envoy a title of honour, and a chain of twelve cords, in addition to the tsalwé bestowed on the 13th. Major Phayre replied that he would consider the propriety of accepting such favours.

September 17th.—This was the day appointed for our visit to the Ein-shé-men, or heir-apparent.

About eight o'clock we embarked on the lake, accompanied by the Woondouk and a few minor officials, and crossed over to the southern central gate of the city, nearly opposite the Residency, where elephants awaited us, and, as escort, the fifteen men of our 8th Irregular Cavalry, there being no need to expose the Europeans again to the hot sun. The Envoy went as before in his tonjon.

We took the directest road to the Prince's residence; but as it stands on the north side of the palace, we had to go half round the latter. The house is the largest in the city, and is the only one outside the palace to which is conceded the distinction of a triple roof.

On this occasion, excepting in the immediate vicinity of the Prince's house, no Burmese troops lined the street, but a strong party of the Madéya regiment, which formed

* When employed in 1853 in exploring the mountain-passes between Aracan and Burma, I had occasion to send an Aracanese soldier to bring me an account of an alternative route which I had not time to visit. He brought back not only a most intelligent account of the route, but a very intelligible sketch of it, showing all the streams and water-sheds. I doubt if a Sepoy in the whole seventy-two regiments of Bengal Native Infantry could be found to do the like.

This soldier, Ongthen, I am glad to say, is now a commissioned officer in the Pegu light infantry.

† There were great rains, and the river rose to an unusual height, in 1824, the first year of the war. Hence that flood was called the *Kalá Yé*, or "Foreigners' Water." So some vague popular superstition seems to connect our presence with unusual rain.

the guard at the Residency, marched in single file on either side of our procession. In fact, the great body of the militia, which had been mustered from all quarters to produce an effective reception for us on the 13th, had been by this time gladly dismissed to their homes.

The Envoy took his tonjon close up to the gate, and the rest of the officers advanced as near as the throng would allow the elephants to approach. We then dismounted and were met by one of the Prince's Woons, who descended from a *yoom*, or court-house, outside the gate. The Woondouk then said, "Please to say we have arrived, and open the gate." The Woon, a stout, heavy-visaged man, looked as if he did not understand what was said, and gave no reply, but composedly chewed his betel, and surveyed our line of people with the air of one who must not appear to be in a hurry to be civil. At last he said slowly, "Have all come? Then open the gate." The large wooden gates swung round, and the Prince's house was displayed to us; an extensive structure, somewhat in the monastic style, but not highly adorned, standing in the middle of a large palisaded enclosure. The sound of music came from the interior, and numbers of people were looking at us from the windows or verandas. Two small guns were mounted on neat field-carriages in front of the house, and between them a thing like a six-dozen chest, with one side out, intended for a buggy, roughly gilt, and mounted on gilt wheels.

We passed through a line of musketeers, in green jackets, to the south side of the house, where was the entrance-ladder; and here, as had been agreed on, we took off our shoes. Ascending the ladder (which was dirty, and sprinkled with half-smoked cheroots) we were led along verandas, where dancing-girls were performing, into a large and lofty hall, so dark that we could scarcely see each other till some time had elapsed. It was densely crowded with people, some of whom were in a sort of uniform, with very large broad-pointed swords. The walls and pillars of the hall appeared to be quite plain, without colour or gilding.

We sat on a carpet in the centre aisle, about five-and-thirty feet from the inner end-wall, in which, about five feet from the ground, there was a panelled door, through the chinks in which brighter light appeared.

Pawn and drinking-water were as usual placed before us. Quarter of an hour passed, and we were becoming somewhat tired of the silence, darkness, and constrained position, when the panelled door slid back and disclosed the Prince and his Queen (as she is called) taking their seats on the raised floor of the inner apartment, in immediate contact with the doorway.

Seen from the dark foreground, with a strong light from the inner apartment concentrated on them, and framed, as it were, in the doorway, whilst they sat absolutely immovable, the effect was quite that of a picture, and a very curious picture it was.

The Prince, in a brocaded dress and close-fitting jewelled mitre completely concealing the hair, and with a countenance of marked Mongolian character unrelieved by any moustache, made on us a much less pleasing impression than his royal brother.*

* Be it said that we may have had a little prejudice, and that the dress, constrained attitude, concentrated light, with perhaps a little discomposure on his highness's part at this time, combined to

The Princess was dressed somewhat after the fashion of her sister-Queen at the palace-reception, but her cap was more becoming and left the jewelled ears exposed. Her dress was not so well made as Her Majesty's, fitting badly, and having the scolloped wings and capes more *prononcés* and obtrusive. She was, however, a graceful and modest-looking girl, of not more than twenty, if so much, with a pleasing and intelligent expression, and seemed a little abashed and scarcely at home in her cumbrous robes. I think that the recollection of Beauty and the Beast must have risen in the minds of all our party.

This young lady is her husband's half-sister, but is not full sister to the Queen. She bears the same appellation, which we render "Queen" in the case of the latter.

Their entrance was followed by a stupid pause of several minutes, but seeming to us vastly longer, during which the most absolute silence was preserved, as if the assembly were engaged in the worship of the couple before us.

After we had been kept waiting for a time sufficient to vindicate the Prince's dignity, one of his Woons deemed it necessary to attract His Highness's attention to the scene before him. He, therefore, crawled to the front, as if he were stalking a deer, and looked up to the doorway for a sign. The Prince apparently deigned not to take any notice of him, but after a time half-turned round and motioned towards an official, a little in advance of our party on the right, to begin. This person took from a stand on which the Envoy had deposited it, the list of presents from the Governor-General to the Prince. He at the same time produced a preliminary address written on a black note-book (or *parabeik*.) This he commenced reading, informing His Highness that the Envoy, who had arrived at His Majesty's court, had brought presents for the Ein-shé-men. In doing so, he represented these presents as "respectfully offered" by the English Ruler.

At the Palace a similar preliminary address had been delivered; but as the official on that occasion did not read from a book, but spoke rapidly, mumbling his words, though the Envoy had a suspicion that the forbidden terms had been used, he did not feel sufficiently assured to be justified in interrupting the proceedings.* He had, however, warned the Woondouk on the point. On the present occasion there was no question about the fact. Major Phayre at once informed the Woondouk in an undertone that the reader must correct his phraseology. As there was some boggling about this, the Envoy half-rose from his seat, and said, "I shall leave the hall, unless this alteration is at once made." The Woondouk then said to the reading official, "These are royal presents from a King, and you must not use that word." The official then re-read the address with corrected phraseology, apparently very nervous and tremulous under the rebuke, poor fellow!

During this little scene, the Prince, though remaining immovably still, seemed by his expression to be a good deal excited, and the perspiration burst out visibly on his forehead.

make our impression of him on this occasion unfavourable. When we saw him afterwards, under more easy circumstances, much of this impression was removed.

* The use of such terms, implying inferior relation on the part of the British ruler, had been objected to in the letter brought by the Burmese envoys proceeding on a mission to Calcutta in the end of 1854, and had caused their long detention at Rangoon until the objectionable phrase had been altered by a reference to Amarapoora.

The three usual questions were then put and answered; presents were distributed, the Prince rose, the pretty Princess followed, and the sliding-doors shut them from our view.

We then rose also and took our departure. Altogether it was a dull ceremonial, wanting the royal circumstance and barbaresque splendour which gave such interest to the audience at the palace. But we were scarcely in the hall more than twenty minutes. The Princess formed the redeeming feature in the scene.

Passing into the court we went to look at the guns which stood in front of the house. They were of iron and old, but polished up, and apparently of European make. The Woondouk, who evidently thinks that a deviation from truth, when it tends to exalt the King, the nation, and the country, is a prime virtue, told Major Phayre that these guns had been cast in Amarapoora, and not very long ago. "Looking at their muzzles," says the Envoy, "the deep honeycombing told their age as surely as the wrinkles on a cow's horn denote her years."

We then adjourned to a shed in the enclosure where refreshments were prepared, which we made a show of tasting. The Prince's Woon made an apology for the breach of propriety in the preliminary address, which he ascribed to the man's being so habituated to the other expression, though the right one was used in the written formula before him. Major Phayre, however, told the Woon that the man ought to be reproved, which he was assured should be done.

As we mounted to take our departure, the mahouts, as it seemed intentionally, tried to discomfit our horsemen by making the elephants trumpet. This desperately frightened the suwárs' horses, but luckily no man was unseated, which we found would have been a great source of gratulation to the Burmans. One horse, however, was injured by the job of a lance in the hurly-burly; and the elephants taking fright in turn ran back upon the mob, and routed them. The naked lictors* seeing this uproar deemed it necessary to bestir themselves, and began to whack about in all directions with their long rattans. At last getting clear of the tumult we returned by the way we had come.

September 18*th*.—To-day we had a singular visitor at the residency. This was Maphoon, the daughter of Shwé-maong, the "Homo hirsutus" described and depicted in Crawfurd's narrative, where a portrait of her, as a young child, also appears. Not expecting such a visitor, one started and exclaimed involuntarily as there entered what at first sight seemed an absolute realization in the flesh of the dog-headed Anubis.

The whole of Maphoon's face was more or less covered with hair. On a part of the cheek, and between the nose and mouth, this was confined to a short down, but over all the rest of the face was a thick silky hair of a brown colour, paling about the nose and chin, four or five inches long. At the alae of the nose, under the eye, and on the cheek-

* These lictors are generally, if not always, convicts, whose sentence has been commuted. "Often the pain of death is changed into perpetual infamy; the criminal is then branded on the face, his offence is written in indelible characters on his breast, and he is doomed to act as a satellite or executioner." (*Sangermano*, p. 66.) Readers of Mrs. Judson's narrative will remember the "Spotted face" of that affecting history.

bone, this was very fully developed, but it was in and on the ear that it was most extraordinary. Except the extreme upper tip, no part of the ear was visible. All the rest was filled and veiled by a large mass of silky hair, growing apparently out of every part of the external organ, and hanging in a dependent lock to a length of eight or ten inches. The hair over her forehead was brushed so as to blend with the hair of the head, the latter being dressed (as usual with her countrywomen) *à la Chinoise*. It was not so thick as to conceal altogether the forehead.

The nose, densely covered with hair as no animal's is that I know of, and with long fine locks curving out and pendent like the wisps of a fine Skye terrier's coat, had a most strange appearance. The beard was pale in colour, and about four inches in length, seemingly very soft and silky.

Poor Maphoon's manners were good and modest, her voice soft and feminine, and her expression mild and not unpleasing, after the first instinctive repulsion was overcome. Her appearance rather suggested the idea of a pleasant-looking woman masquerading than that of anything brutal. This discrimination, however, was very difficult to preserve in sketching her likeness, a task which devolved on me to-day in Mr. Grant's absence. On an after-visit, however, Mr. Grant made a portrait of her, which was generally acknowledged to be most successful.*

Her neck, bosom, and arms, appeared to be covered with a fine pale down, scarcely visible in some lights. She made a move as if to take off her upper clothing, but reluctantly, and we prevented it.

Her husband and two boys accompanied her. The elder boy, about four or five years old, had nothing abnormal about him. The youngest, who was fourteen months old and still at the breast, was evidently taking after his mother. There was little hair on the head, but the child's ear was full of long silky floss, and it could boast a moustache and beard of pale silky down that would have cheered the heart of many a cornet. In fact, the appearance of the child agrees almost exactly with what Mr. Crawfurd says of Maphoon herself as an infant.

This child is thus the third in descent exhibiting this strange peculiarity; and in this third generation, as in the two preceding, this peculiarity has appeared only in one individual.

Maphoon has the same dental peculiarity also that her father had,—the absence of the canine teeth and grinders, the back part of the gums presenting merely a hard ridge. Still she chews pawn like her neighbours.

Mr. Camaretta tells some story of an Italian wishing to marry her and take her to Europe, which was not allowed. Should the great Barnum hear of her, he would not be so easily thwarted.

According to the Woondouk, the King offered a reward to any man who would marry

* Maphoon had a strong resemblance to the full-length portrait of her father in Mr. Crawfurd's book. The engraving of herself as a child on the same page is evidently a failure. It represents an old bearded man, not a hairy infant.

Plate VI

From a drawing by Mr Grant.

Day & Son, Lith^rs to The Queen.

THE HAIRY WOMAN.

London, South, Elder & Co. 65 Cornhill.

her, but it was long before any one was found bold enough or avaricious enough to venture. Her father Shwé-maong was murdered by robbers many years ago.*

In the evening very good fireworks were exhibited for our amusement. Fountains discharging sky-rockets and curling serpents were most numerous; among the best was a sort of maypole hung round with minor fireworks, which went off in a blaze and roll of smoke, leaving disclosed a tree hung with quivering flowers of purple flame, evidently intended to represent the purple Kachnár (*Bauhinia*) of the Burmese forests. A similar discharge disclosed, when the veil of smoke had passed away, an inscription in blue flame, standing out as if in air against the darkness. The letters were distinctly and beautifully formed, and the effect was most satisfactory of its kind. The inscription, however, instead of being a welcome to the foreigners as it might have been with us, was a sort of "God save the King."

September 19th.—The King has invited Major Phayre to a private conference on the 21st, and laughingly told Mr. Spears that the Envoy might bring any of the gentlemen with him, except Mr. Grant; for his Majesty objects strongly to sitting for his portrait. During the audience on the 13th, I had made certain notes and sketches inside my cocked hat, from which I afterwards compiled a rough view of the hall with their Majesties enthroned. This Camaretta had shown to the King, who desired him to assure Capt. Yule that his Majesty certainly had not *crooked eyes.*

September 20th.—I started in company with Mr. Oldham, who was bound up the Irawadi to visit the coal which exists about seventy miles above the capital.

An account of our journey will be found in another section. I was absent from the Residency till the evening of the 26th, and Mr. Oldham for some days longer.

On the 21st, Major Phayre by appointment had an interview with the King. Mr. Grant accompanied him to the palace to take a portrait of the white elephant. The Woondouk conducted them to the elephant's pavilion, which seems to be habitually used as a waiting-room for visitors to the court. The following is the Envoy's account of his interview:—

"We were led towards the west side of the palace; and on coming near a wicket gate, which apparently led into a garden, I saw a large assemblage of people under a circular temporary building, styled a *Mandat*, where music and dancing were going on. This was the assembled court; and, as the King was present, I took off my shoes, and proceeded on with the Woondouk, Mr. Spears, and two or three Burmese officers. On entering the assembly I perceived the King seated on a kind of a sofa placed in a room raised several feet above the level of the Mandat. I was conducted forward and placed amongst some of

* Some Albinoes also came to show themselves at the Residency. Dr. Bayfield and Capt. Hannay allude to *xanthous* individuals or families in the neighbourhood of Ava, but I think only from hearsay. The persons of whom I speak were however evidently Albinoes, and there was nothing to indicate their being of different race from their neighbours.

It is worthy of notice that Albinoes appear to be not unfrequently met with in Siam and the Malay states, as well as in Burma. I do not recollect ever to have seen one in India. (See a paper by Captain Low in *Trans. Royal As. Soc.* vol. iii. p. 189.)

the ministers, who were situated a little below where the King was seated. There was a large assembly of people, all except the dancers being seated on the ground. Outside the building were guards dressed in red jackets, with red papier-mâché helmets, and muskets with the butts resting on the ground between their legs, they also squatted on the ground. There were eight couples of men and women dancing. The King did not speak to me, and shortly after I had entered he retired. In a few minutes I was informed that the King wished to see me elsewhere, and I was taken round the building where the festival was going on to another room. Here were guards also in a lower verandah. On ascending to the room, I saw the King half reclining on a sofa at one end of it. He was dressed in the ordinary garb of the country, a silk putsho, or waist-cloth of gay colours, a white cotton jacket reaching a little below the hips, and a single fillet of book-muslin round his head. At the other extremity were some large imitation lotus-flowers in a vase, nearly behind which Father Abbona was seated on the ground, and his legs brought under him as well as an European can accomplish that feat. On the King's left, at a little distance, were some half-dozen of his sons, of all ages up to sixteen years, crouching on the ground with their chins touching it. A band of girls in fantastic court-dresses were in an ante-room playing 'soft music' on stringed instruments. On taking my seat on the ground near the lotus vases, I perceived that some half-dozen officials, one of the Atwen-woons, and others, had followed me, and with a few pages, who collected and sat towards the end of the room, the audience was anything but private. After we sat down the King paused a moment or two, and then held up his hand. The music stopped. I was seated about twenty-five to thirty feet from him. He told me to look at the lotus vases. I did so, and the buds which were closed up suddenly expanded, and out of one of them flew a solitary sparrow. The King smiled, and looked as if he expected me to be surprised and pleased; so I expressed my admiration, and one of the sitters-by said, 'Each bud had a bird imprisoned, but they managed to escape, all but this one.'

"Conversation, or rather question and answer, then commenced, which I will record as nearly as possible in the order of their recurrence.

"*King.* 'Do you know Burmese writing or literature?'*

"*Envoy.* 'I do somewhat, your Majesty.'

"*K.* 'I have heard of you now for three years. Have you read the 'Mengula-Thoot?''

"*E.* 'I have, your Majesty.'

"*K.* 'Do you know the meaning of it?'

"*E.* 'I do. I have read the Burmese interpretation of it.'†

"*K.* 'How many precepts does it contain?'

"*E.* 'Thirty-eight.'

"*K.* 'Do you remember them?'

* This is a Sermon of Gautama's, containing thirty-eight rules of life, or a summary of beatitude. It is one of the first lessons taught to a Burmese youth. (*P.*) Mengula-Thoot is, I suppose, *Mangala Sutra*, the Auspicious or Fortunate Discourse. A translation of it will be found in Sangermano, ch. xvi.

† The original is in Pali.

"*E.* 'I am sorry to say, your Majesty, it is so long since I learnt the Mengula Thoot, that I cannot repeat it now.' The King here repeated some of the precepts of this discourse against pride, anger, evil associates, and the like. He continued for full five minutes or more, commenting on and enforcing the rules contained in the sermon.

"*Father Abbona.* 'What your Majesty has been pleased to say is just the same as what is contained in our Kyasatsa (Scriptures);' (*and then addressing me*),—

"'It is what our Bible says.'

"*E.* 'Certainly, it is in accordance with the Bible.' I here took an opportunity of saying to the Woondouk in an undertone, I hoped His Majesty would not be offended at any mistakes I made in forms of address and speech to him. This being repeated by the Woondouk, the King said, 'Oh, don't be afraid, I give you permission just to speak as you find most convenient to yourself!'

"*K.* 'Have you, your suite and escort, everything comfortable about you?'

"*E.* 'From the day we entered your Majesty's territory, everything has been done to make us happy. I am particularly obliged to the Woondouk for the trouble he has taken.'

"*K.* 'Very well. I wish to be friendly with the English, and have always been so: have I not?'

"*E.* 'Certainly you have.'

"*K.* 'Did I not withdraw my troops as soon as I had the power to do so, and when the Talains were starving below, did I not allow food to go down to them?'*

"*E.* 'Certainly, your Majesty did.'

"*K.* 'Well, then, our friendship is complete; what more can be wanting?'

"*E.* 'With your Majesty's permission, I will state what is wanting according to our western ideas.'

"*K.* 'Certainly, say on.'

"*E.* 'All the great western nations, the English, the French, and others, hold that when there is friendship between two nations, it is proper to cement it by a written treaty. That, your Majesty, is what is now wanting between your Majesty and the English ruler.'

"*K.* 'But if a treaty is made, there must be mutual advantage?'

"*E.* 'Certainly, your Majesty. I would not propose it, were it not to be for your Majesty's benefit also.'

"(I did not clearly hear the next question. Frequently the King had his mouth full of pán, and I was obliged to refer to the Woondouk for explanation of what he said. It was intimated that the King wished to be informed of the benefit to himself of a treaty.)

"*E.* 'As long as there is no treaty, the English ruler will not permit gunpowder and

* The King here alluded to the Burmese troops before Prome having been withdrawn, or retreating to the capital about 25th December, 1852, and to the partial importation of rice into Prome during the scarcity of 1853. I did not consider it necessary or advisable to dispute either assertion of the King, as it may be conceded that he personally never committed or authorized any positively hostile act. Rice was allowed to come in for a time, but was stopped when it began to come too fast. (*P.*)

warlike-stores to pass; when there is a treaty, his confidence, agreeably to our western ideas, will be perfect, and he will then allow them to pass.'

"*K.* 'I have heard a great deal of you, and that you are wise and well-disposed. I should not have taken the same pains to receive every one; I should have done according to custom. You have commenced well. But in a man's life, and in every transaction, there is a beginning, a middle, and an end.* Let your middle and ending be as good as your beginning. Remember, there must be a mutual advantage, or no treaty could be proper, and such as to satisfy both countries. If I were to sanction a treaty discreditable to me, I should lose my reputation in history; just as a thousand years hence your name would be stained, if you did anything to the damage of your country. Ponder upon this.'†

"*E.* 'I am fully sensible of the truth of what your Majesty urges. A treaty, which I would propose, would be for the mutual advantage of the two nations; without that it could have no stability. If I can succeed in persuading your Majesty to conclude such a treaty, then I feel that my middle and my ending will be as successful as your Majesty has said my commencement has been.'

"*K.* 'Very well. Ponder on what I have said.'

"*E.* 'I will, your Majesty.'

"*K.* 'Have the newspapers arrived lately?'

"*E.* 'They have.'

"*K.* 'What is going on?'

"I did not at first understand that he referred to the war in Europe, but finding he did, I replied.

"*E.* 'They are still fighting, and matters are much the same as at the date of the last intelligence.'

"*K.* 'Will you be able to take Sebastopol?'

"*E.* 'Certainly, your Majesty. No nation can stand against the English and French united. The Russians must submit. The English have a vast navy, and the French a great army. They are sure to conquer.'

"*K.* 'That is what I hear. How long will the war last?'

"*E.* 'Probably a year yet.'

"*K.* 'Why, it has lasted three years already!'

"*E.* 'Not quite, your Majesty. It is not more than eighteen months since the English and French came into the field.'

"*K.* 'But the Russians and Turks were fighting before that?'

"*E.* 'Yes; and it was because Russia was oppressing Turkey that the English and French came to help the latter.'

* The King illustrated this by running his fingers along the handle of his dha or sword of state, which was on a stand before him. (*P.*)

† This "ponder" appears to be a favourite Burman formula for putting off a decision. Thus Judson relates that after a conversation on religion with Moungzah, a very intelligent Burman minister, at parting, the latter remarked, "This is a deep and difficult subject. Do you consider further, teacher, and I also will consider." Life, i. 251. (*Y.*)

"*K.* 'What part does Austria take?'

"*E.* 'Austria is neutral.'

"*K.* 'And Persia?'

"*E.* 'Persia, I believe, is neutral too.'

"*K.* 'Are you at peace with all the other nations of Europe?'

"*E.* 'We are, your Majesty.'

"*K.* 'I am glad to hear it; I am averse to war. I would like to have a steamer of my own which I could send to different countries. There would be no objection to this. I would not communicate with any country at war with you.'

"*E.* 'I believe, your Majesty, there would be no objection.'

"*K.* 'Did you receive the marble pagoda I sent you?'

"*E.* 'I did, your Majesty, and have brought a singing-bird box as a token of my thanks.' I then delivered the box, and having reserved, to present to the mother of the Queen, one of the diamond rings, I here presented it, but not in the name of the Governor-General, as the lady did not appear.

"*K.* 'I shall be glad if you can come up here again, but with fewer attendants, to stay for a few days.'

"*E.* 'I am much obliged to your Majesty, and will represent to the most noble the Governor-General what you have said.'

"*K.* 'There is a man in the gun-foundry at Calcutta, who I hear will be willing to take service with me; is there any objection to this?'

"*E.* 'I am not aware of any objection. He would not be prevented coming, if he wished to do so.'

"*K.* 'I hear the painter, (Mr. C. Grant,) is here. Would he like to come in?'

"*E.* 'He is engaged, drawing the white elephant, and no doubt would like to see your Majesty.'

"*K.* 'I am going to bestow on you a ring, which you will find very curious.'

"A ring, half sapphire and (apparently) half topaz, was brought in and presented to me.

"*K.* (*To Mr. Spears*) 'Do you know any one I could engage to take charge of my ruby mines, so as to point out where they are accumulated in the soil?'

"*Mr. Spears.* 'In our countries, your Majesty, there are no rubies, so that we have no one experienced in such matters.'

"*E.* 'A geologist would probably be of use for that object.'

"*K.* 'I should like to have such a person. Has the stone-teacher (Professor Oldham) gone to the coal mines?'

"*E.* 'He has, your Majesty.'

"*K.* 'You may have all the coal there is collected there, and I will have it brought down for the steamers.' I expressed my obligation. Mr. Grant having arrived, was asked about his drawing of the white elephant, and one by the King's own artist was produced, which was a complete failure. Mr. Grant then received a gold cup from the King.

"*K.* (Looking laughingly at a very thin young man, who was fanning him with a long

palm-leaf fan.)* 'I should wish very much to have a model of a human skeleton made of wood, and so arranged that the actions of the joints in sitting and rising should be shown.'

"*E.* 'That would not be difficult to procure, and it shall have my attention.'

"*K.* 'I will now order in some refreshment, and everything has been prepared with great care.' Some trays of cakes and sweetmeats were now brought in, which I partook of, and the King walked up to where I was sitting and recommended one or two dishes. He then returned to his sofa and retired, saying—'Whenever you wish to see me, inform the Woondouk.'

"During the interview, which lasted for more than an hour, the King behaved with great courtesy. One of his children, about eighteen months old apparently, came out two or three times without any clothes on and climbed up on the couch. The young sons who were in attendance now and then lighted his cheroot for him, and gave him water to drink when he required it."

September 24th.—To-day, agreeably to previous arrangement, the Envoy accompanied by Dr. Forsyth, Major Allan, and Mr. Edwards, paid a visit of ceremony to the four Woongyis, and to old Moung Pathee, the Nan-ma-dau Woon or comptroller of the Queen Mother's Palace, commonly known among us as the Dalla Woon, from the post he held as Governor of that district at the commencement of the war. The visit was paid to him as having been head of the embassy to Calcutta, and from a personal kindly feeling towards him.

The first visit paid was to the Magwé Mengyi, now considered the most influential among the Woongyis, as he certainly is the most intellectual. He met the Envoy at the foot of the outer steps and handed him up into his receiving-room, on which evidently much care had been expended in preparing it for the visitors. The floor was laid with carpets, and chairs for the party were set at a long table in the middle. A large silk curtain divided this outer room from the interior or women's apartment. This curtain was partly drawn up at one corner, and there all the ladies of the family were seated on carpets. A number of respectable and well-dressed Burmans of middle age were also sitting about the room, and the outer veranda was crowded with people seated in the posture of respect, evidently neighbours who had come in to witness the meeting.

Shortly after the arrival of the visitors, breakfast was brought in. Two strips of long-cloth were laid as a table-cloth, and plates, knives, and forks, cups, saucers, and tea were provided in English fashion, a native of India who had formerly been an officer's servant having been got hold of to act as butler.

At first, bread and butter, muffins, tarts, &c., were displayed, and the servants were bringing more food of the same kind, when the Woongyi called out cheerily, "Come, come, they know English dishes well enough, let us have Burmese dishes now." Sweet-

* This servant, it appears, the King is fond of jesting with about his personal appearance. He sent a message to Mr. Grant, requesting the man's likeness might be taken without his jacket, as His Majesty wished to show the Queen what a fat servant she had. Mr. Grant received a hint to give him plenty of ribs in the drawing. (*P.*)

meats and dainties of various kinds were then brought in profusion, and when the whole was spread fifty-seven different dishes were counted.

During breakfast, at the request of Major Phayre, the Woongyi's wife, a lady much past the middle age, was requested to come forward and take a chair. A chair was accordingly placed for her near the Envoy, but the old lady, who had by no means the easy manners of her husband, desired that it might be moved further off before she would sit down. Even then she did not appear to be very comfortable, for she immediately tucked in her scanty robes and doubled her legs under her on the chair. She wore several very handsome rings, and among them two large diamonds of apparently great value.

The Woongyi conversed readily and jocosely, beginning with the usual Burmese questions as to the ages of the party, as to their being married or single, &c., and expressing good-humoured surprise that neither the Envoy nor Major Allan had ever been married. "When you do marry," said he, "I hope you'll bring your wives up here."

After the breakfast had been removed, the usual Burmese dessert was brought in, consisting of trays with little gold and silver dishes in them containing betelnut, pán, chunam, pickled tea, salted ginger in small strips, fried garlick, walnuts without the shells, roasted groundnuts, &c. The Burmese at the table seemed to relish the betel and pickled tea much more than any of the preceding delicacies, as did old Camaretta also.* The entertainment wound up with cheroots.

Major Phayre made an attempt to move, but was requested to stop a little longer by the Woongyi, who evidently intended to be as polite and kind as possible. The visit had extended to an hour and a half before they actually got off, the Envoy having first presented a gold snuff-box and some English stuff.

The house was of timber and seemed spacious, but ill-built. This is accounted for by the hurry with which most of the buildings in the city were reconstructed after the revolution. In common with the houses of all the other Woongyis, it opened from the road which runs along the south side of the Palace stockade.

The next official visited was the Mein-loung Mengyi, who takes his title from a district to the north of Ava, a toothless but burly old gentleman of about sixty years of age. He had not the unconstrained manners of the Magwé Mengyi, expressing in somewhat forced and awkward speeches his pleasure at receiving the party. The old lady, his wife, was more natural and emphatic. She sat down close to the table, and as a breakfast similar to that at the Magwé Mengyi's was spread, she from time to time recommended certain dishes to the notice of the visitors. Not being *au fait* at the practice of shaking

* The *hlapét* or pickled tea, made up with a little oil, salt, and garlick, or assafœtida, is eaten in small quantities by the Burmese after dinner as we eat cheese. They say, as reasonably as our old saws do of cheese, that it promotes digestion, and they cannot live in comfort without it. Col. Burney mentions that the Burmese resident proceeding to Calcutta in 1830 took a large supply of *hlapét* with him, as a necessary of life not to be had where he was going. (*MS. Journal.*) *Hlapét* is also partaken of on many ceremonial occasions, and on the conclusion of lawsuits; the bill of costs being always rounded off with a charge for "pickled tea," as a Calcutta agent's account used to be rounded off with a charge for "Postages."

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hands, as the Envoy was leaving she put her hand on his shoulder in a very friendly way, saying she had received much pleasure from the visit.

The two remaining Woongyis, the Myadoung Mengyi and the Pakhán Mengyi, were visited in succession. The last was, till the present King's accession, a poongyi or monk. Immediately after the revolution, the King summoned him from his cell, and at once appointed him Atwén-Woon, and subsequently a Woongyi, a promotion which is unusual without having first gone through the lower grades of office. His wife, a woman of about two-and-thirty years of age, had been one of Tharawadi's Queens. With her two sisters and her mother she sat at table during breakfast, (the fourth breakfast). They were really lady-like and self-possessed, fairer than the generality of the Burmese, and of delicate and graceful figures, though not pretty.

They wore the usual *tamein* or narrow petticoat of gorgeously striped silk, polka jackets of thin white muslin, and ornaments of a brilliance which would have been the envy of the ladies of a more civilized region. Their ear-cylinders were gold, but instead of being open tubes, as is the case with those commonly worn at the capital, the front was closed and set with one large cut diamond, ruby, or emerald, surrounded by smaller brilliants. The necklace consisted of a narrow chain of gold, plain, or set with pearls, and bearing table diamonds in two rows, one fixed and the other pendant. They wore also very handsome rings, among which were remarked rubies of great size.

The old mother, a very talkative lady who had resided many years at Rangoon, and professed, in consequence, an intimate acquaintance with English customs, is the widow of Moung Shwé Doung, formerly the Woon, or minister, of the present chief Queen, when Princess Royal. Her reminiscences extended back to the residence of Ján-ken-ning (Major John Canning) at Rangoon.

Among the ladies seated on the ground were two strongly resembling one another, and with the receding forehead which seems to mark all the descendants of Alompra. These were daughters of the Mekhara Men,* an uncle of King Tharawadi, often mentioned in Colonel Burney's journals for his interest in European science. Another lady of the same party, of very fair and feminine aspect, was pointed out as the wife of the *Tsaub-wa*, or Shan Prince of Moné. She had been married from the Palace, and was now at the capital on "leave of absence." Several of these ladies were therefore closely connected with the court, and the visitors had thus an opportunity of seeing the highest class of Burmese in their family circle. The impression on the whole party was a pleasing one.

The old Nan-ma-dau Woon was next visited. The Woondouk ceased to accompany the Envoy, it not being consistent with his dignity, it would appear, as a member of the second order of the Hlwot-dau, to visit this venerable minister, although the latter wears the *Tsalwé* of a Woongyi.

* Or Mek-ka-ya-Men (the R being slurred into a Y by the people of Ava). This Prince knew English well, and used to translate articles of interest from Rees's Cyclopædia, of which he possessed a copy. The Prince's nephew, the King of that day, once proposed to Colonel Burney the awful task of translating the forty quartos of that work into Burmese.

The Mekhara Men assisted Mr. Lane, a merchant at Ava, in the compilation of the English and Burmese dictionary which bears the name of the latter.

The wife and daughters joined the party at table, whilst they affected to partake of a fifth breakfast. The eldest daughter was a very pretty girl, and both wore handsome jewels, which were suspected to have been borrowed from the Palace for the occasion, as the worthy old gentleman is known not to be rich.

During the visit, the youngest daughter sent for a packet carefully wrapt up in cloth, which proved to be the daguerreotype likeness of her father, taken during his Mission to Calcutta. Of this, they all seemed quite proud, considering it exceedingly like, and objecting to hang it up lest it should be spoilt.

As the Woon's wife mentioned Rangoon, Major Phayre asked how long she had resided there. Scarcely eight months, she said, before the ships came and the war commenced. Finding the subject took such an unlucky twist, the Envoy changed it as fast as possible.

As the party came away, the old gentleman told his wife to give the Envoy her hand "in English fashion," which she did accordingly, and they all came away much gratified with the friendly reception they had met with.

The duties of the day were completed by a visit to Camaretta, whose wife and daughters, Burmese in dress and language, likewise were introduced.*

September 25th.—The King remarked to S—— yesterday, "I shall not now want muskets. The Myadoung Mengyi has undertaken to supply me with 10,000." This doubtless referred to Major Phayre's remark regarding the admission of warlike stores, and was as much as to say that he did not want a treaty. The King seemed now to think that if he concluded a treaty, however general in terms, he would be silently acceding to the existing state of things, and resigning his claim to any restoration of territory. He also now talked about awaiting the arrival of the new Governor-General, of whose appointment we had heard.

September 26th.—To-day a party from the Residency went to see an exhibition of elephant-taming, of which the Burmese are as devotedly fond as the Spaniards are of a bull-fight.

An arena for the purpose is erected to the east of the town, near the banks of one of the lakes, and attached to it is a spacious timber-pavilion for the King's use, commonly known as the Elephant Palace.

This is one of the standing "Institutions" of Burma, and notices of it are to be met with in the books of the earliest travellers.

The arena itself consists of an enclosure about eighty or one hundred yards square, formed by a wall some five-and-twenty feet high, and as much in thickness. At an interval of about twenty feet from the interior of the wall runs a very massive palisade of timber, the spaces of which are just wide enough to admit of the free passage of a man's body. A smaller stockade, of similar character, occupies the middle of the square, and in the centre of all is a small building for spectators.

On two faces there were entrances into the interior of the square, the gates being com-

* I am indebted to the Envoy and Major Allan for the preceding account of these visits.

posed of two heavy beams of timber, swinging vertically from pivots, and fitting, when closed, into a grooved sill on the ground. Gates of this kind being established both in the line of the wall, and in that of the stockade, the fenced passage which led from one to the other was converted into a trap of some twenty feet in length, which could be closed readily and effectually.

A flight of steps led to the top of the wall, which appeared to be the favourite place for spectators of all ranks, and there sheds were prepared for the visitors from the Residency.

As the party reached the ground they observed a group of about two dozen female elephants, some with drivers, but mostly unattended, standing in a compact mass on the plain, about 400 yards from the enclosure, and carefully keeping in their midst the two wild males which had been decoyed. The females seemed quite to understand their duty, and continued to hustle the victims in the direction of the arena. On reaching the entrance, a female with her *mahout* first passed into the interior of the enclosure, followed almost immediately by the larger of the wild males. The entrance was immediately closed, and an opportunity taken to lead away the decoy by the other gate. The male was a nearly full-grown tusker, but appeared thin and weak, having been kept on short commons for some time previously. He ran round the palisades seeking for the means of exit, and seemed to recognise the passage by which he had entered. For he frequently ran with his whole force against the timbers that closed it, or, kneeling down, tried to uproot them. From this he was driven by the blows and shouts of those behind the stockade, whilst others rushed out between the posts and pricked him with goads. Turning to chase these they world dart nimbly between the posts, whilst he would dash his head against the latter, making the whole structure tremble, to the infinite amusement of the Burmans, and to his own no small hurt. Thus the poor beast was regularly baited for a considerable time, the object being to tire him out and break his spirit.

When he began to show signs of fatigue one of the chief mahouts, exciting him to pursuit in the same way that the others had done, led him into the den formed by one of the passages of entrance. The aperture being immediately closed, while the man escaped between the posts, the elephant found himself in a cage not large enough for him to turn round in. They then began to tie his hind-legs and to put collars round his neck. To enable them to do this, and to prevent the animal from tearing away the collars before they could be properly secured, a noose of small hide-rope was first put over his ear, the end being thrown over the opposite side of his neck. Thus, whenever he attempted to take hold of the collar, the first thing his trunk caught was this small rope; and by pulling it he only hurt himself, and had his attention distracted from what the mahouts were doing. During all this process of picketing and collaring the poor elephant displayed an excess of rage, pushing at the posts all round him, thrusting his tusks into them, and rending large splinters off, tearing up the ground, and trumpeting vociferously. A second collar had just been adjusted, and the people were proceeding to tighten it, when the elephant, which had frequently lain down, as if quite exhausted, reared suddenly on his hind-quarters and fell on his side —— *dead.*

With the other and smaller elephant a different process was pursued. At a signal

given he was abandoned by the females which encompassed him, and chase was given by nine or ten large males, whose mahouts were provided with lassoes of hide-rope, Several of these nooses being slipt over one of his hind legs, the ends of the ropes were secured to a strong stake in the ground. He was thus tethered in a circle of about forty yards' radius. The old elephants then began regularly to bait him, thrusting him with their tusks, following him up, and hustling him from one to the other till he was quite tired out. Two large elephants then took him between them, whilst their riders put collars round his neck. He was then walked off to a shed and strictly picketed, where he was to remain on low diet till he gradually perceived the necessity of obedience.*

The 28th of September, and again the 1st of October, had been fixed by the King as days of audience to Major Phayre; but on both days excuse was made on trivial pretexts for deferring the reception.

On the 2d of October, however, the Envoy had an audience. He was accompanied by Capt. F. Willis, and by Mr. Edwards. They found the Palace-yard in a sad state from the late nightly rain, and had to walk along two lines of bricks in order to keep out of the mire.

The interview took place in the small audience-chamber or pavilion, immediately in rear of the great hall. About a hundred persons were present, including two Atwén-woons, the Nan-ma-dau Phra Woon, Makartish, and several Shan Tsaub-was, but none of the Woongyis. After some delay the King entered and took his seat on a sofa, when the following dialogue took place:—

King. "There is a great deal of mud from this rain."

Envoy. (Finding from the general look towards him that he was expected to answer.) "There is, your Majesty; but at our residence there is none. It is a sandy soil."

K. "Did you go the other day to the Pyee Kyoung and see the Tshaya-dau† (Royal Teacher) there?"

E. "I did, your Majesty."

K. "Did he discourse to you, and did you approve of what he said?"

E. "He discoursed on moral duties, and what he said was very proper."

* We have here an illustration of the constancy of the Burmese nations to old customs. Thus in 1569, Master Cæsar Frederike, speaking of the court of Pegu, says: "This King hath a brave devise in hunting to take these elephants when he will. Two miles from this Citie he hath builded a faire Palace all gilded and within it a faire court, and within it and round about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stand to see this hunting. . . . . When the Huntsmen have made provision and the elephant is so entangled, they guide the females towards the Palace which is called *Tambell*, and this Palace hath a door which doth open and shut with engines," and so on, describing the proceedings almost exactly as I have done from Lieut. Heathcote's account of it.—V. PURCHAS, Pt. ii. p. 1715.

The same practice is noted as exactly by Nicolo di Conti, the oldest known European traveller in Ava, circa 1430, (RAMUSIO, i. 340); and by De la Loubère, as a favourite amusement of Siam in his time (p. 44.)

Fatal accidents are common at these elephant-baits, when the animal turns suddenly on his persecutors. Such an accident occurred in Burney's presence in 1830. The humane temper of the present King is averse to the amusement, which he rarely attends.

† This is one of the appellations of the Patriarch or Bishop of the Monks throughout the kingdom. (*P.*)

K. "You know what we call the ten virtues,* do you agree with them?"

E. "They are most excellent."

K. "What length of time, according to your books, is a Kamba" (a complete revolution of nature, a geological period it might almost be called)?

E. "Our books, your Majesty, do not contain that."

K. "Well, we say that in a Kamba the life-period of man gradually advances from the limit of ten years to an Athenkhya,† and then gradually diminishes from that down to ten years again. When that has been repeated sixty-four times it constitutes a period, which again is repeated sixty-four times, and when four such compound periods have been repeated, the whole era is called a Kamba, or a grand revolution of the universe. The world is then destroyed and a new era commences."

E. "That is a period which the mind cannot comprehend."

K. "Have you read the 'Mahan-Zat?'"

E. "I have not."

The King here entered into a long narration of the story of this Zat, or life of Gautama, in one of his former births, the gist of which was that a King, who had a wise minister, would gain all he wanted. He then narrated the story of a King of Benares, who had three birds' eggs brought to him, which produced a parrot, an owl, and a mainah, each of whom in course of time had a department of the state entrusted to him, the parrot having the greatest or political matters. "The moral seemed to be, though not very clearly brought about as far as I could follow the story," says Major Phayre, "that people of various nations might be employed with advantage in the administration of a country. What the application of this was, unless it referred to our own position in Pegu, I could not understand."

K. "I believe your English Kings have existed for 200 years, or more, have they not?"‡

* 1, Charity. 2, Religious Observances. 3, Self-denial. 4, Learning. 5, Diligence. 6, Patience. 7, Truth. 8, Perseverance. 9, Friendship. 10, Impartiality. (*P.*)

† *Kamba* is probably the Hindu *kalpa*. *Athen-khya* is the Sanskrit *asankhya;* lit. innumerable, but a Buddhist period expressed by a unit and one hundred and forty ciphers. (*P.*)

Why do all our Burmese scholars (*e. g.* Phayre, Burney, Judson), when they have occasion to write Pali words, hack them into mere hyphenized aggregations of syllables, so as to disguise all recognition of etymology, as much as would have been the case with the unhappy English language, had the propagators of the *Fonetic Nûz* succeeded in their atrocious conspiracy? Who would recognise in Judson's A-ma-ya-poo-ya the identity of root with our *Amaranth* and *Immortal?* or in Burney's E-ya-wa-tee its identity in name with the Airavatee or Hydraötes of the Punjab? *Athen-khya* is a corruption, or Burmese pronunciation, of *Asankhya*, ἀναριθμος, from the negative A and *Sankhya* (Sansc.) "number."

‡ This of course was said ironically, to indicate that the English are a people of yesterday, and without the long illustrious pedigree of the descendants of the Hunter Alompra, who emerged from his forests little more than one hundred years ago. (*P.*) There has, in fact, been no old Royal dynasty on the throne of Ava at least since 1526. In that year the reigning King was dethroned and slain by the northern Shans; these were displaced in 1544 by the conquering Prince of Toungoo, himself apparently not of royal lineage; his illegitimate descendants furnished kings of Ava, from the fall of the Peguan empire in the end of the sixteenth century till its short-lived revival and subjugation of Ava in the middle of the eighteenth. Then came Alompra. (*Y.*)

E. "The English nation, your Majesty, have had Kings to reign over them for 1400 or 1500 years."

K. "My ancestors have come in regular descent from King Maha-tha-mada."*

The Envoy here said to one of the Atwén-woons, "Which of the royal cities did Maha-tha-mada build?"

The Atwén-woon stared at him without replying.

Woondouk. "Oh, that King reigned in Myit-tsye-ma-detha" (Madhyadesa, or Majhima Desha, *the middle land*, India).

K. "Our race once reigned in all the countries you hold. Now the Kalás have come close up to us."

E. "It is true, your Majesty."

K. "Have you read any of our Maha-Radza-Weng (*Chronicles of the Kings*)?"†

E. "I have read portions of them, and am very anxious to read more."

K. "Well, I will present you with a complete copy, and also a copy of the 550 Zats and the Mahan-Zats, and when you come again I shall expect to find that you have studied them."

E. "I shall do my best to make myself acquainted with them."

K. "I should like to have a copy of your Radza-Weng (*History of Kings*)."

E. "That I will present to your Majesty."

K. "It is only right and the part of a wise man to gather instruction from the records of the past and the works of sages. By the study of these books, you will be able to divine people's thoughts from their appearance, and may aspire to the most difficult of all attainments, the discernment of which is the greater principle, matter or spirit."‡

Mention was then made by the Woondouk of the discoveries near Bhilsa of Buddhist Topes, and more especially of the relics contained in the chambers. These discoveries had made rather a sensation here, and the Envoy had been asked what had become of the relics, and whether we were desirous of keeping them. The Woondouk, to whom Major Phayre had communicated these particulars, now briefly narrated them, and observed that the account of them was contained in Major Cunningham's book on the Topes of Bhilsa, which Major Phayre had partly translated to him.

K. "I should like to see the book very much."

E. "I will present it to your Majesty."

* Maha-Sammata is by the Indian Buddhist writings held up as the first king who established government on the earth, many millions of years past, at the commencement of the present Kamba in fact. The question to the Atwén-woon was put to show that the Envoy was aware no such king had reigned in Burma. (*P.*)

† The general existence of such Chronicles among the Indo-Chinese nations appears to present a remarkable contrast to the deficiency of similar records in India. Burma, Pegu, Aracan, Muneepoor, the old state of Pong or Mogoung, and even such small states as Tavoy and the Shan principalities of Zimmé and Laboung have all, I believe, their chronicles going back to a period of considerable antiquity.

‡ I believe this was the King's meaning; but what with the nature of the subject, and his utterance being frequently indistinct by reason of the pán he was constantly eating, I could not catch all his words. The subject was a good deal enlarged upon."—*Major Phayre.*

K. "It is a difficult thing, (is it not?) to find people of a generous disposition: some wish only to acquire other people's property, others give away what they have. Which do you think are the more numerous?"

E. "Certainly, your Majesty, I must say, the covetous form a very large majority."

(Here there was a general titter throughout the assembly, and the King joined in the laugh. He has the character himself of giving away as fast as he receives, and hoarding nothing.)

K. "You have brought the rain with you. There have now been beneficial showers for nearly a month." *Mr. Spears.* "It was the same, your Majesty, when Colonel Benson came, and it then rained for fifteen days."

K. "Have you been to see any of the Royal Tanks, at Oungben-lé, and other places, which have lately been constructed?"

E. "I have not been yet, your Majesty, but I purpose going."

K. "I have caused ninety-nine* tanks and ancient reservoirs to be dug or repaired, and sixty-six canals, whereby a great deal of rice-land will be made available."

E. (*To an Atwén-woon.*) "Is there any mention of those ancient reservoirs in the Maha-Radza-Weng?"

K. "Most of them are very ancient. In the reign of Naurabha-dzyai 9999 tanks and canals were constructed. I purpose renewing them."

E. "They will be of great benefit to the country."

K. "I hope you will always be near, so that I may hear of you. Since I heard that Captain Latter had been killed by evil men, I have always prayed that you might be preserved."

The King then spoke to Mr. Edwards, and reminded him of their meeting in the year 1837 in the streets of Ava, when the King's father Tharawadi was leaving the capital to go to Moutshobo-Myo, at the commencement of his revolt against the reigning King.

Throughout the whole of the King's references to history and other subjects there appeared to be a hidden meaning, pointing to the propriety of restoring to him the Province of Pegu.

It appeared by the King's private communications through Mr. Camaretta, that his Majesty had now pretty well made up his mind to sign no treaty. He requested that the Envoy would reserve the subject for conference with himself, and not broach it with the minister.

October 3*d.*—Padre Abbona to-day related to the Envoy a curious conversation

* *Ninety-nine* seems to mean in Burmese "a large number" merely. Thus Capt. Hannay was told that there were ninety-nine jheels, or lakes, in the district of Tagoung, (*MS. Journal.*) So also an ancient king of Aracan is said to have founded ninety-nine cities on each side of the Gatshapa, or Aracan River; (*Phayre on the History of Aracan, Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xiii.); and so the Burmese speak of the ninety-nine towns of the Shan country. The King of Ceylon, Duttagamini, a great promoter of Buddhism in the second century B.C., is said to have built ninety-nine great temples. (*Trans. Royal As. Soc.* ii. 478.) It is a phrase from their Buddhist lore. The Buddhist physiology speaks of the ninety-nine joints, and ninety-nine thousand pores of the human body. (*Man. of Bud.* p. 200.) So we have our leases for 99 and 999 years.

which he stated himself to have had with the King on the 1st, regarding the proposed treaty. After asking Abbona what he and D'Orgoni thought on the subject, he said:—

"The Woongyis are also in favour of a treaty; so are the Atwén-woons, and the Woondouks." The King then mentioned his brother's name, but in such a low tone that Abbona did not know whether he said the heir-apparent was favourable to a treaty or otherwise. He continued thus:

"It behoves me to be more cautious than any one in an affair of this importance. I am responsible for the honour of the kingdom. If I were a Minister, or a Prince, perhaps I should give the same advice that they do."

Mr. Camaretta here spoke out boldly and said; "But if the four Woongyis and the other Ministers are all of the same opinion, may not your Majesty be wrong?"

The King replied: "I can bring an instance where, although they are all against me, I think that you will admit I am in the right. They are all against me for abolishing fees in courts of justice, and for forbidding levies of money to be made as formerly, and for wishing to pay every one by salaries."

After this, Father Abbona represented that the King when alone with him, said, "I have no objection to sign the treaty, but I shall require, in order to save my name from dishonour hereafter, and in order to show my brother that I am not abandoning my claims, that a third article be added to the treaty, to the effect, that if the two high contracting powers hereafter agree to have a more detailed treaty, they can execute it."

Abbona assured the Envoy that these were the King's words, but, when told of Camaretta's communication on the preceding night, in a quite contrary sense, he professed himself at a loss to account for the sudden change.

October 4th.—To-day Major Phayre went, by appointment, to have a conversation with the Magwé Mengyi.

Before proceeding to business, the Woongyi entered into an interesting conversation on various subjects, asking the Envoy various questions as to the several countries of Europe, their relative positions and powers, whether they all wore hats like the English and French, (this seemed to be, in their opinion, the distinctive peculiarity of Europeans,*) and particularly whether the Russians did; the number of ships and troops they had; the course taken by sailing-vessels *viâ* the Cape from Europe to India, and that by steamers through the Mediterranean and Red Seas; railways, balloons, the solar system; America and the republican system of government; the relationship of the English and Americans with respect to race, language, and religion; the kingdom of Persia, Turkey, and Egypt, the King of Delhi and his position with respect to the English government; the time elapsed since he submitted. These and other subjects kept the party engaged in conversation for nearly two hours. Major Phayre had to sketch out a map of Europe, and the Woongyi requested him to send one including Burma, India, and China, with the names written in Burmese. He particularly requested it might not be a globe, as that puzzled

* A hundred and fifty years ago, according to Captain Alexander Hamilton, the "gentry" of Pegu and Burma used to give extravagant prices for *fine beaver hats.* (*New Account of the East Indies*, 1727.)

him. He laughed heartily when told that if he were to talk with the Envoy daily for a week he would believe in the globular form of the earth, and in its revolution round the sun, and replied that in that time he should convert the Envoy.

The business which succeeded was of no particular interest. In fact, the Woongyi was unaware of the King's request that the treaty might not be discussed, and was in evident expectation of the subject being brought forward.

October 8th.—To day the Envoy had an audience, attended by Dr. Forsyth, Major Allan, Mr. Oldham, Mr. Edwards, and the Secretary. On reaching the Palace, we were taken to the usual waiting-room (the white elephant's pavilion), to abide His Majesty's pleasure.

After a short detention we were summoned to the Palace. Our way lay through the great hall in which the public reception took place. The mats and rich carpets which then covered the floor had been removed, and it was now visible as of unsophisticated mud. From this the hall derives its name of Myé Nán or Earthen Palace. Dancing-women were performing in the central aisle before the throne. Traversing the hall and issuing into a veranda near the throne we observed the inner chamber and the staircase leading to the throne, up which their Majesties had toiled with so much apparent difficulty on the audience day.

The veranda was crowded with officials and with a seated company of female minstrels, gaily attired and crowned with pagoda-shaped tiaras, like those worn by the princes in the plays. The scene of our reception was the Je-da-woon-tshoung, the same pavilion in which Major Phayre had been received on the 2d. It was a lofty room about forty or forty-five feet square, with very little ornament. The walls and pillars had originally been painted red, but were now dusty and cobwebbed. The floor was spread with the carpets that had been used in the great hall on the 13th of September, and was crowded with the dignitaries and petty officials of the court, the latter all carrying large and handsome *dhas* in velvet or golden scabbards.

Some twenty feet in front of where we took our seats was the king's sofa, a handsome specimen of the Burmese style of cabinet-making, in mosaic of gilding and looking-glass. It was spread with a handsome velvet mattrass, yellow bordered with crimson, and a corresponding rug of crimson bordered with yellow was spread below for the regalia. These consisted of a fantastic gilded ornament, in size and shape much like a large pair of stag's antlers, festooned with a muslin scarf and intended to receive the royal sword, and of the large golden Henza set with precious stones which stood on the throne between their Majesties on the public reception-day. Other royal paraphernalia, such as the golden spittoon, the stand for the water goglet, with its conical golden cover set with gems, &c., were brought in and deposited on the rug when his Majesty appeared.*

* Regalia similar to these in character were always borne in procession with the sovereign in the ancient Javanese monarchy, and were ranged behind him when seated. They included a variety of golden figures of animals and birds (here represented only by the royal Henza,) with golden bowls and salvers, tobacco-box, and golden spitting-pot. (*Raffles*, i. 310.) The last-named article, generally in silver, is the inevitable concomitant of a Burmese dignitary. The distinguishing regalia of the ancient Indian Kings

We had waited probably twenty minutes when the expected music sounded from within and the guardsmen (accompanied by Mr. Camaretta in his usual white jacket) entered and dropt on their knees on either side. The doors in front of us were at the same time thrown open and disclosed a long suite of gilded apartments, with the King, a rather short man, but muscular and well proportioned, slowly pacing towards us, in rear of the attendants who bore the sword and other royal apparatus just described.

Coming in with a bright sparkling look, he took off his sandals behind the sofa, seemed to wipe his feet on a velvet hassock, and took his seat, doubling up his legs in the Burman fashion.

Our nearer view made no unfavourable change in our judgment of the King's appearance. He has a clear and smooth skin, with a bright black eye which twinkles up into quite a Chinese obliquity when he laughs, and that he does every two minutes; his moustache is good, the throat and jaws very massive, the chest and arms remarkably well developed, and the hands clean and small. The retreating forehead, which marks him as a descendant of Alompra, was now very conspicuous, and I never saw this feature before in such singular excess.

He was dressed in the ordinary Burman fashion; with a scanty muslin fillet round his head, a well-fitting white cotton jacket, and a gay *putso* of zigzag stripes. The only royal magnificence about his person was displayed in the *tsalwé* which crossed his chest in three distinct pairs of bands, brooched at the nine intersections with splendidly jewelled fibulæ in form of crescents or rosettes. He also wore a pair of ear-tubes, in the centre of each of which sparkled a right royal ruby.

After looking round a while with a good-humoured expression he began to talk; first addressing himself to the Atwén-woons.

K. "Are the books which I ordered ready?"

At. "They are ready, your Majesty, and collected in the outer apartment."

K. (*Addressing the Envoy.*) "Among these books is the Maha-Radza-Weng. Read it carefully, and let it enter into your heart. The advantage will be twofold."

"First, you will learn the events which have passed, and the kings who have succeeded each other; and secondly, as regards futurity, you will gather from thence the instability of human affairs, and the uselessness of strife and anger."

E. "I will carefully study the work."

K. "As regards the other works also, by constant study they can be acquired. As I said on a former occasion, the mass of earth, water, and air which compose the great island (the earth) and Mount Myenmo, is vast, but learning is more stupendous still, and great labour is necessary to acquire it."

"Do you know how many elements there are in a man's body?"

E. "I cannot inform your Majesty."

were five, viz., the golden sword, the ornamented slippers, the umbrella, the golden frontlet, and the chowree. The first, fourth, and fifth were carried before the King on the audience day. His slippers, or sandals, we did not see.

K. "The body consists of a vast number of particles, small as flour or dust. One hair of the head appears like a single fibre, does it not?"

E. "It does, your Majesty."

K. "Well, yet it is made up of a great number of smaller fibres, just as one of your long ropes you sound the depth of water with is composed of short fibres.* Of the elements,† earth enters into the bones, and water into the hair. I have returned to you the book you sent regarding the pagodas and relics discovered in Myit-tsi-ma-detha. Is the writing of the whole book translated from the stone inscriptions?"

E. "No, those form but a small part of the book. Accounts of Buddhist personages have been collected by the author from various sources."

K. "What writing was discovered in the relic chambers?"

E. "The names of the persons whose relics they contained; more especially I remember Sariputra and Maha Mogolasa."

K. "What has become of the relics?"

E. "That I am unable to say."

K. "How were they found placed?"

E. "First in an earthen jar, and inside that a steatite casket, in which the relics were discovered."

K. "I should like to have the books translated into Burmese."

E. "I will endeavour to do so, your Majesty."

K. "Who are there now of the English gentlemen present?"

Woondouk. "There are Captain Yule, the secretary to the mission (*Letya Bogyee*, or right-hand chief); Dr. Forsyth (*Tshaya Woon*, or supreme over the teachers); Professor Oldham (*Kyouk Tshaya*, or rock teacher), and Major Allan (the *Meaday Woon*, and telescope officer, *Mhan byoung Bo*)."

K. "Major Allan‡ is a good man. Does he speak Burmese?"

W. "A little, your Majesty."

K. "Not so much as the Envoy, I suppose. He should study. Parrots by diligence learn languages. Have you parrots that can speak English?"

E. "We have, your Majesty."

K. "And we have parrots that even understand writing. What stones is the Rock Teacher acquainted with?"

E. "He knows all kinds, your Majesty."

K. "In my country there are mountains, along the side of which if horses, elephants, or men go, a green shadow is cast on their bodies. Your black coat would appear green there. How does he explain this?"§

* See note at page 4.

† The King referred to the four original elements of the universe according to Burmese philosophy, earth, fire, water, and air, which enter into the composition of the human body.—*Major Phayre.*

‡ Major Allan's name was well known to the King from his having been engaged in laying down the boundary, and from some correspondence which then occurred.

§ I supposed the King meant the shade was cast by reflection from the surface, but it subsequently appeared he considered there was some hidden cause not readily appreciable.—*Major Phayre.*

Professor Oldham suggested it might arise from copper on the surface.

K. "No, it cannot be that, as the copper is not seen. I think it results from emeralds below."*

Professor Oldham. "I could not give an opinion without going to look at the place. I should be happy to examine it."

E. "Perhaps it may be as your Majesty says."

K. "Are you aware that there are hot springs in which an egg can be boiled?"

Professor Oldham. "I have seen such in the Himalaya and other parts of the world, and in the Tenasserim Provinces."

K. (*To Dr. Forsyth.*) "How many elementary substances are there in the human body?"

Dr. F. "Four substances."

K. "That is correct. Could a man have one of them destroyed, and yet survive?"

Dr. F. "It might be partially injured, and he yet survive."

K. "But suppose the element on which the issues of the body depend were to be destroyed, could the man survive?"

Dr. F. "In that case he must die, if the action could not be restored."

K. "That is true. It is proper for every physician to be conversant with the elementary substances.† There are a great number of books on the subject of medicine in the Burmese language. Books so deep" (raising his hand above his head).

Dr. F. "And in Europe there are books enough on the subject to reach the ceiling of the hall."

E. "I have received from your Majesty a fossil alligator's head, which is very much prized by Professor Oldham, and I have heard there are Biloos' (monsters') bones in some parts of the country."

K. "There are Biloos' bones in the Yau‡ district, and you can have as many as you choose, or a whole Biloo even."

E. "I am much indebted to your Majesty."

K. (*To the Woondouk.*) "See that this is attended to."

K. (*To the Atwén-woons.*) "These people cannot sit long thus without being cramped."

* An analogous idea is mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh, as quoted by Hugh Miller from his voyage to Guiana. "Amid lovely prospects of rich valleys and wooded hills, and winding waters, almost every rock bore on its surface the yellow gleam of gold. True, according to the voyager, the precious metal was itself absent. But Sir Walter, on afterwards showing the stones to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, was told by him that they were *madre del oro*, that is, the mother of gold, and that the mine itself was further in the ground."—*Schools and Schoolmasters*, p. 57.

† The King's notion about elementary substances is illustrated by the dialogue said to have taken place between the prince Siddhartha (Gautama) and his attendants, on his seeing a sick man, one of the four signs which induced him to adopt the ascetic life. "What is a sick man?" "Man," they replied, "is formed of the four elements, earth, water, fire, and air. Every element hath a hundred and one maladies that follow each other successively," and so forth.—*Notes to Pilgrimage of Fahian*, Calcutta, 1848, p. 198.

‡ The Yaus are a tribe speaking a peculiar dialect of Burmese, who inhabit the skirts of the Aracan mountains, westward of Pagán.

His Majesty then flung himself brusquely off the sofa, turned his back, put on his shoes and strode away without any leave-taking. The King's manner was very easy, and indicative of good humour and good temper. The only unpleasant feature in his carriage was his constant and excessive consumption of pán. The Author of the "Domestic Manners of the Americans" alone could do justice to the natural result. The golden pán-box was constantly held in his hand and played with as he talked.

After the King had disappeared, refreshments were brought in, of which we partook. Several of the dishes were very palatable, pancakes filled with spiced meat, jellies of rice-starch tinged with different colours, and so on. But the most notable viand produced consisted of fried locusts. These were brought in hot-and-hot in successive saucers, and I was not sorry to have the opportunity of tasting a dish so famous. They were by no means bad, very much like what one might suppose fried shrimps. The inside, I believe, is removed, and the cavity stuffed with a little spiced meat.

Leaving the pavilion we went into the large audience-hall, where a dance was still going on. It was the most pleasing form of the Burmese dance that we had yet seen. Ten or twelve richly dressed girls moved to the music in a circle, brandishing in each hand a bunch of peacocks' feathers, and, as they slowly circled round, threw themselves into a variety of curious and difficult attitudes, chanting all the while in very pleasing chorus. Their singing in style singularly resembled that of the psalmody in a well-trained English parish church.

After our return to the Residency, I started with Mr. Oldham and Dr. Forsyth on a short excursion to the foot of the Shan hills.

October 10*th*.—Major Phayre had demanded a private audience with the view of having a distinct explanation on the subject of the treaty. But to-day Spears came from the King to say that His Majesty now considered it better that the Envoy should see the Woongyi on the subject.

The King had also mentioned the subject of offerings to the Pagodas of Prome, Rangoon, and Pegu, and of pilgrims wishing to go to Benares, Gya, or perhaps to Ceylon.

Major Phayre replied, that no offerings would be allowed to enter the British territory which had anything about them distinctive as *Royal* offerings until a treaty was concluded.

October 11*th*.—Abbona said the King now expressed himself against a treaty for the present. He would wait till the new Governor-General arrived.

October 12*th*.—Major Phayre went this morning by appointment to the Magwé Mengyi to discuss the treaty. The Woondouk and Makertich were present. The following is the Envoy's account of the conference.

"As usual, I commenced conversation on various subjects: the Solar System, the North Pole, and the sun remaining above the horizon during a portion of the summer, the Discovery of America, the War in the Crimea, &c. These and other subjects carried us well through the repast prepared. I then said I had business to speak on, and requested the Magwé Mengyi to clear the room; which he did, and when the doors were shut I then said: 'I am deputed by the most noble the Governor-General to come to this country to perfect present friendship by a treaty, which will put matters on a firmer basis

than they are on at present. I need not point out to you in detail how desirable a treaty is between two nations, because it is a maxim universally acknowledged. I now therefore invite you to settle the preliminaries, on which account I have come to consult with you.'

"*W.* 'You have already spoken to His Majesty on the subject?'

"*E.* 'Certainly I have. His Majesty desired me to ponder on the subject, and to endeavour to provide for the welfare of both nations. That I have done. I have deeply considered the question, and what I produce now is a draft treaty, which is eminently calculated to benefit both of us.' Here I delivered a translation of the draft treaty to the Woongyi, who read it over.

"*W.* 'But His Majesty meant that you should consider the matter well, and represent his case to the English ruler. Then, when you return again, he will sign the treaty.'

"*E.* 'But what can I represent? I can give no possible reason for His Majesty's not consenting to sign the treaty now. I shall be obliged to inform the Governor-General that His Majesty does not want a treaty.'

"*W.* 'That is not His Majesty's meaning. He merely means that he does not want the treaty now, suddenly.'

"*E.* 'Then I shall be obliged to return and say His Majesty does not want a treaty. If it is good in itself, why delay it?'

"The Woondouk here came in to his superior's assistance.

"*Woond.* 'The meaning of His Majesty's language to you was, that you have been here, and you know his good feelings towards the British Government, that he desires peace and friendship, that he has received you all with the greatest kindness, and that on representing this to the Governor-General you would bear in mind the benefit of both nations, and then, when you returned here, His Majesty would sign the treaty.'

"*E.* 'I now ask you, Woondouk Meng, whether I did not expressly inform His Majesty, the day you were present, that according to our Western ideas, a treaty was absolutely necessary; that without it, however much we might be informed, and believe, that His Majesty was peacefully inclined, still that our confidence would not be perfect. What is the reason of our withholding from you gunpowder and muskets, except that without a treaty we feel distrust? According to our ideas, saying you are friendly and not signing to it, looks like mere friendship of the lips, and not of the heart and mind.'

"*Woond.* 'But you surely do not mean that you distrust His Majesty, after what he has said?'

"*E.* 'As a man I may believe him; as a British Envoy I cannot but distrust him when there is no treaty.'

"*Woongyi.* 'Do you mean, then, that if we do not sign a treaty you will go to war?'

"*E.* 'Certainly not. The most noble the Governor-General is desirous of peace and will never initiate a war. But I do mean that without a treaty our confidence is not fully and freely given. I have said the treaty is beneficial to both parties. We all know the constant rumour spread in our country of your army coming to attack us, and in your country of our doing the same towards you. Our coming up now with two steamers and

a small escort was, as you must know, magnified into a fleet with an army to conquer the country, and this story was in everybody's mouth.'

" *W.* 'That is true, but bad men will always put about stories of that kind.'

" *E.* 'Rest assured a treaty would prevent them. Foreign merchants will not risk their property here without a treaty, and that now offered is, in every respect, advantageous for both nations. What is expected, and can be hoped for, by delay and a further reference to the Governor-General, I really cannot understand. I do not know what I am to say to the most noble the Governor-General, except that His Majesty does not want a treaty at all.'

" *W.* (*smiling*). 'Here our ideas separate from each other as they do about the form of the earth. I have already told you what I consider was the purport and meaning of His Majesty's language to you.'

" *E.* 'But surely no better treaty can ever be offered to you hereafter than that which I have now delivered. The Governor-General has concluded treaties with the Ruler of Cabul and the King of Siam; it is a course followed by all civilized nations who desire to be friendly.'

" *W.* 'I will do what I can; I will try if it can be done.'

" *E.* 'Very well; when shall I see you again?'

" *W.* 'Let it be next Monday.' (October 15th.)

" *E.* 'I have another subject to bring to your notice. It is regarding certain villagers of Myoung Thangwa in the Toungoo district, who have been frightened away from their village within the British frontier by order of one Nga Htaing Bo, the Thoogyi of Wonwé-goon in the Burmese territory. What I desire is, that such orders may be sent to the frontier as will prevent any such interference in future with our people.'

" *W.* 'That I will do.'

" *Woondouk.* You must recollect, however, that stories of this kind are easily made up, and that your Burmese people may, for evil purposes, invent these stories.'

" *E.* 'I am quite aware of that; but I have no suspicion that such is the case in the present instance.'

" *Woongyi.* 'What I hope is that, at least as long as I live, you will exert yourself to preserve peace between the two nations, as I shall do. I am older than you are, and it will be a consolation to me when I die that you remain to preserve peace.'

" *E.* 'You may rest assured I shall exert myself to that end. The most noble the Governor-General is anxious for peace, and that is the reason why this treaty has been offered.' "

Major Phayre now left, after going by the Woongyi's request to see his wife.

A phrase, attributed to Major Phayre when this dialogue was recounted to the King, was interpreted by His Majesty as a threat, and this threw him into great agitation and unusual anger. Mr. Spears came over with a very indefinite commission, but apparently with the intention of getting some explanation of the obnoxious phrase. His Majesty was assured that the supposed threat had not been used, and next day he regained his usual equanimity. He continued by his agents to press for the reception of his Royal gifts to the Pagodas in Pegu.

The 15th was appointed for Major Phayre's final conference with the minister; but the latter sent to put him off on the pretext of its being an extraordinary Worship-Day. In reality, it was supposed there was a consultation going on at the Palace.

On the 16th, however, the conference took place. Major Phayre thus narrates what passed.

"A number of people were at the house. The Woongyi, as before, met me at the top of the steps and gave me a cordial reception. We sat down at a table on which a breakfast-cloth was spread, and, as usual, at starting, entered into general conversation. We went over again the relative positions and powers of the European countries and of the United States, the route to Europe from India *viâ* the Red Sea and round the Cape, China and the rebellion there, the present Tartar Dynasty, the War in the Crimea, &c. During this we went through a breakfast of cakes, biscuits, bread, and tea, and it became near twelve o'clock. I then said, Let us commence business. The Woongyi cleared the room of all except the Woondouk Moung Mhon, one of his sons-in-law, and Mr. Makertich.

"*E.* 'What reply are you prepared to make to the offer of a treaty which I made at our last meeting?'

"*W.* 'The instructions of His Majesty are, that from the first he has always been friendly towards the English Ruler. When his elder brother had unfortunately engaged with you in war, he was opposed to it, and, when he had the power to do so, withdrew the troops sent against you. Afterwards he sent Envoys with a Royal letter and presents to the most noble the Governor-General, and they were well received. The English Ruler in return has sent an Envoy with a Royal letter and presents, and you have been received with all honour. Friendship now exists between us, and we wish to remain friends; but it is against our custom to make any written agreement.' Then the Woongyi handed me a note, of which the following is a translation:—

"'Egga-Maha-thee-na Dee-pa-di, the Royal Minister and Commissioner, Lord of Kyouk-Mau Men-tha-dah Mengyi Maha men-tha-thi Ha-thoo,* informs the Agent of the English Ruler of India and Commissioner, Major Arthur Purvis Phayre:

"'That with reference to forwarding a reply on the 5th day of the increasing moon (15th October, 1855), after taking into consideration the discussions regarding a treaty, the two great countries having mutually deputed Ambassadors with Royal letters and presents, and the usual confidence and great friendship having been quickly restored, it is considered unnecessary to make any further special arrangement on this subject.'

"*E.* 'You will remember that I urge this treaty upon you for the benefit of both nations, as I said before, and as I represented to His Majesty I would endeavour to do. If you make the treaty, we shall no longer be troubled by alarming reports in both countries. You will be allowed to import warlike stores, the Royal offerings to the Shwé-Dagon and the other Pagodas in Pegu will be allowed to pass, and trading steamers will be permitted to ply to Rangoon from your territory.'

* The first of these titles is pure Sanskrit, according to Burman pronunciation, and in the last term wrongly divided: it is properly, *Eka Mahusenâdhipati:* the One Supreme Ruler over the great army. Of the second title, the only term recognisable as Sanskrit is *Mahâ*, great. (W.)

"*W.* 'It is not according to our custom to make treaties, and as we already are friends we do not wish to go contrary to custom.'

"*E.* 'Yet you have made treaties before. You have, I think, a treaty with China?'*

"*W.* 'Not a treaty. There was a verbal agreement made in the year 1769, between the Chinese and Burmese Generals on the frontier, that every ten years an embassy should be sent from one nation to the other.'

"*E.* 'I have understood there was a treaty; but at all events His Majesty's Royal uncle made a treaty with the English Ruler.'

"*W.* 'That was to make peace after war.'

"*E.* 'But there was a second treaty made about ten months afterwards; that was not to make peace, but to arrange for commerce between the two nations.' The Woongyi made no reply to this, and the Woondouk said, 'True, but it was made only as provided by the first treaty. Commerce was considered too insignificant an affair to put into the great treaty of Yandabo,† so it was deferred to be considered on another occasion.'

"*E.* 'The treaty now proposed may be properly considered as an arrangement between the two great nations, after peace has been established *de facto*.'

"*W.* 'It is not according to our custom to make such an arrangement.'

"*E.* I can only repeat what I said before, and what I have urged to His Majesty, that according to our ideas we cannot give full confidence where a treaty is withheld. If, therefore, you do not sign a treaty, the people of both countries will know that we are distrustful of you, and it will be impossible for them to live with confidence, nor will merchants risk their capital in your country.'

"*W.* 'His Majesty has always been friendly towards you. He has received you in a distinguished manner, such as never was shown towards any other Envoy. He will write a Royal letter to the most noble the Governor-General containing the sentiments I have already expressed; and, surely, that will be higher and more worthy of confidence than a treaty.'

"*E.* 'Not according to our opinions. A treaty we can publish to the world. It gives confidence to the people and to the surrounding countries. They then will believe that

* "I was not in a position to bring any proof of the existence of a treaty between Burma and China. I did not therefore pursue the point. Colonel Burney in his Journal asserts the existence of a treaty between them."—(*P.*)

(By reference to Colonel Burney's papers on the wars between Burma and China (*Journal Asiatic Society*, Book vi. 121, etc.) it will be seen, that there was no treaty made between the Governments, but that a convention in writing was drawn up by the Chinese generals, and accepted by the Burmese negotiators. Though the King at the time disapproved of the convention it was acted upon. Perhaps the Envoy might have referred to the treaty conceded by Alompra to Mr. Lister, in 1757. But it is very doubtful whether the Burmese looked on this as a treaty.)

† Though the King is now the great merchant of the country, the Burmese have not yet quite got rid of their old affectation of treating trade as a contemptible matter, unworthy of the consideration of great statesmen. When Burney once at the Hlwot-dau was urging the stipulations of Crawfurd's Commercial Treaty, in reference to certain exactions, the old Kyee Woongyi bluntly said, "Have done with this business; it concerns merchants only, and is of little importance."

peace is really established, and that it will not be broken. This cannot be done with a letter.'

"*W.* 'But our Envoys going with presents through your country; your coming to the Royal city with steamers, and a large escort, and presents from the English Ruler; the gentlemen of the mission going freely about the country, and seeing everything; all proclaim our friendship better than a treaty would. The people would not see and read the treaty.'

"*E.* 'They might not, but it would be instantly known, and would make an impression of the stability of our friendship which nothing else can effect.'

"*W.* 'It is not according to our custom to enter into treaties.'

"*E.* 'Then I am to give this as the reply of His Majesty to the most noble the Governor-General?'

"*W.* 'Yes, and a Royal letter from His Majesty will be delivered to you to convey. I entreat of you to do everything in your power, as I shall while I live, to preserve peace between the two countries.'

"*E.* 'You may be assured the Governor-General is desirous of remaining at peace. It is for that reason I am urgent for a treaty, because we are suspicious when a nation talks of being peaceable and will not sign to it. I merely tell you what is a maxim among ourselves, and all civilized nations, and without any allusion to your motives for not entering into a treaty. The English Ruler has a treaty with Cabul and with Siam. Those nations were not at war with us, but they have entered into treaties.'

"The Woongyi, who really did not appear to support his argument with spirit, was silent, and the Woondouk merely added, that when friendship already existed a treaty was unnecessary and not according to their custom.*

"*E.* 'I wish then a day to be named for my audience of leave with the King and the Prince.'

"*W.* 'Do you wish to go to the Palace and the Heir-apparent the same day?'

"*E.* 'I will do exactly as His Majesty wishes in the matter.'

"*W.* 'Then you had better go on separate days.'

"*E.* 'I should like to leave the capital on Monday next (22d October), and I request you will order fuel to be prepared for the steamers. His Majesty's steamer, which I have agreed to take, had, I think, better go on to Prome before us.'

"*W.* 'We should wish you, if possible, to take it in tow.'

"*E.* 'I will, if the Commander of the Nurbudda thinks there will be no risk in doing so. The Rock Teacher is anxious to go to see the City of Moutsho-bo-myo; is there any objection to this?'

"*W.* 'No objection; but there really will be no use in his doing so. There are no rocks to see; it is mud the whole way. He cannot go now without great difficulty.'

"*E.* 'But he wishes to go very much.'

* "The real truth is, anything is custom, or not custom, among these people, according as they desire or do not desire to do it."—(Burney's *MS. Journal.*)

"*W.* 'There are many very wonderful places to the eastward of this. One is called the 'Heit Twen' (a well or pit) from people becoming tired (faint), who stoop over it.'

"*E.* 'How do you mean tired? Is there water in the well?'

"*W.* 'No; it is a dry pit from which a sort of steam issues. People leaning over it feel as if tired (faint), and hence the name 'Heit!' an exclamation indicating fatigue. There is also, a few miles from the City, a very curious tree, hollow in the centre and having water in it, which appears at an opening several feet above the ground. People are fond of going there to wash their heads with that water. It appears to come up out of the trunk of the tree, but whence nobody knows. It is drawn at a hollow in a fork of the tree high up.'

"*E.* 'That is very extraordinary.'

"*W.* 'Would you like to see it?'

"*E.* 'I should.'

"*W.* 'What day?'

"*E.* 'That I will say when the days for our visit to the Palace and to the Heir-apparent are fixed. It is now late, and I must return.' Before leaving I went into the Woongyi's wife's room to say good-by. The Woongyi jestingly told her, I had invited him to England, and asked her if she would come. I also said the same, and the old lady laughing replied, she had scarcely ever in her life been out of the capital and could not undertake such a journey."

During the last few days we had met in the streets many symptoms of festivals, of which a succession occurs at this season, being the termination of the Buddhist Lent.* All sorts of offerings were being prepared in the town. We saw the tinmen in the suburbs engaged in making a variety of fantastic tin shrines, and lanterns of enormous size to contain wax candles more than two inches thick. The more elaborate offerings were paraded about the streets. One party carried round a gigantic representation of the palm leaf, which the poongyis carried as a sun shade, made of gaily painted paper, to which were attached numerous little books of gold leaf; another dragged a tinsel tabernacle like the tazeeas of Sheea Mahomedans at the Mohurrum; another exhibited an enormous dragon not less than a hundred feet long. This was formed of muslin distended by hoops, and was furnished with a magnificently ferocious gilt head. He was very skilfully manipulated, being made to wind and undulate along the street, and every now and then to dart his fangs backwards at some passenger with very natural action.†

* This consists of the three months of the rainy season, during which the ancient wandering Buddhist mendicants were enjoined to remain in a fixed habitation. The monks are expected during this season to be doubly particular in abstraction from secular affairs, in abstinence and meditation; and it is the great season for preaching to the laity. The season is called by the Burmese *Wá*, and in Ceylon *Wass*. The name "is nothing more than *Varsh* or *Warsh*—the rainy season."—*Note by Prof. H. H. Wilson.*

† One of the offerings to the monks on such occasions, described by Dr. Richardson in his manuscript journal, is exactly the German Christmas tree. It represented a Padésa tree, the production of the great Northern Island, a land of Cockayne where the inhabitants neither sow, nor reap, nor spin, nor hunt; for this precious tree bears all manner of food and raiment.—(See *Sangermano*, p. 8.)

This afternoon we were much amused by two dancing elephants, which were brought to exhibit before us at the Residency. One of these, a young elephant about six feet high, was rather limited in the extent of his accomplishments, which consisted mainly in lifting each of his four legs successively at the command of his mahout, in a sort of slow cadence, and in walking on the knees (or wrists rather) of his fore legs. He also, at the command "to walk like the Maids of Honour in the Palace," advanced towards us on his fore legs only, dragging his hind legs after him like a train.

The larger animal, a tall lean tusker, was more accomplished. The words of command were bawled into his ear by the mahout, and were accompanied apparently by a great deal of comment or explanatory discourse, whilst at every sentence the elephant responded by a loud grunt of assent, which was intensely comical in effect. His great step consisted in alternately lifting each fore leg, and flourishing it with a circular sweep, before putting it again to the ground. Not the least amusing part of the performance lay in the gestures of the mahouts, who on each side went violently through the actions and dances which they intended the elephant to imitate, shouting and encouraging, and urging and *bravoing* him, as he increased the speed and awkward agility of his movements in accordance with the stimulation applied. At last the hind legs also came into play. They were flung up alternately in the air like the legs of a kicking horse, but in a slow, disjointed, and inappropriate manner, that seemed to have no connexion with the more rapid *pas* that was going on among the fore legs. The grave aspect of the old elephant's head and eye, all the time that his limbs were going through these unwonted gambols, was very comical, and the whole was certainly a piece of admirable farce, which drew shouts of laughter from English, Bengalees, and Burmese.*

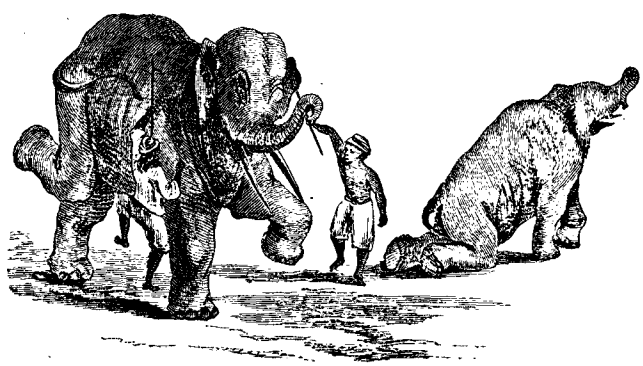


Fig. 25.

* I remember five and twenty years ago, seeing an elephant known as Mademoiselle D'Jeck perform in a play, and what was called a dance was one of her accomplishments. But she was very far behind this old tusker. And I have heard of an elephant in India which was taught on bended knees to imitate an old Moulvee droning the Koran, in a manner which shook the sides of the gravest sons of Islam in spite of themselves. But the ancients had more patience or skill in the tuition of elephants. By Pliny (Holland's *translation*, Book viii., chap. 2) we are told that "a common thing it was among them . . . to encounter and meet together in fight like sword-fencers; *and to make good sport in a kind of Moriske dance;* and afterwards to go on ropes and cords; to carry (four together) one of them laid at ease in a litter resembling the manner of women newly brought to bed," &c.

Ælian (in his book *De Animalium Naturâ*, Book ii., chap. 11), also relates that when Germanicus, the nephew of Tiberius, was exhibiting spectacles at Rome, there were elephants which had been bred there from tame parents, and thoroughly trained from their youth. So, when the show came off, twelve of these appeared on the arena and performed various dances in admirable time to the music. Moreover,

The King has finally refused to sit for his portrait to Mr. Grant. The precise nature of his objection does not appear. It is not from any superstition, but Major Phayre thinks it arises from some fear that the portrait would not always be treated with deferential respect.*

October 19th.—To-day we went to pay a farewell visit to the Crown Prince. He received us not in his own house, but in a sort of shed or temporary building in the outer palace yard, *vis-à-vis* with the Hlwot-dau. This building is called the *Qwon-douk-tai-dau*, and is set apart for the Prince's use when he attends at the palace or the Hlwot-dau.

The flooring was of bamboo merely, over which mats and carpets had been spread. The Prince's two Woons or Ministers were present, and round the room was a gathering of inferior officers. We sat down on the carpet opposite to a closed door, and had not been kept long waiting when a few armed attendants entered at the side-passages, and immediately the door in front of us opened. The Prince at once appeared and took his seat on a sofa in the inner room, but close to the door. At the first glance it was evident that His Highness had made up his mind to be gracious and agreeable, and he made indeed a very much more favourable impression on us than he had done on our interview at his house a month before. The moroseness of aspect which struck us on that occasion had disappeared, and he looked much younger than in the unbecoming dress of the state-reception. He was to-day in a plain white jacket and silk *putso*, with the chain of dignity over his shoulder. He sat on the sofa in English fashion, instead of doubling up his legs like his Royal Brother, and talked with a good-humoured air, and occasionally with a broad hearty laugh. A certain likeness to the King was now apparent enough, but the expression was very different. The Prince's is that of a strong-willed, boisterous, passionate man, with not much intellect or refinement, but not perhaps without kindly dispositions. There is more energy in his face than in the King's.

The Prince opened the conversation, as usual with the Burmese, by asking the age of the Envoy, and of some of the gentlemen attached to the mission. He then proceeded, addressing the Envoy:—

Prince. "His Majesty has a great regard for you."

Envoy. "I am very grateful to His Majesty for his kindness."

to the intense delight of the spectators, couches were spread and covered with rich damask, round magnificent tables, which were loaded with bread and meat, and with great gold and silver vessels of water. Then the elephants entered, six in male attire and six in female attire, lay down at the table, and at a given signal commenced eating their dinner in the most genteel manner imaginable, showing neither voracity nor selfish greed. And when they drank, it was done in moderation from the goblets, which they took up in their trunks, and after drinking, besprinkled their neighbours with the remainder, in a frolicsome and jocose manner, quite free from boorishness.

Ælian himself testifies to having seen an elephant write Latin letters well and evenly, keeping his eyes fixed on his work like any good boy at school!

He says in several places that the elephants understood the Indian language; a proof doubtless that *Mail!* and *Baith!* and *Mail dug!* were phrases used in the Roman amphitheatre, as they are in the Royal Zoological Gardens.

* The portrait at the beginning of this book is from a sketch by the present writer, which was generally considered a good likeness.

Prince. (*To Mr. Edwards.*) "I remember you very well, when you were in Ava with Burney. I was quite young then. You are just the same as you were then, not altered at all. Is Burney still alive?"

Mr. Edwards. "No, your Highness; he died some ten or twelve years ago."

Envoy. "A son of Colonel Burney's was lately in Prome and Rangoon."

P. "What capacity did he come in?"

E. "A teacher of religion" (clergyman).*

P. "Oh, a Poongyi! Burney's son a Poongyi! (*To Envoy.*) Have you seen any of the sulphur ore found in our country?"

E. "I have seen some of it, your Highness."

P. "There are great quantities; whole mountains of it. We did not know it before. I supposed sulphur ore would be yellow, but some of it is darkish, and some white. On that account we did not know before what it was."

Woond. (*To En.*) "Where do you procure sulphur from in England?"

E. "I believe the greater portion comes from Italy."

Prince. "Do you know how it is smelted, and the substance obtained?"

E. "I am sorry to say I do not know the process. I believe it is sublimated, but the apparatus employed I am not acquainted with."

One of the Prince's officers here said, that by the Burmese and Shans it was obtained from the fume of the ore.

P. "What nation first made gunpowder?"

E. "I am not quite sure, your Highness, whether it was first made in England or Germany. Our books say that it was known from an earlier period in China."

P. "Probably that was so."

W. "Ah, you won't say where gunpowder was first made, because you want to make it appear that it was in England."

E. "Not at all; the point is a doubtful one: I tell you exactly what I know."

W. "Then, where were muskets first invented?"

E. "I cannot tell you. The first use of cannon on record was by the English, some five hundred years ago."

P. "Have you heard of the mountains in the Royal territory which cast a green shade?"

E. "I have, your Highness; but have not seen them."

P. "Nor have you seen the well, the fumes of which cause fatigue?"

E. "No, your Highness."

P. "And there is a very extraordinary tree, which has a constant supply of water in a hollow at a fork in it, some height above the ground."

E. (*To Woon.*) "What description of tree is it?"

W. "There are two, and one of the trees is a large cotton tree."

P. "Did you ever see such an extraordinary object before in your country?"

* The Rev. H. B. Burney, the esteemed chaplain of General Godwin's army in 1852–53.

E. "Never, your Highness; I never even heard of such. There are many wonderful objects in the Royal dominions." (*Great satisfaction apparent in the assembly.*)

P. "What nations first made steam-ships?"

E. "America, your Highness. The steam-engine was invented in England, and an American adapted it to ships."

Woon. (*To Envoy.*) "Those are the people who went out from you, and you could not govern them, and they set up for themselves."

E. "Precisely; just as the people of Aracan, of your own race and religion, settled in that country and had a king of their own, and you lost dominion over them." (*Considerable and good-humoured laughter at this reply.*)

P. "England is a very cold country. Is it not?"

E. "It is cold, your Highness. The water in the winter congeals."

P. "It is like China in that respect. Our Envoys who go to Pekin describe the cold as frightful. Their faces bleed from it. Are there countries colder than England?"

E. "Several much colder."

P. "Name some of them?"

E. "Iceland to the north, and the whole northern coast of North America."

P. (*To Woond.*) "Is Bengal cold?"

Woond. "Very much like the temperature of Amarapoora, your Highness."

P. "Is not Russia very cold?"

E. "Very cold, your Highness."

P. "I have heard that Bonaparte invaded Russia, and was killed by cold."

E. "His whole army, or very nearly all, were killed by the cold; but he escaped."

P. "Of what country was Bonaparte?"

E. "He was of the same country as Don Paulo (Father Abbona). Born on an island called Corsica, near the priest's country."

His Highness appeared to have exhausted his subjects of conversation, and was silent. After a short interval, the Woondouk renewed inquiries as to Bonaparte.

Woond. "Did not you mention to me once that he was sent to an island?"

E. "Yes, for the general safety he was sent to an island on the west coast of Africa, and kept there as a prisoner."

Woond. "And the present Emperor of France is his nephew?"

E. "He is."

P. "Which of all the nations is the greatest friend of England?"

E. "France, your Highness. She is in close alliance with England, engaged together in war."

P. "What is the distance from one country to the other."

E. "About twenty miles, which would be run by a steamer in little more than an hour."

P. "Why, it is close at hand. There is no going by land from one to the other?"

P. "No, your Highness; England is an island."

P. "Which has most ships, England or France?"

E. "England by far the most. France has a larger army."

Woond. "Did you not mention once that the Queen of England was going to France?"

E. "I did; the Emperor and Empress lately came over to England, and the Queen of England will now go to France. Besides the countries being so near, communication takes place constantly by the Electric Telegraph, which is instantaneous. You have seen the Electric Telegraph in Bengal, and you will be able to inform his Highness about it."

W. "They put a wire on posts above the ground, or bury it underneath, carrying it over mountains and through rivers, and at certain stations apart there are magnetic needles, which shake to denote the letters of the words of a message sent. Thus they converse together though they are hundreds of miles apart."*

E. "From Amarapoora to Rangoon a message could be sent, and be understood there, in a few seconds from the time it was given here."

W. "Now, where was the Electric Telegraph first discovered?"

E. "I believe the discovery was nearly contemporaneous in England and America."

W. "But it must have been first in one place or the other?"

E. "In Europe, where men of science are engaged in a great variety of studies, and publish their views and opinions, similar discoveries are frequently made about the same time in different countries."

P. "How long is it since it was known?"

E. "About ten years, your Highness." The Prince then retired, observing we must be fatigued. We remained for a few minutes speaking to his ministers, and then left.

"The Prince," observes Major Phayre, "spoke in a friendly manner. He has neither the knowledge nor conversational powers of the King. He had evidently *got up* a few subjects to ask about, which he no doubt had been informed I had discussed with different Burmese ministers. The only original subjects he started were sulphur and gunpowder, which he appeared to be considerably interested about." When these were disposed of, he seemed to have no more to say.

The next day (the 20th October), we had our farewell audience of the King. The Suwárs of the Irregular Cavalry and half of the Europeans accompanied us to the Palace to see the white elephant, as well as the band, which the King, we understood, had expressed some curiosity to hear. The locality and all the circumstances of the reception were the same as on the last occasion. The girls of the royal *troupe* were circling in the *Myé Nan*, and the fair minstrels with their pagoda-crowns and quaint lappets were harping in the verandas.

After about twenty minutes the King entered, and sat down on the sofa in the half-

* It would be hard to give a better popular explanation of the Electric Telegraph than this of the Woondouk's. Moung Mhon, though not very well mannered, was a very intelligent man. When taken by Major Phayre and Colonel Baker to make a short excursion on the East India Railway he was told of the great rate at which they were travelling. Without making any remark he asked the interval between the telegraph posts along the line, and having by counting the beats of his own pulse made a mental estimate of the rapidity with which these intervals were past, he then assented. "Yes, we are indeed going very fast." No native of India would have thought of such a thing.

reclining attitude. He had a single gold tsalwé of twenty-four strings, worn in the usual manner. He was silent for nearly a minute, and then said:

K. "When will you return?"

E. "The day after to-morrow, your Majesty."

K. "How many days shall you be going down?"

E. "We could go in three days, but I wish to stop at Pagán, and elsewhere."

K. (*To Atwén-woon.*) "See that everything is prepared, and that nothing is wanting to make them comfortable."

At. "Your Majesty's command will be borne on the tops of our heads."

(*A considerable pause.*)

K. (*To Envoy*). "Have you read any of the books I sent you?"

E. "I have looked into the Maha-Radza-Weng, your Majesty; but have not had time to study it."

K. "Do not lay them by, but study them, so that you may derive advantage therefrom."

E. "I will, your Majesty."

K. "Are all the gentlemen of the mission well?"

E. "They are all well."

K. "Have you had everything as you wished since you arrived?"

E. "We have; thanks to your Majesty."

K. "Anything you want more, let the Woóndouk know, and he will attend to your wishes."

"What are the names of the gentlemen I have not seen?"

(The several gentlemen of the mission, not yet introduced, were mentioned.)

K. "Is Major Allan here? Is it he that is stationed at Thayet Myo, or Ardagh?"

Woond. "It is Allan who is here, and he is stationed at Meaday and Thayet Myo. Ardagh is at Prome."

K. (*To Envoy*). "Tell Allan that the Kalá Woon (Makertich) will now have jurisdiction down to Thayet Myo district, and as they are neighbours they must be good friends. Allan I hope will sometimes go to see him, and the Kalá Woon go to see Allan. Now that the two nations are friends, everything must be done to preserve friendship; the two countries are as one country. Friendship is often broken by the folly and mismanagement of inferior persons; almost all quarrels have arisen from that, and not from misunderstanding between leading men."

Envoy. "It is very true, your Majesty."

K. "Men of judgment and moderation should be placed on the frontier. It is a very easy thing to quarrel, but to settle a quarrel is difficult. Hatred may arise from a single word; nevertheless by care, the beginning of a quarrel may be prevented. It is easy also to make a temporary friendship, but difficult to make it permanent. Our endeavours should be to render it so."

E. "Certainly, your Majesty, and such we are anxious to make it."

K. "What English Myo-Woon is on the Toungoo frontier?"

E. "Mr. O'Riley, your Majesty."

K. "As the two countries are as one country, should any one wish to come from the English country into mine, he would not be prevented?"

E. "Certainly not, your Majesty."

K. "If you can get the relic of Sariputra, and the original casket in which it was contained, write and let me know.* It is an object that we worship."

E. "I will do so, if possible."

K. (*To Mr. Camaretta*). "See that everything is prepared for their journey."

(*To Envoy*). "Is there anything else you wish to say?"

E. "Nothing, but to thank your Majesty for all the kindness you have shown since we arrived in your dominions."

K. "Those who are grateful we call excellent people, and those who know not gratitude the Burmese consider unworthy. At the present season this city is very muddy.† In the summer it is hot. In the cold season is the best time to come. I regard all the gentlemen of the mission as I would my own nobles, and hereafter, though Phayre should not come, I shall be glad to see any one (of them) in my Palace. The Kalá Woon will now go down with you to the frontier, and I hope he and Allan will be good friends."

E. "There is an English band in attendance, if your Majesty would wish to hear it."

K. (*Smiling*). "I have not much fancy for music. I seldom listen to the musicians in the Palace. I have no doubt, though, the nobles of the court would like to hear it."

E. "Mr. Grant, the artist has brought his picture of the white elephant to present your Majesty."

K. "I shall like to see it."

One of the Atwén-woons took up the picture to the King, who looked at it carefully for some time, and then said—

"Is this a print?" When assured that it was drawn, he said,—"The foreigners draw a picture to make it a true likeness; our Burmese people draw for show, and to make it appear handsome. Bring our picture of the white elephant."

The Burmese artist's picture of the white elephant was now brought, and given to the Envoy by the King's orders.

The King then flung off the sofa in the usual ungracious fashion, and stalked away through the vista of golden doorways. And so we saw him no more.

His Majesty seemed nervous and ill at ease during this interview, and showed little of his usual vivacity. He was constantly putting pán into his mouth, and discharging it again, sending a cheroot to be lighted, letting it go out and sending again, &c. Before we quitted the Palace he sent a message by Mr. Camaretta to say that he was suffering from headache, which was the reason why he had left so soon.

* The King it seems, from hearing what I said about the relics in the topes of Bhilsa, had jumped to the conclusion that there would be no difficulty in his getting them. I through Mr. Camaretta had before begged it to be understood that I would enquire about the relics, but could give no hope as to procuring them for the King.—(*Note by Major Phayre*).

† I believe the King meant here that he supposed we had not been so comfortable as we ought to have been, in consequence of the wet weather.—(*Major Phayre*).

After he retired we sat a short time with the Atwén-woons, and partook of some refreshment. These gentlemen were exceedingly polite, declaring that they felt quite miserable at the prospect of our departure, and that this was not said from mere politeness, but in truth and sincerity!

We then had the band brought to play in the Myé Nan, where it woke the echoes in unwonted style. The Burmese listened, I think, with more curiosity than enjoyment. The music was too loud for their taste (being all brass), and in this they were not wrong.*

The Envoy paid farewell visits to the Magwé Mengyi, and to Mr. Camaretta, before returning home.

October 21st.—Some of our party went on board the steamers last night, or early this morning. The four Woongyis came over to breakfast and say good-by. Let us recapitulate their names. First, then, there was the old Magwé Mengyi, with his sagacious Medicean countenance. Then the Mein-loung Mengyi, a stout and jovial elderly man, with a very pleasant honest face and hearty manner. Next came the quondam Pabé Woon, or Master of the Ordnance, now known as the Myadoung Mengyi, a thin, pock-marked, acute, and well-mannered man, who asked many questions about our artillery in the Russian war, its calibre and ranges. The last was the Pakhan Woongyi, the youngest and the least pleasing of the four pillars of state, a bilious-looking personage with large dark eyes and cold awkward manners. He was a priest, till summoned by the present King to take his place at court.

The party remained till nearly twelve o'clock, and made themselves very agreeable. The three elder Woongyis were very pleasant and jocular, friendly, and good-humoured. The old Lord of Mein-loung seemed to take a deep interest in the progress of the Crimean war, and asked permission to write down my answers to his questions. These related to the distances from England to Sebastopol, from England to St. Petersburg, from Sebastopol to India, &c. and to the number of ships, men, and guns on both sides. A *tsa-ye-gyi*, or clerk, with his steatite pencil and black note-book, was busily taking down my answers, when we were called to breakfast.

The Master-general likewise asked many questions as to why the war lasted so long, why we went to war, &c. In answer to the last I endeavoured to explain that Russia was getting too powerful for the safety of Europe. This excited great laughter, probably from some application nearer home.

In conversing about the former English embassies we were perplexed to know whom they referred to as *Mi-ké-Then*. But Colonel Symes's Christian name occurring to me, it became evident that *Mi-ké-Then* was *Michael Symes!*

In the meantime the Magwé Mengyi had a last private interview with Major Phayre, principally about border politics.

At last they departed, promising to send the King's letter presently. We were not without some doubt that the said letter had still to be written. Everything was now gone

* Curiously enough, the Burmese ambassadors, who went to Pekin in 1787, took with them a Burmese band, which they made to play before the Emperor, "who approved of it, and said it was very pleasant."—(*Col. Burney in Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vi. 415.

on board, but we waited till near sunset, and still no letter appeared. As the Envoy supposed that the Burmese would themselves (in accordance with our Calcutta precedent) convey the letter on board the steamer, he thought it necessary to delay our departure no longer.

The Burmese regiment on duty at the Residency, which bears the name of the *Letya Gyoung*, and each man of which had a figure like a spire tattooed in red on his side, was drawn out to escort us. We had not reached the lake, when it was announced that the procession with the King's letter was crossing the causeway over the water a little to the west of the Residency. So we halted, and the sun had set before it reached us.

The procession was led by a few mounted men in the absurd war-dress, with some foot soldiers and music. The letter was borne by a *Nakhangyi* on an elephant, in a gilt howda with a large round golden shield hanging on each side of him, and he a wizened old creature decked out in tinsel and gold like the tragedy-king at an English fair.

The Burmese do not appear on such occasions to entrust a King's letter to a high official, probably to make the respect shown to the document itself more unmistakeable. Eight golden umbrellas were borne over it.

As twilight was now rapidly falling, and we had several miles to go, the Envoy proposed that instead of continuing the procession across the long bridge as the Burmese intended, the letter should at once be embarked on the Zenobia's gig, and the whole party should proceed in the several steamer's boats which were ready on the lake. This was agreed to. The Woondouk took the precious document from the hands of the poor old Nakhangyi, who had with some difficulty dismounted from his elephant, and delivered it to the Envoy on the bank of the lake, saying: "This is a royal letter from His Majesty the King to the English ruler." The Envoy received it and handed it to the Secretary, who placed it on a gilt salver, and carried it on board the gig, which immediately hoisted the Company's Jack.

The envelope was a curious affair and very heavy, consisting of two large tubes of some hard substance enclosed in a crimson velvet bag, and sealed with several seals. These were ivory cylinders about fifteen inches long, containing letters from the King and the Hlwot-dau respectively. Some of the seals represented the peacock; others were of a symbol not easily understood, but perhaps intended to indicate the sacred palace. The Envoy deferred opening the letter for translation until we had crossed our own frontiers. The translation will be found in the Appendix. It will be seen that the King avoids any distinct mention of the subject of the draft-treaty offered for his acceptance, although Major Phayre, from words used by the Magwé Woongyi on the 16th, had been led to expect that some explanation would be made on the subject. The King's personal observations to the Envoy at the audience of leave were perhaps considered sufficient to show His Majesty's desire to maintain peace and friendly relations with the British Government.

We passed down the Sagyeenwa Creek, and did not reach the steamers till after dark. The Woondouk, having escorted us on board, returned to the city. The old Nan-ma-dau Phra Woon had been for some time waiting to take leave of the Envoy, and had brought his youngest daughter. But we were so late that they had taken their departure.

CHAPTER V.

THE CITY OF AMARAPOORA.

Etymology of the Name and Foundation of the City—Abandonment, Ill-omened—Reoccupation—Site—Fortifications—Plan—Palace described—Four-square City—Powder Magazine—the White Elephant—Ordnance—Hlwot-dau—Relic Depository—Great Aracan Gun—Yoom-dau—Tara-yoom (Civil Court)—Judges and their Emoluments—Appeals—the Gaol—the Streets of the City—the Gates—Booths of Petty Dealers—Houses of Dignitaries—*Precedent* the Divinity worshipped in Burma—Pegu in the 16th Century—Number of Houses and Population in the City—the Suburbs—Brick Buildings—Derivation of Anglo-Indian Vocables—Foreigners, Mr. Spears—Mr. Camaretta—Armenians—Makertich—Greeks, none now—Moguls—Jealousy of us entertained by Armenians and Moguls—Father Abbona and the Native Christians—the Chinese Ward—their Temple—the Overland Trade with China—Cotton—the Tikál and Viss—Route by Bamó—the Town of Bamó—the River of Bamó, and Curious Geographical Statements—Minor Articles of Traffic—Noble Serpentine (or *Yu*)—Amber, &c.—Kakhyens and Karens—Imports—Silk—Minor Notions—Other Route by the more Southerly Shan States—Momien—Opium—Tin—Sulphur—Estimate of the Value of Exported Cotton and Imported Silk—of the whole Trade—Customs Charges—Paloungs and their Hlapet, or Wet Tea—China in the Character of a Tea-*importing* Country—the Chinese Merchants—the Mahomedans of Burma—Mosques—Strange Temple—Other Buddhist Temples—Trades—Silk-dealers—Silk-weavers—Kathés or Munnipooreeans—the All-Useful Bamboo—Articles woven in Silk, the *Putso* and *Tamein*—Sumptuary Laws—Female Costume—Calico-Printing—Lackered Ware—Small Wares—the Shans—Brass-founders, Bells, Gongs, and Weights—Tinsmiths, Lanterns, Shrines—Mosaic Work of Tin, Glass, and Gilding—the *Dha*—Inlaid Panel Work—Carving and Gilding—Carpentry—Architects of Monasteries—Elephant Carved in Teak—Box-making—Mirror-making—Glass-blowing—Earthenware—Gold and Silver Work—Markets—Fruit—Hlapet—Rice—Al-fresco Restaurants—Chinese and Mahomedan Burying-grounds—Colossal Gautama—*Ngapé*—the Dorian—Prostitution and Debt-Slavery—the other Suburbs—the Water Palace—the Aracan Temple—Ecclesiastical Ribbon-weaving—the Golden Monasteries described—Prejudice against allowing Inferiors to occupy a Higher (Physical) Position—Singular and Artistic Humorous Sculptures—the Aracan Temple and Image—Pagoda Slaves—and Copies of Old Inscriptions—Largest Monastery—Lake and Bunds—Brick Monastery—Miserable End of the Builder.

THE present seat of the Burmese monarchy has no pretensions to antiquity. The name is Pali, of kindred etymology to that of the Sikh city of Amritsur; and is met with, though not very commonly, as a local name in India. It signifies "The Immortal City."*

The city was founded by the King commonly known to us as Mentárágyi Phra, the fourth son of Alompra, and him to whose court Colonel Symes was deputed in 1795, the great-grandfather of the present King and his deposed brother, and usually spoken of by the Burmans as the Bodau Phya or Grandfather King. His long reign ran contemporarily with a great part of the still longer reign of George the Third. Soon after his accession by the deposition and murder of one nephew, who had been his tool in the deposition and murder of another nephew, he founded this capital, and transferred to it the

* Rather, the "City of the Immortals," named after the capital of *Indra*. *Amritsar* is the "Lake of ambrosia," from the piece of water in the midst of which stands the chief temple of the Sikhs. (*W.*)

seat of the government from the neighbouring city of Ava, which, with one or two brief interruptions, had continued to be the metropolis for four centuries.

According to Father Sangermano, who was then at Ava, the King took possession of his new Palace on the 10th of May, 1783.

King Mentárágyi died in 1819, after a reign of thirty-eight years; and three years later, his grandson and successor abandoned the new city, and rebuilt the Palace at Ava.* This renewed supremacy of the old capital lasted however, only fifteen years. In 1837, the King's brother, the Prince of Tharawadi, seized the throne, and after an interval of residence at Kyouk-myoung,† again removed the seat of government to Amarapoora, where it has since remained.‡

The abandonment of Amarapoora in 1822 was looked on as an ill-omened act, and the people had a notion that the disasters of the war of 1824–26 were connected with it. The royal residence had always previously, at least since a very remote era, been moved *up* the river, from Prome to Pagán, from Pagán to Panyá, from Panyá to Ava, from Ava to Amarapoora; the retrogression brought bad luck.§

The city‖ stands on slightly elevated ground, which in the flood season forms a long peninsula communicating with the mainland naturally only at the northern end. Walled embankments and wooden bridges, some of them of extraordinary length, connect this peninsula with the country to the eastward, southward, and south-westward. On the north-west side runs a wide creek from the Irawadi. From this, however, the waters of the latter now retire altogether in the dry season, and the small supply which is found at that time in the channel is derived from a tributary stream flowing down from the fruitful district of Ma-de-yá. The city, except in the highfloods, is accessible from the present main stream of the Irawadi only near the extremity of the western suburb.

The eastern and southern sides of the peninsula are defined by an extensive hollow, which from July to November forms a chain of considerable lakes, filled partly by the flood-waters of the Myit-ngé (or "Little River"), a river of very considerable size and very contorted channel, which issues from the mountainous Shan country eastward of the capital, and joins the Irawadi close to Ava. The southern lake also communicates with the Irawadi directly by the channel which terminates the peninsula to the westward.

* The site of Amarapoora does not appear to have been deserted by the people, and the Chinese always adhered to it. Indeed in 1836, though the area within the walls was unoccupied, the population of the suburbs bore comparison with that of Ava itself.—(V. Malcolm's *Travels in S. E. Asia*, vol. i. p. 128, and Burney's *MS. Journal.*)

† Kyouk-myoung is on the west bank of the river forty miles above the capital, and the nearest point of the Irawadi to Moutshobo, the birthplace of Alompra, and often the resort of his descendants.

‡ In Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*, published in the present year (1857), Ava is described at length out of Crawfurd's narrative as still the capital of Burma. Ava has been almost a wilderness for twenty years.

§ Burney's *MS. Journal.* There was a talk on this account of returning to Amarapoora several years before Tharawadi did so. The amiable and philosophic Prince of Mekhara having just learned from his English instructor what a syllogism was, composed an unexceptionable syllogism adverse to the movement, and went off to the levee with his major and minor full-cock to let off at the King. But he found his royal nephew in nó mood for logic, and suppressed them.—(*The same.*)

‖ See plan accompanying, reduced from Major Allan's survey.—(Pl. 23.)

The city proper of Amarapoora is laid out four-square, at the widest part of the peninsula. It is bounded by a defensive wall of brick about twelve or thirteen feet high, with a battlemented parapet. The wall is partially backed by an earthen rampart, but this is nowhere completed to any useful extent. The four sides are each a little short of a mile in length, and are exactly alike, excepting that at the north-west, where the river-channel comes close under the walls, the angle of the square has been cut off obliquely. Each side has three gates, and from eleven to thirteen bastions, including those through which the gates are cut.

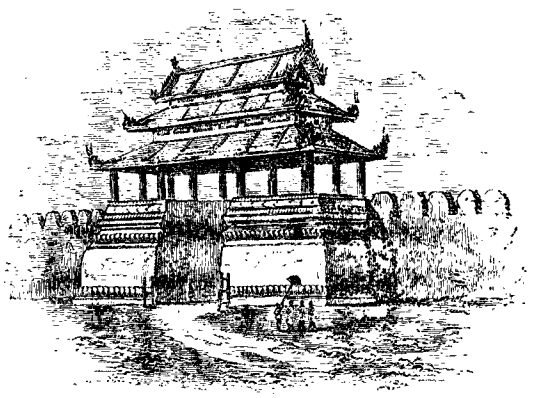


Fig. 26.

At an interval of about a hundred feet from the walls a ditch nearly eighty feet in width extends along the east and west sides, the greater portion of the north, and about half the south. This ditch is from sixteen to eighteen feet deep, and has both escarp and counterscarp of brick. It contracts to a width of about twelve feet at the gates, and plank bridges are there thrown across it. A battlemented parapet runs, as a sort of faussebraye, along the top of the escarp, and some of the gates are covered by meagre barbicans or traverses, similar in character to the city wall.

The material of all these works is indifferent brickwork, built with mud mortar, excepting the gateways and the copings of some of the walls, where lime is used. No cannon are at present mounted on any of the bastions. The works altogether, in the hands of the Burmese, would probably be less formidable than a respectable stockade.

Within these defences the streets are laid out parallel to the four walls, running from gate to gate and cutting up the city into rectangular blocks.

The Palace occupies the centre, its walls being laid symmetrically with those of the city.* It has three successive inclosures. Outside of all is a high palisade of teak posts, and about forty feet within this a brick wall. On the east side, in which the public entrance lies, an esplanade then intervenes of about a hundred and forty yards in width, succeeded by a second brick wall with a double gateway. I do not know the arrangements on the other sides of the Palace.

There is a gate in the centre of each of the four sides, but that to the eastward, or front, only is public. Each gate and side of the Palace is under the charge of an officer

* This four-square city with the Palace in the centre is the characteristic form of the old Burman cities, *e. g.* Pegu, Sagain, Toungoo, and Tavoy. It has perhaps a mythic origin. The *Trayastrinsha*, or abode of Indra, and the thirty-two dewas, is represented in the Buddhist books as a city of a square form having a square Palace in the centre.—(*Pilgrimage of Fahian*, p. 124; and *Sangermano*, p. 14.) But the walled cities in the interior of China are, I believe, also generally square.

THE PALACE AT AMARAPOORA WITH THE WHITE ELEPHANT .

of rank, known as the Commander of the North Gate, of the West Gate, and so on. Wherever the King goes on land or water, these officers are supposed to be in attendance on the side assigned to them, for the King's security.*

Entering the inner brick wall from the east, you find yourself in front of the Myé-nán or Earthen Palace (as it is called from having a clay floor), the principal Hall of Audience. This stands on a terrace of plastered brickwork some two hundred and sixty feet long by ten or twelve high, and exhibits to the front a central triple gable, with colonnaded wings crowned with a roof in two stages after the usual Burmese fashion; the whole being of timber covered with gold leaf. The central part of the building runs back to a depth of sixty or seventy feet, and at the extremity of this is the throne. Just over the throne, and so placed, to the best of Burman ability, as to occupy the exact centre of the Palace and of the city, rises, in eight diminishing stages, a graceful *phya-sath* or wooden spire, similar to those often attached to monastic buildings, and crowned with the gilded *Htee*, an honour which royalty alone partakes with ecclesiastical sanctity. This spire also has been gilt, but it is sadly tarnished and has lost all brilliance of effect.

Behind this principal structure are smaller audience-chambers, the office of the Atwén-woons (or Household Councillors) called the Bya-deit, &c. All these are timber buildings, roofed in diminishing stages, and more or less carved and gilt in the usual style of the ecclesiastical buildings, but very inferior to them in richness of workmanship.

The private apartments are to the westward, where a series of carved and gilded gables roofed with glittering zinc plates is visible over the walls.

There are only one or two brick buildings of any prominence within the Palace precincts. The most conspicuous is a square tower, said to have been erected as a treasury by King Tharawadi, the top of which is crowned with a gilt pavilion which serves as a belvedere, where the King occasionally amuses himself at eventide with his spyglass.

The powder magazine is still maintained within the Palace walls, notwithstanding the alarming explosion in Tharawadi's time, which is sometimes said first to have decidedly unhinged that Prince's mind. It stands in the south-west corner of the outer yard.

In the area which stretches before the Hall of Audience are several detached buildings. A little to the north is the "Palace" or state apartment of the Lord White Elephant, with his highness's humbler every-day residence in rear. To the south are sheds for the vulgar herd of the same species,† and brick godowns in which the state carriages and golden litters (the latter massive and gorgeous in great variety of design) are stowed away. Temporary buildings, used as barracks and gunsheds, run along the wall.

The present white elephant has occupied his post for at least fifty years. I have no doubt he is the same which Padre Sangermano mentions as having been caught in 1806, to the great joy of the King, who had just lost the preceding incumbent, a female which died after a year's captivity.

He is a very large elephant, close upon ten feet high, with as noble a head and pair of tusks as I have ever seen. But he is long-bodied and lanky, and not otherwise well made

* Burney.

† The Burmese do not appear to use the female elephant; all the King's that we saw were *tuskers*. Nor did we see any of the tuskless males, or *mukhnas*, which are so common in Bengal.

as an elephant. He is sickly and out of condition, and is in fact distempered during five months of the year, from April to August. His eye, the iris of which is yellow with a reddish outer annulus, and a small clear black pupil, has an uneasy glare, and his keepers evidently mistrust his temper. We were always warned against going near his head. The annulus round the iris of the eye is pointed out as resembling a circle of the nine gems.

His colour is almost uniform all over; nearly the ground-tint of the mottled or freckled part of the trunk and ears of common elephants, perhaps a little darker. He also has pale freckles in the same parts. On the whole he is well entitled to his appellation of white.

His royal paraphernalia, which are set out when visitors are expected, are sufficiently splendid. Among them was a driving-hook about three feet long, the stem of which was a mass of small pearls, girt at frequent intervals with bands of rubies, and the hook and handle of crystal tipped with gold. His headstall was of fine red cloth plentifully studded with fine rubies, and near the extremity having some valuable diamonds. To fit over the two bumps of the forehead were circles of the nine gems, which are supposed to be charms against evil influences.

When caparisoned he also wore on the forehead, like other Burmese dignitaries, including the King himself, a golden plate inscribed with his titles, and a gold crescent set with circles of large gems between the eyes. Large silver tassels hung in front of his ears, and he was harnessed with bands of gold and crimson set with large bosses of pure gold. He is a regular "estate of the realm," having a Woon or minister of his own, four gold umbrellas, the white umbrellas which are peculiar to royalty, with a suite of attendants said to be thirty in number. The Burmese who attended us removed their shoes before entering his "Palace."

The elephant has an appanage, or territory assigned to him "to eat," like any other dignitary of the empire. I do not know where his estate is at present, but in Burney's time it was the rich cotton district of Taroup Myo.

There are frequent reports of the capture of white elephants, which cause excitement at the Court; but almost invariably they turn out to be mere pretenders to the character, perhaps a little paler in colour than usual. One such was brought to Court in 1831, and village revenues assigned for his maintenance. But the Government was hard pressed to pay the last instalments of the Yandabo indemnity money, and the rents of the new Sen-meng (Lord Elephant) were taken up for the purpose. An address from the King, written on a long palm-leaf, was formerly laid before the elephant, requesting him not to take it amiss that his revenues were devoted to the payment of the Kalás, for the whole should be refunded within two months. (Burney's *MS. Journals.*)*

* The Hindoos look on the white elephant with some religious veneration, perhaps connecting him with Airawata, the elephant of Indra, from which the Great River, the *Irâvati* or *Irawadi*, derives its title, like the Hydraotes or Ravee of the Punjaub. And occasionally a wandering Hindoo devotee finds his way to Amarapoora, and has a "*dursun*" (interview of worship) of the white elephant.

The importance attached to the possession of a white elephant is traceable to the Buddhist system. A white elephant of certain wonderful endowments is one of the seven precious things, the possession of which marks the *Maha Chakravartti Raja*, "the great Wheel-turning King," the holy and universal sovereign, a character who appears once in a cycle, at the period when the waxing and waning term of human life has reached its maximum of an *asankhya* in duration.—(See ante, p. 106. See *notes to Travels of Fahian, Cal.* 1848.

The oldest mention of a white elephant is probably that by Ælian in his book *De Animalium Naturâ*, which abounds in wonderful Elephantiana. In Book iii. chap. 46, he tells the story of an Indian elephant tamer, who had caught a young white elephant which he treated with great affection, reciprocated by the animal. The King of the Indians hearing of the capture, sent to demand the elephant. The man would not part with his pet and escaped with it into the jungles, but was at last caught and slain. The elephant took up the body of his master and carried it to his shed, where he cherished it like a faithful friend, &c.

Ibn Batuta in his Travels (*circa* 1350) mentions that the Emperor of Ceylon had a white elephant upon which he rode on feast days, having first placed on his head some large rubies, &c. (*Trans. by Prof. Lee*, 1829, p. 187.)

The present King of Burma never rides the white elephant, but his uncle used to do so frequently, acting as his own mahout, which was one of the Royal accomplishments of ancient Indian Kings.

The first modern European mention of the white elephant that I have met with is by Nicolo di Conti, who was at Ava *circa* 1440. (*Ramusio, Raccolta*, vol. i.)

Along the front of the basement of the Audience Hall are planted some twenty pieces of artillery, selected for size or workmanship. There are among these two large brass guns of about twenty-four pounder calibre but greatly heavier metal, which, if of Burmese casting, as something in their character indicates, are very creditable to the skill of the people. There are also some fantastic pieces of small calibre, in the form of dragons with extended jaws and bristling spines down the back, which are beautifully cast. These are said to have been captured from the Siamese.

In the esplanade between the two walls of the palace enclosure there are not many buildings. The principal is the Hlwot-dau, or royal council house, where the ministers (Woongyis and Woondouks) daily assemble. This is a large open pavilion of timber, handsomely painted and adorned with gilding, standing near the gate, in immediate contact

Hence the possession of a white elephant is a sort of ensign of universal sovereignty.

I am not able to say how far the elephant is now regarded by the more intelligent Burmese with genuine superstition, and how far merely as a traditional appendage of royal state, like the cream-coloured horses that draw our good Queen to open and prorogue her Parliaments But I have heard that the present King, whose conscience perhaps troubles him sometimes with misgivings as to the necessary usurpation which placed him on his brother's throne, would gladly hail the capture of a real white elephant in his own day as an assent from the Powers of Nature to his own legitimate royalty.

In 1834, a (so-called) white elephant was born from a female caught shortly before in one of the forests of the Madras Presidency, and in 1838 was sent to Maulmain, with some idea of its being presented to the King of Ava. This was very properly given up, as it would only have been interpreted as an acknowledgment of our unworthiness to retain such a symbol of lawful sovereignty. It had however some lamentable blemish in the hairs of its tail, which sadly marred its claims to sanctity.

One of the virtuous acts of Gautama in pre-existence as a Prince of Benares was that of giving away a white elephant, (Hardy's *Man*, p. 116). Was the Governor-General of 1838 (Lord Auckland), aware of the meritorious nature of the act which he purposed?

These elephant albinoes would appear to be more common in the forests of Camboja and the Southern Laos, than in the regions subject to Ava. When Mr. Crawfurd was at Bankok, in 1822, the King of Siam had six white elephants, and a number of others having unusually large patches of white skin. All elephants nearly have *some* white about the trunk, ears, and throat. At p. 95, I have noticed the occurrence of human albinoes in the Indo-Chinese countries as apparently not unfrequent.

with the outside of the inner Palace wall. Immediately within this wall, and communicating over it with the Hlwot-dau, is another considerable building richly gilt all over. This contains a throne, and is intended for the King's occupancy when he thinks proper to attend the meetings of the Hlwot-dau. This, however, he rarely if ever does. One of the Woondouks remains in attendance all night at the Hlwot-dau, to receive any orders which may issue from the Palace.

Besides the Hlwot-dau the esplanade contains large sheds for the accommodation of the attendants and horses of the councillors; a square edifice representing the depository of a tooth of Gautama which in ancient times was preserved within the royal precincts,* and a high tower from which the watches are struck in alternate strokes on the big bell and big drum. The remoter corners of the esplanade are occupied by the King's workshops.

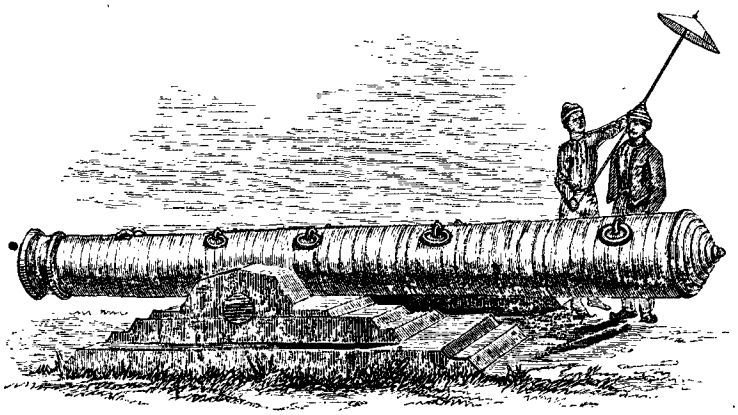


Fig. 27.

A little on one side of the approach between the two walls lies a singular and enormous piece of ordnance, which was brought from Aracan on the conquest of that country in the last century. In construction it is similar to the great bombard called Mons Meg in Edinburgh Castle, being formed of longitudinal iron bars, girt round with massive iron hoops, and all welded imperfectly together. The extreme length of the unwieldy machine is twenty-eight feet nine inches, and its external diameter at the breech two feet seven, but the calibre is only eleven and a half inches. A smaller piece of like construction lies beside it.

Issuing from the eastern gate, immediately beyond the Palace palisade on the right hand, stands the *Yoom-dau* or Royal Court-house for the city. This is a raised and open of pavilion of plain substantia ltimber. In it the Myo-Woons or Governors of the city, of whom there are two at Amarapoora, hold their daily courts. Here also the King's orders as affecting the city are published, (being also, if necessary, announced throughout the town by beat

* Very probably it was considered proper to boast of a Tooth of Gautama, because the Kings of Ceylon had one. "*Brama* King of *Pegu*, being told by astrologers he was to marry a daughter of the King of *Columbo*, sent to demand her, and he had never a one; but his chamberlain had one the King esteemed as his own; they both agreed to put her upon him as really the King's. And the chamberlain, the more to oblige the King of *Pegu*, seeking thereby to cast off the Portuguese yoke, feigned he had that Tooth which was taken at *Jafnapatam*, and burned at *Goa*, and would give it in Dowry with the Bride. The Ambassadors easily crediting what they desired, took the Bride and the Tooth, without acquainting the Portuguese, and sent advice to *Brama*, who received the wife first, and then the relick with the greatest pomp that ever yet has been heard of."—*History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese.*—1695, vol. ii. p. 251.

of drum), and here the Princes take their seats on important occasions, such as the departure of an army on the commencement of a war, when the troops are paraded before the Yoom.

Opposite the Yoom-dau is another pavilion of smaller size, called the *Tara-yoom.*

At the Yoom-dau the Myo-woons try criminal cases of importance, such as murders and robberies. In cases of treason a Woondouk, or even one or more of the Woongyis, would investigate the case at the Yoom-dau. Here also one of the Myo-woons, or some other officer of the court, attends at night, and if any disturbance arises in the night, or if a fire breaks out, it is the duty of all the officers of Government to repair to the Yoom.

In the Tara-yoom all civil suits, except those involving large sums in which foreigners are concerned, are adjudicated, as well as petty assaults. There are two Judges, called Tara-thoogyi, appointed for this purpose. One of these, the burly personage who had the nominal superintendence of our accommodations at the Residency, has a district assigned him "to eat," as the Burmese phrase it. The other Judge has not yet received a district, but is paid half-yearly from the Royal Treasury. The amount of his salary was stated to Major Phayre at about two hundred Rs. a month, but this is probably exaggerated. It is certain, however, that the King's orders are most strict against bribery and receiving presents, which were formerly the chief dependence of judicial officers, as well as against the unauthorized confiscation of property, and other abuses and oppressions, which under the last reign had prevailed to a frightful extent. He is endeavouring gradually to introduce the system of payment by salaries. One of the Myo-woons of the city was last year dismissed for receiving a present of rice.

All cases decided by the Myo-woons or Tara-thoogyis are liable to be reviewed by the Woongyis. If, on investigation, the appeal should be pronounced frivolous, the appellant is subject occasionally to be punished with stripes. If the appeal is successful, the Tara-thoogyi said that he himself would be liable to fine, and perhaps to imprisonment.

Appeals from the provinces are made to the Hlwot-dau. This Council also decides on cases of general oppression by local officers, on cases relating to revenue or disputed district boundaries, and on applications for appointments. Appeals of civil suits from the provinces are generally referred for report to the Tara-thoogyi, and his opinion is laid before the King, when a final decision is issued. Original civil suits arising in the city, and involving large amounts of money, are also heard by the Hlwot-dau, and especially if foreigners are concerned.

The Tara-thoogyi told Major Phayre that he attended his Yoom daily, worship-days excepted, at noon, and sat till three. He then usually goes to the Palace, where the King frequently questions him about the cases which he has decided.

To the west of the Palace is a court called the *Western* (Anoûk-yoom), where are investigated all cases occurring among the women of the Palace by a special officer called the Anouk-woon. Other subjects of investigation within the Palace walls are inquired into there by one of the Atwén-woons.

Behind the Tara-yoom is the public gaol. Like the common buildings of the town, it is only a cluster of mat-huts in a bamboo inclosure. The prisoners, however, are at night made fast in the stocks, or rather to a long bamboo. They receive no public sustenance,

and those who have no friends or means must starve, or depend on the charity of the neighbouring residents. Even those who have friends bribe the gaolers to obtain access for supplies of food. Deaths by starvation and cruelty are said to be frequent in this place.* The present King has ordered the prisoners to be fed, and fancies that his orders are obeyed, but they are not.†

There are no brick buildings within the city walls, except the Temples and the few in the Palace that have been already mentioned. A large square Pagoda marks each angle of the city, just within the walls. These are all similar in plan, but that at the N.W. angle only is gilt.

The streets are very wide, and in dry weather are tolerably clean. They are always free from the closeness and offensive smells of most Indian towns. There are, however, no public arrangements or regulations for street-cleaning, and the dogs are the only scavengers. There is no attempt at drainage, an improvement which might very easily be effected. In wet weather, consequently, the streets are deep in mire, and some of the lower parts of the city are absolutely swamped.

The city has not yet recovered from the civil broils of 1852, when the whole, excepting the Palace, was burnt to the ground. Large unoccupied spaces still exist within the walls, and the population is nowhere dense.

The great majority of the houses are mere bamboo cottages slightly raised from the ground on posts. Along all the chief streets, at the distance of a few feet from the house-front on each side, runs a line of posts and neat lattice hurdles, or palings, which are kept white-washed. The posts are crowned with plants in flower-pots, and between the house and the paling there are often a few flowering shrubs.

This arrangement is called *Yaja-mát* or King's Fence, and is supposed to be put up wherever the King is likely to pass, in order to prevent the crowd from encroaching on him disrespectfully. Indeed they are expected not even to stare at him, for in Burma the right of a cat to look at a king is not well established. This lattice-fence gives a tidy appearance to the streets, but concealing the shops and their contents (always one of the most interesting subjects of curiosity in a foreign city) it destroys all picturesque variety, and gives the town an aspect of monotony and depopulation. Even on days of public spectacle, as when the Mission passed in procession to the court, excepting at the cross-roads where denser masses gathered, the spectators were confined to the space behind these lattice-palings. But for our commanding position on the backs of elephants we should, from this cause, and from the intense silence that prevailed, scarcely have been aware of the number of eyes directed on us.

* Judson's recollections of his captivity (Life, i. 309), give some idea of Burman prison management. But it is well to remember what British prisons have been, almost within living memory.

† In most countries it is one thing to issue an order, and another to see that it is obeyed. But this is eminently the case in Burma. In Colonel Burney's time, a story was current at Ava of a jester having been seen very busily engaged in digging at the gate of the Palace. On the King asking him what he was about, he replied that he was trying to find some of the hundreds of orders that were daily sent out from the Palace and Hlwot-dau, and never were heard of again.—(*MS. Journal.*)

At the gates of the city are open timber guardhouses. The gateway is merely as it were a bastion cut through, and slightly ornamented in rude plaster mouldings. These gateway bastions are likewise white-washed, forming a break in the monotonous brick colour of the rest of the wall. The gates are not arched over, but are surmounted by pavilions such as one sees in pictures of Chinese towns. These pavilions are triple-roofed over the central or main gates, and double over the others: smaller pavilions shade the bastions. The passages of the most frequented gates are favourite stations for the stalls of petty traders. Sandals of all kinds, wooden combs, and cheap lacquered-ware, are the staple articles, with the addition of all sorts of small wares, such as pán-boxes, copper spoons, scissars, little pictures, ear-tubes of coloured glass and metal, steatite pencils, strike-lights, &c. Booths for similar goods are ranged against the corners of the Palace palisades, and at the very gate of the Palace is the principal mart for the stationers who deal in the *para-beiks* (or black books), and steatite pencils, which form the only ordinary writing materials of the Burmese in their common transactions.

The houses of the Princes, the Ministers of State, and other dignitaries, generally occupy the areas within the blocks into which the rectangular streets divide the town. The best, such as that of the Crown-Prince, are extensive and elevated timber structures, somewhat similar to the monasteries, but in plainer style; with double and triple roofs (allowed only to the royal family), boarded, or covered with small slate-like tiles. Others are neatly made of bamboo-mat panels framed in teak, with carved teak eaves and gable-ends, and roofs of thatch.* Here and there in the vacant spaces under the ramparts are large barn-like buildings, distinguished by the Royal roof. These are the King's granaries.†

* The character of house, and especially of roof, appropriate to each rank, appears to be matter of regulation, or inviolable prescription.

† The divinity really most worshipped in Burma is Precedent.

It is curious to see how exactly the description of Pegu, given by Master Cæsar Frederick in his "Eighteen Years' Indian Observations" (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, ii. 1714), as it existed in the year 1567, corresponds with the present state of Amarapoora. "By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two Cities, the old and the new: in the old Citie are the Merchant strangers, and Merchants of the Countrie, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This Citie is not very great, but it hath very great suburbs. Their houses be made with canes and covered with leaves, or with straw; but the Merchants have all one House or Magason, which house they call *Godon*, which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any value, to save them from the often mischances that happen to houses made of such stuffe. In the new Citie is the Palace of the King, and his abiding-place with all his barons, and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there they finished the building of the new Citie: it is a great Citie very plaine and flat, and fouresquare, walled round about, and with ditches that compass the walls about with water, in which ditches are many Crocodiles." Even this feature was preserved at a very late date. Colonel Burney mentions numerous alligators in the ditch of Amarapoora in 1830. During our visit the ditches were dry, or nearly so. "It hath no Draw-bridges, yet, it hath twenty gates, five for every square; on the walls there are many places made for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and covered, or gilt with gold. The streets thereof are the fairest that I have seen, they are as a straight as a line from one gate to another, and standing at the one gate you may discover to the other, and they are as broad as ten or twelve men may ride abreast in them: and those streets that be thwart are faire and large; these streets both on the one side and the other are planted at the doores of the houses with nut-trees of *India*, which make a very commodious shadow:

The approximate number of houses within the walls was found by Major Allan to be 5,334, giving a probable population of 26,670; and the whole capital, including the immediate suburbs, was found to contain 17,659 houses, giving a population of about 90,000. The Woondouk on one occasion was pleased to state the number of inhabitants at *ten millions*, and this he said was no guess, but an actual enumeration made when the King on coming to the throne presented every man, woman, and child with a piece of clothing.

But a much larger and denser population occupies the western suburb, which nearly fills the projection of the peninsula from the city-walls to its termination at the Sagyin-wa creek. An esplanade road of eighty or a hundred feet in width extends outside the ditch, and then the suburb commences. The streets are laid out with something of the same regularity as in the city, but with less width, and are lighted by a more healthful amount of life and activity away from the immediate shadow of the royal lamp. The main avenues are lined with the same arrangement of white lattice-screens as in the city. These main streets, near the fort, constitute the quarter in which the foreign residents chiefly dwell. Native subjects, it is said, are not allowed to build brick or stone houses without the King's permission, nor is it agreeable to the habits and prejudices of the Burmese to do so. But there is no prohibition of the kind affecting foreigners, and numerous brick houses are consequently to be found in the foreign quarter, and there only, except in that occupied by the Chinese. They are generally low two-storied buildings of very coarse construction, with small low windows and no verandas.

There is but one English merchant now permanently resident at Amarapoora, Mr. Thomas Spears. He has lived here with occasional interruptions for eighteen years, in which time he has witnessed the deposition of three successive kings. He is very much respected by the King, is sent for to the Palace nearly every day, and is evidently looked on by His Majesty almost as his servant and subject. With a strong regard for the King in return, Mr. Spears, however, does not forget his duties as a British subject. And it is very much to his credit that, isolated as he has been from his countrymen for so many

the houses be made of wood, and covered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very necessary for their use. The King's Palace is in the middle of the Citie, made in forme of a walled castle with ditches full of water round about it; the lodgings within are made of wood all over gilded, with fine pinnacles, and very costly worke, covered with plates of gold. Truly it may be a King's house: within the gate there is a faire large courte, from the one side to the other wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest elephants. He hath foure that bee white, a thing so rare, that a man shall hardly find another King that hath any such, and if this king knowe any other that hath white elephants, he sendeth for them as for a gift."

It is curious to see above in the use of the word *Godon* how ancient our Anglo-Indian vocables are. This word Godown (*Gadong*), and several others in daily use among the English all over India, which are underivable from any continental language, are I believe pure Malay. Such are, Paddy (*Pádi*), Compound (*Kampong*), Dammer (a kind of pitch—*Dámar*), Bankshall (*Bangsál*, a warehouse or factory, I believe). There are others not confined to Anglo-Indians, such as Tea (*Teh*), Junk (*Ajong*), Rattan (*Rótan*), Sago (*Ságú*), Mango (*manggú*), and Coral, a word which has puzzled etymologists, perhaps from Malay (*Kárang*). My attention was attracted by the first two or three of these words when on duty at Singapore, and the rest were picked out of a Malay dictionary. Most of them must have been first adopted by the Portuguese at Malacca, and afterwards by our old factors in Sumatra, and brought by them to continental India.

years, he has always kept himself clear of local intrigues, and has honourably maintained his character as an Englishman. One or two agents from the Rangoon houses may also generally be found as temporary sojourners at the capital.

There were one or two French adventurers at the capital during our stay, but no old resident of that nation, nor any one holding office under the Burmese Government.

A well-known inhabitant of the foreign quarter is Mr. Camaretta, a Portuguese of Goa, who has been more than thirty years in the country, occupying various positions under the Burmese Government. He was formerly in the immediate service of King Tharawadi, the present King's father, and was made by him in 1839 *Shabunder** of Rangoon. His reputation stands better with Europeans now than it did in those days. He has known the King from childhood, holds a confidential post about his person, and is high in his favour, so that he is an object of jealousy to most of the Burmese officials. He appears to be honestly devoted to the King's interests, and sees that those will best be served by the maintenance of friendship with the British Government. If he has not sufficient boldness to tell His Majesty disagreeable truths, he at least does not endeavour to mislead him or to poison his mind with falsehoods. He is now *Akouk-woon*, or Collector of Customs at the capital, and seems to be respected by other foreigners as a man who, without any advantages of education, has won and kept his position by fidelity to his employers, and good sense in the circle of his duties.

Armenians have long frequented the Burman court and capital. At present there are about a dozen families, chiefly merchants in a small way. Some of them have always been noted as crafty mischief-makers and intriguers against England, and as depreciators of her power and motives. One of them at the beginning of the late European war offered to go on a mission to Russia, but the King declined to enter into correspondence with a power at war with the English.

It did not appear that there had been any one at Amarapoora during the war who could be considered a Russian emissary, though the Armenians generally were violent partisans of Russia. There are generally one or two Armenians in the direct service of the Burmese Government. Makertich, who escorted us from Maloon to the capital, is one of these. At present he holds the government of the Maloon district as well as the office of *Kalá-woon*, or Superintendent of Western Foreigners.† The Armenians used to be in considerable numbers at Rangoon, and had a church there. At the capital they have no church or priest.

Of Greeks, there used to be a few resident here, but now there are none; nor are there at present any Jews.

There are some fifteen or sixteen houses of Moguls, as they are called, engaged in trade with Rangoon and Calcutta. These are Mahomedans of Western Asia, generally originating from the cities of the Persian Gulf, and sometimes even from Bokhara, but often arrived at Ava from an intermediate settlement at one or other of the Anglo-Indian

* Superintendent of the Port. The epithet is Persian, but appears to have been long naturalised in Burma.

† The *Colvoon* of some of the old travellers.

Presidencies, against the Government of which they have always contributed their mite of rancour and mischief.

The feeling both of the Armenians and Moguls in Ava appears to have been always one of bitter jealousy and dislike to us. In our absence, they felt themselves the representatives of Western knowledge and civilization, but by our presence they are cast into the shade, and resent it.

The Padre Paulo Abbona, a Sardinian missionary priest, has his house and humble church in another part of the suburb, near the river. He is a constant attendant at the court, and has been frequently employed by the present King as a medium of intercourse with us. His church is a monument of Mr. Camaretta's liberality. Before the walls had risen to their full height, they were thrown down by the great earthquake of 1839; again the completed building was destroyed by fire; and each time Mr. Camaretta rebuilt it out of his own pocket.

There are four other Roman Catholic priests in the country, all, I believe, Piedmontese or Italians. They have under their pastoral charge, besides the flock at the capital, a few Christian villages. These all lie between Moutshobo and the river Kyendwen, principally in the district of Tubbee-yen or Diba-yen, in the valley of the Moo river. The only one on the Irawadi is, I believe, Ngabek, which stands at the angle between the Great River and the upper mouth of the Kyendwen. The whole number of Christians was stated by Abbona to be 2300; but this is probably an over-estimate. Their progenitors are said to have been the descendants of Portuguese, French, and other captives, brought up from Syriam by Alompra in 1756, and perhaps by one of his predecessors at the earlier capture of that port in 1613. To those have been added occasional converts from the Shans and Burmese; but these are few. Some also of the Christians at the capital I was told were descended from Siamese Christian prisoners; but it was very difficult to get definite information about them, even from those who might have been expected to know.*

The number of Christians at the capital is about 200. They are not distinguishable by any external indication from the other Burmese.

Since we quitted the city Mr. Abbona has established a school, and I believe intends to teach English. Both the King and the Crown-Prince have contributed or promised assistance.

The Chinese, instinctively recognised as of nearer kindred in blood and manner, are not by the Burmans classified with the Kalás or other foreigners, though that term includes every race of India proper, of Western Asia, and of Europe. Their ward occupies a large

* The names of the villages as stated to me were Ngabek, Kyoung-oo, Moun-hla, Khyoung-yoo, Khyanda-yuwa, Lipan-gyi, and Kyoum-dau. Khyanda-yuwa was said to be the largest Christian village. Five of these names are the same as those given by Col. Burney in his notice of Father Giuseppe D'Amato (J. A. S. B. i. 349). The whole population was stated to him at 960, and of these many had ceased to profess Christianity, as the Father lamented to Burney. But the number of priests has been greater of late years, and perhaps there has been a corresponding improvement in the numbers of the flock.

portion of the main street of the suburb, where every shop and house exhibits the unmistakable countenance and tail. Thinking of these Eastern people in the mass, we are apt to class the Burmese and other kindred races with the Chinamen; but when one sees the latter in the streets of Amarapoora, his individuality is just as recognisable as it would be in Hyde Park. A large proportion of the dwellings in the quarter inhabited by the Chinese is built of brick.* Their number probably amounts to nearly 2000 families, in the capital and the neighbouring villages. They have a temple of their own, the nationality of which in its bizarre character would be recognized by any English child. In a visit which I paid to it with some other officers of the Mission, we were very courteously received by some of the chief Chinese merchants, who were passing their evening leisure there. For the temple serves not merely as a place of worship, but as a house of resort or club also for its frequenters. Entering by a circular (not *semi*-circular) gateway, flanked by two gaping watch-dogs of marvellous dentition in white Sagyin marble, and decked round with dragonesque adornments and with panels inscribed with the well-known characters in gilt relief, we found the building to consist of an outer, middle, and inner court. The outer court was merely a vestibule. The middle one possessed indeed a cell with images, but it seemed principally devoted to mundane purposes. On one side was what looked like a regular club or tavern dining-room, furnished with numerous small separate tables. On the other side was a small hall provided with chairs and benches, where the Chinamen before mentioned were enjoying their tea and pipes. We were invited to go in and seat ourselves, and were refreshed with small cups of weak but agreeable tea. The pipe, which was also presented, was a curious article of brass, containing a tobacco-box, a water-vessel, and, above this, a very small chimney as substitute for the bowl. Of tobacco in fact it held a mere pinch, dexterously rolled between finger and thumb before insertion, and serving only for one or two whiffs, whilst a waiter stood by to keep it replenished and relighted. After a little attempt at conversation through a Munnipori servant, who rendered the Chinaman's Burmese into lame Hindustani, we were asked to view the inner sanctum. This was, as usual, like an old curiosity-shop rather than a place of worship; full of all sorts of quaint, carved cabinets or shrines, fantastic lanterns and censers, curious bronzes, life-size grotesque figures ranged in cupboards on the wall, teapoys, altars, furniture of inconceivable purpose, stands of imitation antique weapons, such as halberts, pitch-forks, and morning-stars, probably intended for use in their plays, &c. The principal figure was of Sagyin marble. Differing from the Burmese and Indian Gautamas, it still seemed to me to resemble the prints of Fo, or the Chinese version of the Buddha. But the people evaded our question as to the person represented. A shelf of minor figures stood below, and among them was a regular Burmese Gautama in the normal attitude. The wood-carving about the pillars and brackets was thoroughly Chinese, showing much more finish and executive expertness in the *tours de force* of its fantastic under-cutting than any

* Raffles notices that the Chinese invariably construct a house of brick and mortar when they possess the means, and that the Chinese *Kampongs* or wards in the Javanese cities may always be thus distinguished from those of the natives. (*History of Java*, i. 81.)

Burmese work, but decidedly inferior to much of the latter in real artistic design and effectiveness.

Altogether the building, though much inferior to one in the same style which I have seen at Singapoor, is creditable to the little community of provincials in a foreign city. It is said to have cost 150,000 tikàls,* a sum which was raised among the Chinese residents, by a voluntary tax upon their own imports.

The overland traffic with China is an interesting branch of the Burmese trade. Its staple is cotton from Ava, exchanged for the silk of China, of which there is a very large consumption in the looms of the capital; silk-clothing being almost universal in Burma among all but the poorest of both sexes. The cotton of Burma has, since 1854, been a Royal monopoly. The King has constituted himelf the sole dealer in cotton as well as in certain other articles. This is a new feature in Burmese administration. In former times, kings and ministers at Ava were wont to speak somewhat contemptuously of trade and merchants. But the loss of the revenue of Pegu has put the Government to novel shifts.

Formerly the Chinese merchants used often to make advances to the cultivators in Burma, taking the produce of the cotton harvest in return. Now these advances are made entirely by the King. The present rate at which he pays the cultivators is twenty tikàls per 100 viss,† and the rate at which he disposes of the cotton at the capital is from forty to fifty tikàls for the same quantity. Merchants wishing to purchase pay their money into the *Bya-dèit*, or office of the household ministers in the Palace, and receive an order for a corresponding quantity of cotton.‡

The cotton (which is cleaned from seed), is transported by boat up the Irawadi to Bamó, which is the great dépôt for all the Chinese export and import trade; though very little actual buying and selling takes place there, except in Chinese copperpots, carpets, and warm jackets, which are sold to the neighbouring population, and taken all over the Burman territories as far as the Kyen-dwen.§ Cotton is conveyed to Bamó on boats of the flat-bottomed kind called *Pein-go*, carrying from ten thousand to twenty-five thousand viss, and drawing about three-and-a-half feet water. They commence the traffic about the end of October and continue plying until May, seldom later. When the river is at its very lowest ebb it is said that the largest boats have to discharge their cargoes at two or perhaps three points on the way, in order to work over the shoals. The cotton is

* More than 18,000*l*.

† 1 viss = 100 tikàls in weight, or 3.6516lbs. avoirdupois. The proper Burmese name of the weight is Paiktha. Viss is the name of a weight in use on the Coromandel Coast, being the eighth part of a Madras maund, or about 3lbs. 2oz. It appears to have been applied to the Burmese standard by foreign traders from an early period. *Tikàl* is no more Burmese than *viss*, but its origin is more obscure. The true Burmese name is *Kyat*. Tikàl is applied by foreigners also to the Siamese *bat*, a coin nearly equal in value to a *Kyat* of silver. Perhaps it may be a corruption of the word *Takâ*, which is applied in different parts of India to different coins; in some places to a pice, in some to a rupee. Major Phayre, however, believes *Tikàl* to be a corruption of *Ta-Kyat*, one Kyat.

‡ The Chinese merchants also pick up about 150,000 viss of cotton in the Shan states, to which the monopoly does not extend.

§ Capt. Hannay's Journal.

packed by the Chinese in bales adapted to mule carriage. These bales are rudely pressed by putting them in a hole and treading in the cotton.

From Bamó, Captain Hannay tells us, the goods are carried on canoe-rafts up the Taping or Bamó river, to the old town of that name. Between old Bamó and the Chinese marts, the whole of the traffic is carried on mules, ponies, and bullocks.

An account of Bamó, as it was in 1836, is given by Captain Hannay in his journal of "A Journey from Ava to the Amber Mines," the MS. of which is in the Foreign Office, Calcutta, and an abstract of which is given in the J. A. S. B. vi. 245. He describes it as the largest place that he had seen in Burma, after Rangoon and Ava, and more interesting than either. On landing, he felt almost as if in a civilised land again, seeing himself surrounded by a fair-complexioned people wearing jacket and trousers, after having been long-accustomed to the *putsos* and harsh features of Burma. These were the Shans of the Chinese Shan States, and the Chinese of Yunan; of the latter there were about five hundred resident at Bamó, where they had a neat temple. The whole number of houses in the town was about two thousand. All the Chinese houses are built of blue bricks, and the streets paved with the same material. There was a remarkable appearance of comfort and prosperity about the people of Bamó, and Captain Hannay remarks that he saw more gold and silver ornaments worn here than in any town in Burma. "The whole of these people," he says, speaking of the traders of different races, "pay for everything they require in silver; and were it not for the restrictions in Burma on the exportation of silver, I think an intelligent British merchant would find it very profitable to settle at Bamó; as, besides the easy intercourse with China, it is surrounded by numerous and industrious tribes, who would, no doubt, soon acquire a taste for British manufactures, which are at present quite unknown to them."

There were also a number of Chinese settled at Koung-toung, and other places below Bamó.

I may remark that European remittances to the R. C. missionaries in Yunan, of whom there are several, are now sent *viâ* Amarapoora.

The old Shan town of Bamó, alluded to above, is on the Taping river, two days' journey from the Irawadi, at the foot of the Kakhyen hills. Pemberton notices that Captain Hannay's description of the Taping demolished Klaproth's theory, that this river was, in fact, the main feeder of the Irawadi and identical with the Sanpoo of Tibet. It is in reality one hundred and fifty yards wide, with merely water enough to float a canoe. The Singphos told Hannay that the Taping was an off-shoot of the Shweli, which enters the Irawadi about ninety miles below. This Pemberton disbelieves; but it is a remarkable fact that these rivers are represented as the Singphos described in the map which Dalrymple furnished for Col. Symes's book, published in 1800.*

* It is curious that I have met with three independent assertions or suggestions of the existence of a boat-communication from the Irawadi to the eastward, for which there still seems to be no foundation. First, Ferdinand Pinto tells a strange story of his going up the river seven days from Ava, and then through a channel called *Guampanoo* (qu. Khyoung Bamó ?) which led him into a great river three leagues broad, called *Angegumaa*. This he descended, and eventually turned up somehow at

Besides cotton, a few other articles are exported from Burma, but the aggregate value of the whole of them is insignificant in comparison. Some of these minor items of trade are the white areca-nut from Penang and Acheen; esculent birds'-nests and fish-maws from Tenasserim and the Straits; the wings of a species of king-fisher imported from India through Aracan; soft deers' horns; a few hundred pieces of American jean, and a similar quantity of British long-cloth.

In the district of Mogoung in Upper Burma,* a green, translucent, and very hard stone (called by Crawfurd and Pemberton "noble serpentine"), is dug by the Shans and Kakhyens,† and largely purchased by the Chinese for exportation to their own country, where it fetches an extravagant price (probably on account of some supposed talismanic or detective virtues), and is manufactured into cups, bracelets, &c.‡ The value of this trade is represented by respectable Chinese at Amarapoora to reach from six to ten lakhs of tikàls per annum.§

Martaban! Secondly, Dalrymple (*Oriental Repertory*, i. 114) says he was informed by a gentleman who had been some time resident in the country, "That, between the Ava river and another one which traverses part of China, there is a narrow tract of low land; this being overflowed in the floods, much mud is left behind by the stream, over which the boats with goods are transported from one river to the other. This transportation from leaving one till launching into the other river takes about a week." Thirdly, it appears from an allusion by Colonel Burney (J. A. S. B. vi. 139), that Gutzlaff states on Chinese authority that, in their invasion of Burma in 1769, the Chinese army brought boats by some navigable river that falls into the Irawadi. Burney, however, quotes the Burmese history, to the effect that the Chinese had brought numerous carpenters with them, to *construct* boats on the Irawadi.

It is remarkable that such an anastomosis between two parallel rivers, as two of these passages indicate, is represented in some of our maps as existing between the Siam river and the great river of Cambodia.

* In the valley of the Ooroo, a tributary of the Ningthé or Kyendwen, some fifty or sixty miles west of Mogoung. The stone is found in the form of boulders imbedded in yellow clay. The larger blocks are carried off on bamboo frames, borne by four or five men. (Griffith's *Posthumous Papers*, p. 132, and Pemberton's *Report*, p. 123.)

† The Kakhyens, or Kakoos as they call themselves, are a wild section of the great race of Singphos, and inhabit hilly tracts on both banks of the Irawadi from Bamó upwards. They are said to be predatory, vindictive, and indolent. They are, however, good blacksmiths. They are remarkably athletic hardy men, and it is not uncommon to see them six feet high. Captain Hannay describes those whom he first saw at Koung-toung, a little below Bamó, as "perfect savages in their appearance. They had not at all the Tartar cast of features, but on the contrary had long faces and straight noses, with a very disagreeable expression about their eyes, which was rendered still more so by their lanky black hair being brought over the forehead, so as entirely to cover it, and then cut straight across in a line with the eyebrows." (*MS. Journal*; see also an interesting sketch of the Singphos or Kakhyens, published by Col. Hannay in a pamphlet, Calcutta, 1847.) The Rev. Mr. Kincaid, of the American Mission in Burma, has diffused a theory that a great part of the population of the Upper Irawadi, I believe these very Kakhyens, belong to the Karen race. I believe the theory to have no substantial basis. The language of the Kakhyens, according to the tables of Mr. Brown at Suddiya, has only about 17 per cent of its words similar to the Karen. (Hannay, *U.S.*)

‡ This is the *Yu* of the Chinese, commonly rendered Jade; inaccurately, James Prinsep says; *prase* rather. J. A. S. B. vi. 265).

§ This is probably exaggerated, but the mineral is said to sell in China for twice its weight in silver. Dr. Bayfield was informed that the duty on the stone sometimes reached 40,000 rupees a-year. Captain Hannay, however, was told at Mogoung that, including this duty, the revenue of the town and

Amber, to a considerable amount, from a more northerly part of the same region,* is taken to China also. Rubies are not exported to any large extent, and those only stones of inferior value. But a pink spar found in the Ruby district is a more important item of export. It is believed to be used for one of the classes of distinctive mandarin cap-knobs.

The export as well as the import trade is entirely conveyed by the caravans from Yunan. These begin to arrive at Bamó in October, and continue to come in until May, when the approaching wet weather suspends the traffic.

The silk, which is the staple of the import trade, is said to come from a city called by my informant *Tsa-chöé-Sing*, eighty-three days' journey from Bamó and fifty days beyond the city of Yunan. The intervals were roughly given as follows by one of the Chinese merchants. From Bamó to Momien† (the first Chinese city; country hilly and inhabited by Kakhyens and Shans) . . . . . 9 days.
Momien to Talee-foo (mountainous; inhabited by Chinese) . . . . 12 „
Talee-foo to Yunan . . . . . 12 „
Yunan to Tsa-chöé-Sing . . . . . 50‡ „
83 days.

Besides silk, a miscellany of other articles is imported from Yunan and the intermediate

neighbouring villages did not exceed 30,000 rupees. The persons who come to purchase are Chinese Mussulmans. In 1836 they paid 1½ to 2½ tikàls each for license to go to the mines, and 1½ tikàls per month during their stay there. A varying toll was also levied on the ponies or boats carrying away the stone, and on arrival at Mogoung, an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent was levied; lastly, a quarter tikàl was taken from each individual at a village below Mogoung, where the Chinese returned their licenses. The diggers also paid a quarter tikàl per month for permission to dig.

* From the valley of Hookoong (which takes its Burmese name of Payendwen from the amber mines), near the sources of the Kyendwen, in lat. 26° 20′, and close to the Assam border. It is found with small masses of lignite (which form the clue in seeking for it), in a dark carbonaceous earth covered with red clay. It is extracted from square pits, reaching sometimes to a depth of forty feet, and so narrow that the workmen ascend and descend by placing their feet in holes made in two sides of the pit, no sheeting being used. In 1837 only about a dozen people found employment at these mines. (Griffith's *Posthumous Papers*, p. 128.)

† The Chinese frontier post is five or six days' journey (probably about fifty miles) from Bamó. Momien, or Moung-myen, is the first Chinese city that is reached. Moung, or Muang, is the Shan word for a city, or fortified place, corresponding to the Burmese Myo. The present Chinese name of Momien is *Theng-ye-chow*. But it would appear from the Chinese Geography, translated by Father Martin Martini, that it was formerly known to the Chinese as the Fort of Mien; Mien being also the Chinese name of Burma. The same author says that the Fort of Mien was anciently comprised in the territories of the "Sinan," (his description of whom identifies them with the Burmese), but that it was taken from them by the Yuena dynasty. The Yuen dynasty is that of Kublai Khan and the Mongolians. Hence Momien was probably lost to the Burmese in the war spoken of by Marco Polo, in which Pagán was taken (*ante*, p. 31; Martini, in Thevenot's *Divers Voyages curieux*, ii. 209; See also Pemberton's *Report*, p. 137).

Pemberton in his Report makes the Chinese frontier only two days' journey from Bamó; but Hannay, and two separate itineraries given by Burney, make it six days. The mistake may have arisen from a confusion between old and new Bamó, to which Pemberton himself alludes.

‡ Ta-lee-foo and Yunan-foo are in our maps of China. I cannot identify T'sa-chöé-Sing, which is the name as it was written from the Chinese pronunciation. Talifoo is not in the direct road from Bamó to Yunan.

towns. The principal items are gold-leaf, some Syci silver, copper, *Hurtál* (sulphuret of arsenic), quicksilver, zinc, cast-iron pots and pans of excellent manufacture, vermilion and paper of different colours; besides copper tinsel, hams, honey (most excellent), wax, macaroni, spirits (from rice) for the consumption of the Chinese residents, tea, velvet, felt rugs, walnuts, chestnuts, opium (so I was assured),* pears and preserved fruits, artificial flowers, straw hats, and a variety of other unimportant articles. A small quantity of Russian broadcloth also, strange to say, finds its way to Amarapoora through China.†

Besides the trade by Bamó, between January and April, caravans of traders with laden horses and mules from China also arrive by a more southern route at Madé, a village about five miles above Amarapoora. These caravans are said to be owned principally by Chinese Mahomedans, and to come from the cities of Yong-chan, Tali, and Theng-ye-chow or Momien. Their road lies through the Shan states by the town of Thein-ni, or even more circuitously by Kiang Tung and Moné. By this route little silk is brought; the investments are small, consisting of copper, arsenic, and the other minor articles mentioned above. Cotton only is taken on the return journey.‡

A good deal of tin is brought by the Chinese caravans, but whence I could not ascertain; probably from the northern Shan states. It is sold in half cylinders, about an inch and a half in diameter, which appear to have been run in bamboos. Some sulphur also, in large hemispherical cakes, is seen in the Chinese shops.

The whole amount of cotton exported to China last year was estimated at four millions of viss, the value of which at fifty tikàls per hundred, the present monopoly price, would be two millions of tikàls,—say 225,000*l.*

The importation of silk was over 40,000 bundles, each bundle weighing on an average 166 tikàls and worth 30 rupees, giving a total value of 120,000*l.* for the silk imported.

This difference between the values of the cotton and silk, thus stated, leaves a balance of about 105,000*l.* against the Chinese, as the value of their other imports, including gold and silver. The amount of gold in leaf imported last year was 200 viss, equal probably to 38,000*l.* in value. The amount of silver I have not been able to learn, but supposing it to have been one-fourth that of the gold, and the minor articles of export from Burma to amount to 10,000*l.* (excluding the trade in amber and serpentine), we shall have 67,500*l.* as the probable value of the miscellaneous imports from China. Mr. Spears states that he has known the quantity of gold-leaf imported to amount to 500 viss, equal probably to a value of 95,000*l.* It is not used for gilding merely, but is also extensively melted down for goldsmiths' work.

Turning to Mr. Crawfurd's narrative, I find that he estimated (in 1827) the value of

* Burney also mentions the opium. It sold in his time at one-fourth the price of Bengal opium, and was of very inferior quality. It was grown clandestinely in the neighbourhood of Taleefoo.

† Burney saw, among the goods of the Chinese traders noticed in the next paragraph, broad-cloth bearing the E. I. Company's stamp, which had evidently been imported at Canton. (*MS. Journal.*)

‡ There is an account of this last trade by Colonel Burney in the *Gleanings of Science*, iii. 182. In 1831, 5000 of these traders arrived at Madé, their investments not averaging more than twenty tikàls each in value.

the silk imported at 81,000*l.*, or about two-thirds of that stated to me as the import of last year. The value of the cotton export as estimated by his authorities was nearly the same as I have given above, viz. 228,000*l.* The total amount of export and import trade was variously stated to him as from 400,000*l.* up to 700,000*l.* My estimate of this, it will be seen, is somewhat more than the former sum; viz.

Exports—Cotton	. . . . .	£225,000
Sundries	. . . . .	10,000
		£235,000
Imports—Silk	. . . . .	£120,000
Sundries	. . . . .	67,500
		£187,500

Total imports and exports, 422,500*l.*, and the gold and silver representing the difference between import and export amounts to 47,500*l.*

It is probable that the cultivation and export of cotton will fall off, if the King's monopoly be maintained.

The Burmese Custom-house at Bamó charges a duty of one-and-a-half tikàls per 100 viss on the cotton passing out, and two-and-a-half tikàls more is taken by the Chinese at the frontier. Other articles of export pay to the Burmese Government customs varying from six to ten per cent. A duty of ten per cent, lately reduced to nine, is levied also by the Burmese on all imports. This can be paid either at Bamó or on arrival at the capital.

The Chinese do not appear to allow the exportation of any of the metals in an unmanufactured state. Copper is always brought in the form of pots and pans: gold in leaf; zinc in small stamped plates or saucers. The silver imported is probably smuggled.

Among the shopkeepers you find for sale some tea of fair ordinary appearance, loosely pressed into circular cakes, nine or ten inches in diameter. But the greater part of the tea sold in Ava, and thence carried to the lower provinces, is in the form of hard balls, rather larger than cricket-balls, and is the produce of the Shan states and of the hills inhabited by the people called *Paloungs*, east and north of the Ruby-mines. It sells commonly at about three-fourths of a rupee per viss—say sixpence a pound. It is commended by the Rev. H. Malcom in his travels, but it seemed to me coarse and flavourless. The *hlapét*, or tea used by the Burmans so extensively in a pickled state, is also brought from the Paloung country.* It is put up in baskets, packed moist, and is often floated down the Irawadi and Myit-ngé to Amarapoora on bamboo rafts, so as to remain partially submerged.

* The *Paloungs* are a tribe kindred to the Shans, inhabiting, as above noticed, the hills on the border of Burma and China. Col. Hannay describes them as having the character of being an industrious and hospitable race, good dyers, carpenters, and blacksmiths. They are short, athletic men, with fair skins; many of them have rather large grey eyes, and all have a small flat nose, much distended towards the nostrils. They wear a dark jacket and short breeches, in the Shan style.

I believe, indeed, that none of the tea sold in Amarapoora is the produce of China. And it is a remarkable fact, that large quantities of tea are imported *into* the province of Yunan from the Shan states between the Irawadi and the Cambodia River. The Burmese Governor and his followers, with whom Dr. Bayfield travelled up the Irawadi in 1837, treated as preposterous the Doctor's assertion that tea grew in China. They looked on China as purely a tea-importing country.

The better class of Chinamen do not generally intend remaining for life in Burma when they come here; but as all classes take wives from the families of Burmese, or of their countrymen settled in Burma, many of them dŏ become residents for life. The wealthier merchants generally send their sons to China for education, but the daughters rarely leave the country.

The chief merchants among them are only agents for houses in China. Instead of a commission on what they sell, they have generally a share in the profits, and they are in the habit of visiting China every six or seven years for the purpose of adjusting accounts. They never, therefore, purchase China goods at Bamó or Ava, but receive consignments for sale,* and invest the proceeds in the purchase of cotton, and whatever else their principals may want.

There are some five or six of these agency-houses at Amarapoora, which dŏ business to the extent of 200,000 tikàls a-year and upwards each, and probably five-and-twenty more that turn over 20,000 or 30,000 tikàls a-year. The shopkeepers are generally poor, buying from their countrymen in the higher walks of trade on two or three months' credit, and paying in silver. When they have gathered a little money they frequently send small investments of cotton on their own account to China, and get other goods in return.

The merchants, properly so called, are regarded as men of their word, but the petty shopkeepers will cheat you if they can. Although all drink spirits, and opium-smoking is common among them, Mr. Spears tells me he has never seen a Chinaman intoxicated.

West of the Chinese, who have led me into so long a digression from our survey of the city, and in the same suburb, is the ward in which the native Mahomedan community does chiefly congregate, though many of its members are also diffused among the miscellaneous population.

These people, called in the Burmese language *Pathèe*, are numerous in Amarapoora; so much so that a respectable Indian Mussulman, not deficient in sense, saw nothing absurd in telling me that there were 20,000 families of them in the city. Probably 8000 or 9000 *souls* would be a better guess at their numbers.

There are some few Burmese converts to Mahomedanism, generally from the influence of a Moslem husband or wife; converts not being molested in any way by the Government. But the majority of the professors of this faith are supposed to be of Western descent. Some families believe themselves to have been settled in Burma for five or six hundred

* Mr. Crawford represents the Chinese trade as carried on by one annual caravan from China, and at one annual fair at Bamó, like the fair at Kiakhta on the Russian frontier of China. This was certainly a misapprehension. The road between the Yunan marts and Bamó is constantly traversed by goers and comers, except during the rainy season, when travelling with wares is impracticable.

years;* others are descended from Mussulmans of India or Western Asia, whom chance or trade has brought hither as voluntary emigrants in later years; others from Mahomedans of Aracan, of Munnipoor, and perhaps of Kachár, forcibly deported by the Burmans during their inroads into those countries. But all having intermarried with the natives they are undistinguishable at sight from other Burmans, except those whose family migration is of late date, and who possess, it struck me, a very peculiar and distinct physiognomy.

They wear the Burman dress, speak the Burman language, and are Burmese in nearly all their habits. Their women of all ranks go unveiled, and clothe as scantily as the rest of their countrywomen. For the sanctity of the purda, elsewhere so unfailing an accompaniment of Islam, is here entirely unknown.

Their marriages are generally regularly contracted, according to the Mahomedan form of *nikah*. But the engagement, instead of being made after the fashion of India and all Western Asia, through parents or go-betweens, is arranged in the good old English manner between the parties principally concerned, and the lady's parents are not consulted till the important question has been put and answered satisfactorily. This system of things seemed to the Hindustani Mahomedans of our escort grossly indecorous and heretical.

Most of the people can repeat their prayers in Arabic; without understanding them, indeed: but this would apply as truly to nine-tenths of the Mahomedans of India. They are pretty regular in attending the Friday prayers in the mosques, but the daily *namáz* is little regarded. There is said to be one Moulvee in the city who occasionally preaches, or expounds in the vernacular.

The Burmese practice of tattooing the thighs and loins† is unusual among the Mahomedans, but some of them do give into this also. Most commonly too they pluck out the hairs of the beard, as the Burmans do, until they become old.

As might be expected they are very ignorant sons of the Faith, and in the indiscriminating character of their diet are said to be no better than their neighbours; so that our strict Mussulmans from India were not willing to partake of their hospitalities.

The Moguls and others, who at the present day settle in the country, intermarrying with these people, speedily sink into the same practical heterodoxies. But nothing in the life and conversation of their Burmese co-religionists seemed so offensive to the Mahomedans of our escort as the free dress and habits of the women, who are said to be even admitted to prayer in the same mosques with the men. These habits were such a gross

* Intercourse with the Mussulman countries of Western Asia appears to have been frequent in old times. Fitch (1586) mentions ships from "Mecca" (whether Mocha or Judda) as numerous at Dalla, Syriam, and Martaban, in his time.

† Every male Burman is tattooed in his boyhood from the middle to the knees; in fact, he has a pair of breeches tattooed on him. The pattern is a fanciful medley of animals and arabesques, but it is scarcely distinguishable save as a general tint, excepting on a rather fair skin.

It is a curious fact, that the natives of the Samoan or Navigators' Islands have exactly the same fashion. "None of them were tattooed about the face, but I observed they sometimes were so on the belly, hips, and thighs, giving them the appearance of being clad in tight knee-breeches." (Erskine's *Cruise in the Pacific*, 1853, p. 36.)

violation of all Moslem propriety, that no man, they considered, was fit to lead the devotions of a congregation of believers who allowed such laxities in his family.

Most of the Mahomedans of Amarapoora, so far as they know anything about the matter, are Soonnis; but there are some Sheeas, and these have an Imambara for the deposit of the Tazeeas, or gay shrines, carried about by that sect on their great festival of the Mohurrum.

Every indigenous Mussulman has two names. Like the Irishman's dog, though his true name is *Turk* he is always called *Toby*. As a son of Islam he is probably Abdul Kureem; but as a native of Burma, and for all practical purposes, he is Moung-yo or Shwépo.

In passing along the streets occupied by these people we could not have recognized anything to distinguish them from the other Burmans, had it not been for the little naked urchins who, seeing us to be foreigners, and probably accustomed to regard most foreigners as brethren in the faith, used to run out after us merrily shouting "Salám Alikúm!"

Mahomedans are found sparsely in the rural districts as well as in the capital, and have occasionally their humble mosque, where five or six families are found together.

The number of their mosques in the capital has been stated to me variously from forty up to one hundred and twenty. I believe the former to be near the truth.

Most of these mosques must be very insignificant structures, but as they often closely resemble one class of flat-roofed Burmese idol-houses, they may easily be passed without notice. The largest mosque is a brick building of considerable size in the main street of the western suburb. With its detached minár it forms a very curious and tasteful adaptation of Burmese architecture to a foreign worship, showing a good deal of variation from the usual details in bolder and more relieved scroll-work, &c., but all very successfully executed in plaster. Internally the building is a square hall, the roof being supported by numerous timber pillars. The usual niches at the *Kibla* end of the building are adorned with mirror and gilding, in something of the Burmese style. The top of the minár is a beautiful canopy of carved teak, shaped like an imperial crown. Beside it stands a high mast, intended probably for illumination, but bearing a considerable resemblance to the sacred flagstaves of the Buddhists, and evidently the result of a hankering after pagan adornments.

Not far from the mosque which we have described, is one of the most singular edifices which even Indo-Chinese art ever designed. Seen from a distance it perplexed us much. In some points of view it appeared as a Pagoda; in others as one of the gigantic Lions or Griffins, pairs of which form the ordinary *propylœa* to the Burmese temples on the Irawadi. Coming nearer we found it to be both one and the other. The lower part was a temple or idol-shrine, encased as it were in the bowels of the gigantic monster, whose elevated jaws and scaly crest formed a spire over it. This temple is called *Naga-yon-Phya*, and is said to symbolize an event in the life of Gautama, in which he was protected by such a creature in the Mee-gada-woon Forest, when assailed by enemies, for seven days and nights.*

* *Major Phayre.* Or may it not refer to the following legend?—"When Gautama retired to the shade of the Midella tree, at the time he received the supreme Budhaship, there was a storm of wind and

The other temples of the city and western suburb have nothing very remarkable about them. One of the handsomest bears the name of "Chekya (Sakya) Muni." It is a gilt timber edifice in the house-of-cards style of architecture, covering a large brass Gautama. It stood on the verge of the lake, just opposite to our Residency, from the front of which the golden fret of its pinnacles and gables, and the sheen of its zinc roof, had a glorious appearance against the morning sun. It is said to be the usual rendezvous of the Brahmins and other astrologers, who deal in horoscopes under its colonnades.

Over this, near the highest part of the extra-mural city, rose the great white *Pató-dau-gyi* ("Great royal Pagoda"), one of the usual dead bell-shaped masses, intrinsically remarkable for nothing except size, but which in the exterior prospects of the city, where distance lent its magic, stood up with great effect as the centre and cynosure of the capital, the St. Paul's or St. Peter's of Amarapoora.

With the exceptions which have been specified before, the houses of the suburb like those of the city are mere bamboo huts, slightly elevated from the ground. Near the river and its creeks, where the ground is liable to inundation, they stand high on stilts, and jut into the water like the houses of the Malay islanders.

When I speak of bamboo huts, I mean to say that posts and walls, wall-plates and rafters, floor and thatch, and the withes that bind them, are all of bamboo. In fact it might almost be said, that among the Indo-Chinese nations the staff of life is *a Bamboo*. Scaffolding and ladders, landing-jetties, fishing-apparatus, irrigation-wheels and scoops, oars, masts and yards, spears and arrows, hats and helmets, bow, bowstring and quiver, oil-cans, water-stoups, and cooking-pots, pipe-sticks, conduits, clothes-boxes, pán-boxes, dinner-trays, pickles, preserves, and melodious musical instruments; torches, footballs, cordage, bellows, mats, paper; these are but a few of the articles that are made from the bamboo.

Artizans and traders in the same article cluster together in groups and give their names to wards, but are not so strictly confined to one locality as in common Indian towns. You find perhaps a dozen ironmongers together and a dozen dealers in gongs and other articles of bellmetal and copper, but you will find similar groups of the same trades in other parts of the town. The dealers in silks however, in the gay *Putsós* and *Tameins*, which form the most important article of local production, seem concentrated in one bazar at the most populous centre of the western suburbs, near to the Pató-dau-gyi.

The weaving of these silks, of which the raw material is imported from China as we have seen, gives employment to a large body of the population in the suburbs and villages round the capital, especially to the Munnipoorians, or *Kathé* as they are called by the Burmese.

These people, the descendants of unfortunates who were carried off in droves from their country by the Burmans in the time of King Mentaragyi and his predecessors, form a very

rain; but a Snake-god, Muchalinda, came and entwined himself round the body of the Sage, extending his large hood over his head, and saying, 'Let not Bhagawa be affected by cold, or heat, or flies, or gnats, or wind, or sunbeams, or insects.' Gautama accepted his protection until the storm had passed away." (Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 123.)

great proportion, some say a majority, of the metropolitan population, and they are largely diffused in nearly all the districts of central Burma. In the country, having a good character as cultivators, they are said to be welcomed by the local governors, and appear to be comparatively free from oppressive exactions. But near the capital they in a manner occupy the place of Israel in Egypt, and bear the burden of all the demands for forced and gratuitous labour in a far greater proportion than the Burmans. As one of their countrymen expressed it to me, if a Burman has five sons *one* of them is taken for the King's service; if a Kathé has five sons they are *all* taken.* Whatever work is in hand for the King or for any of the chief men near the capital, these people supply the labouring hands; if boats have to be manned they furnish the rowers; and whilst engaged on such tasks any remuneration that they may receive is very scanty and uncertain. They are greatly valued as subjects, being both more industrious and more expert in handicrafts than the Burmese. In such circumstances the women contribute to the household maintenance by their silk-weaving; those who are better off working on their own account and disposing of their work to the mercers in the bazar; the poorer working on advances from the *goungs*, or headmen of the wards, to whom they remain always in debt. Many Burmese families also are employed at the silk-looms, but among the Munnipooris the work seems to be almost universal.

The two articles produced are, as mentioned above, the *putso*, or kilt worn by the men, and the *tamein* or woman's petticoat. The putso piece is usually from nine to ten yards long and three-quarters wide.† When made up for use the length of web is cut in halves, which are stitched together so as to give double width. It is girt round the waist without any fastening. The spare length is then generally drawn through the fork like the Indian *dhotee*, and tucked in front of the waist, the end hanging down in large folds. The vulgar delight to gird this spare end tight, and pack the folds within it so that it bulges out in front, "as big as a child's head," as some old travellers describe it. Sometimes, however, the putso is worn as a simple petticoat, like the *sárung* of the Malays, the ample spare drapery being flung over the shoulder. In this way it exactly represents the *belted plaid*, or great kilt of the Highlanders in its ancient form. The price of these pieces varies both with the weight of the texture and the quality of the pattern, from eight rupees up to a hundred or more. Common stripes are cheapest, then checks and tartans, of which they have an infinite variety, large and small, some being of considerable beauty and delicacy. But the dearest patterns, and the most valued by the Burmese, are those called *loongya*, which consist of an irregular succession of serpentine or zig-zag stripes of bright colours, red, yellow, and green being the most frequent. As, in the loom, each of these stripes is woven in separately and successively with a distinct shuttle or bobbin, the

* "Just what the Karens say of themselves in the British provinces," writes Major Phayre. But it is to be hoped that the Karens will not continue to say so.

† The length of the putso was the subject of old sumptuary laws, which the King commonly called Noung-dau-gyi ("Royal Elder Brother"), Tharawadi's predecessor, used sometimes to amuse himself by enforcing. Others of these laws regulated the length of umbrella handles, and the metal of which the spittoons of different ranks should consist. (Burney's *MS. Journal.*)

amount of labour expended depends largely on the number of these wefts or stripes, *loons* as they are called, and the price rises with this number. Thus, whilst a *putso* of twenty-five *loons* may cost fifteen or sixteen tikàls, one of fifty loons will cost thirty-six tikàls, and above that number the price is roughly estimated at a tikàl per *loon*.

The loom is an efficient one, but has nothing I think peculiar in it. They brush the warp before weaving, with the fibrous husk of the fruit of the *pandanus*, or screw-pine.

The tamein is somewhat narrower than the *putso*, and is only about three yards in length. Tameins are generally woven with serpentine, vandyke, and cable stripes, similar to those of the finer *putsos*, but narrower and more delicate. Some of them are really gorgeous in the brilliance of their colouring and contrasts, but the colours are said not to be fast. The price, as with the putsos, depends a good deal on the number of *loons*. A good eighty-loon *tamein* costs from twelve to sixteen tikàls, and with a few silver threads worked in the price rises to one-half more. The *tamein* forms only a part of the scanty clothing of a Burmese belle, viz. that part of her dress which extends from the waist to below the knee. A trailing skirt is always attached, but it is woven by another artizan, and is of quite a different character to the tamein. Each pattern of tamein, however, has, I believe, its appropriate skirt, and is sold with or without the latter. The skirt is almost universally of a pale pink, woven with an upper border of close narrow stripes of various dark colours, enlivened with threads of silver.

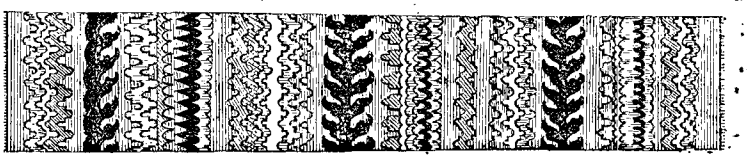


Fig. 28.

The broad but very short web formed by the united *tamein* and skirt is wound tight round the body and limbs, and tucked into itself at the waist. The skirt generally drags to the length of nine or ten inches on the ground, and the graceful management of this skirt, which always has a tendency to entangle the feet, appears to be one of the accomplishments of a Burmese lady, as well as of the dancers in the Pué.

The bust is covered, more or less, by a bodice or wrapper, generally of red English cotton cloth, called *tabhet*, or by a sort of polka jacket of velvet or other rich material. Over the bodice is often worn a transparent jacket of flowered muslin.

The hair is always dressed *à la Chinoise*, and gathered in a knot at the back of the head. This they encircle and adorn very tastefully and gracefully with garlands of real or artificial flowers. The latter are neatly cut out of *solah*.* Capillary deficiencies are often supplied artificially. I was surprised, in a list of property made out to be charged against the Burmese Government, as having been carried off from a village near the frontier, to find an entry of "Twelve sets of false hair." Ladies, when in full dress,

* The pith from which hats are made in Bengal, and from a species of which the Chinese rice-paper is now known to be made. The plants belong, I believe, to the order *Araliaciæ*.

generally dust their faces and arms with sandal-wood powder, which has not a pleasing effect to a foreign eye.

Printed imitations of the gay tameins, both in silk and in calico, are imported from England to Rangoon, but do not seem yet to have found favour at Amarapoora. A much coarser kind printed there has some sale, however, especially among the poor for children's clothing.

The process, with that of dyeing, is almost a *spécialité* of the Kathé Mahomedans, who occupy rather an extensive quarter near the Sagyeen-wa creek. As we saw it, the cloth used was a paltry English cotton, thickly plastered with lime-starch. The stamp employed was a small board, in size and appearance much like an old shoe-brush. The operator sat on the floor, having the web of cloth lying over a stool before him. The stamp was pressed on a colour pad, and then on the cloth, the result of each application being a band of wavy red stripes about nine inches long, and four broad; the direction and continuity of the stripes between one pressure and the next being only guided by the eye. Narrower stripes of green and purple were afterwards interpolated by a second and third series of operations. The price was stated to be about a shilling a-yard.

Another process followed by the same people is that of dyeing blue cotton, bandanas, or bird's-eye handkerchiefs. In this case the web was stretched between supports. An implement, consisting of a small board stuck over with long pegs of bamboo in the pattern of the desired spots, was dipt in a vessel of melted wax and applied to the cloth. The wax penetrating, formed a spot on both sides as a protection against the action of the dye. The web was then passed five or six times through a dye of inferior indigo, and after being dried was washed in hot water. The wax then melts off, and the white spots appear.

The indigo used was moist and muddy, seeming never to have been pressed. It is grown and manufactured near Sagain.

Both these processes are very rude; but as they are both new within the last twenty years, perhaps they show a tendency to improvement. Neither, however, is practised by people of Burman race. Both processes are probably borrowed from India; and whatever demand there may be for the articles, will probably soon be met by the much cheaper and vastly superior English prints.

Another trade extensively followed by Kathé Mahomedans is that of silk-spinning. The spinning-wheel is a very neat and effective implement, winding thread off four or five spindles at a time.

The silk bazar is the gayest and most attractive part of the streets of Amarapoora. The other shops have not much variety. Those where lackered-ware is sold are perhaps the most interesting. The best part of what is sold here comes from Pagán and Nyoungoo. It consists of *ouks*, as the large pagoda-shaped boxes used by the Burmese for carrying food and other things are called, mugs and vases, and round boxes of all sizes, from two inches diameter up to twenty, &c.

Excepting the coarser *ouks*, many of which are made of wood, and give employment in their manufacture to numerous carpenters in the suburbs, the basis of all these lackered

articles is a fine elastic wicker-work of split bamboo. This is covered with a paste and with several successive coats of varnish, of different tints. Patterns are produced by gently scraping off the upper coat or coats with an iron style, so as to disclose the colour of the substratum.* The design on these vessels is generally very characteristic and effective, consisting often of elephants, demons, or other monsters, strangely blending with the quaint ornamentation, as in the patterns which the Burmese have tattooed upon them; but they are rarely fine enough to bear close inspection. The coarser work is amazingly cheap. Ten or twelve half-pint mugs may be had for one rupee, whilst a single mug of good finish will cost the same sum.

The contents of the small-ware shops, which are a numerous class, have been indicated in my notice of the stalls near the city gates. The number of dealers in *sandals* and *combs* is marvellous. Many keepers of stalls for small wares are Shans, who are numerous at Amarapoóra, and many of them we used to see coming in from the eastward laden with umbrellas of bamboo and oiled paper, of which the consumption appears to be immense. The Shan is, I think, generally a smaller man than the Burman, with features more resembling the Chinese. He is easily known by his black jacket of glazed calico, and short blue breeches. The former article of clothing is also largely imported from the Shan provinces.

The Shans arrive from the eastward and south-eastward in large numbers, in December, January, and February, taking up their quarters at Paleit, a village on the Myit-nge, south of the capital, for the convenience of forage. They bring for sale stick-lac, glazed jackets, paper, a sort of coarse nankeen cloth, with quantities of ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogæa*), and sweetmeats made of palm-sugar, taking back chiefly salt. Many of them go on from the capital to visit the Pagoda of Shwé-zettau,† a very sacred place of pilgrimage, and containing a Prabat or impression of the foot of Gautama, near the eastern foot of the Aracan mountains on the road to Aeng.

The copper-smiths' and brass-founders' shops are worthy of a visit. Their principal business is derived, I imagine, from the love of bells and gongs that prevails in Burma. These are to be had of all sorts and sizes, from the little bells in strings intended to adorn an ox's neck, to the massive ecclesiastical implement which hangs in a pagoda enclosure.

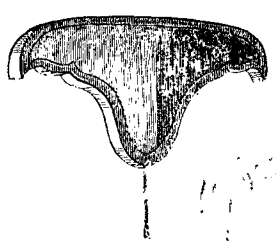


Fig. 29.

These large bells are generally cast open at the top, and seldom have any tone such as their size leads one to expect. The gongs are far better. Little circular gongs of six or seven inches diameter have often surprising sweetness of tone, and the triangular gong, (peculiar I believe to Burma), which the people strike on holidays as they pass along the streets to worship at the pagodas, is quite remarkable for its musical, prolonged, and surging vibrations. Besides these may be found at the shops we speak of, basins and dishes of Chinese and Burman manufacture, cymbals, weights (invariably cast in the form of the Henza, or sacred goose), mortars, stirrups, elephant

* See a further notice of this manufacture in chapter vii.

† Burney's *Journal.*

Fig. 30.

trappings, &c. The smiths and ironmongers have less to show. Sometimes you may see at their shops the *Htees* intended for Pagoda tops. The making of these curious structures must be much simplified by the introduction of English hoop and sheet-iron, from which they are said to be now generally manufactured. When wrought from indigenous iron, they must have been really meritorious works of practical art. The common iron-shops exhibit only nails, stirrup-irons, small shovels or mattocks, rough *dhas*,* hinges, screw, rudes padlocks, and the like.

The numerous Chinese shops are exact repetitions of each other. The articles they contain have been detailed in my list of the imports from China.

Tin-smiths are numerous near the Chinese quarter. Nearly the whole of their material is, I believe, derived from the tin packing-cases which bring out English goods to Rangoon. Their solder was worked with resin in the usual way, and appeared to be genuine soft solder. It is imported from the Shan country in small rods, bearing evident marks of having been cast in bamboo moulds.

One of the chief manufactures of the tin-smiths is that of lanterns, which are good and cheap. Some are made after the common square English pattern; others, apparently intended to imitate the Chinese elliptical horn lanterns, have curved ribs and sides, and are very neatly made. As the curved sides were of good glass, I was curious to know where they were procured. The reply was that they got English glass, and bent it to the desired form. Other articles made in the tin-shops are small teapots, and powder-flasks. In one shop tin bandoliers for the army were being made in great numbers.

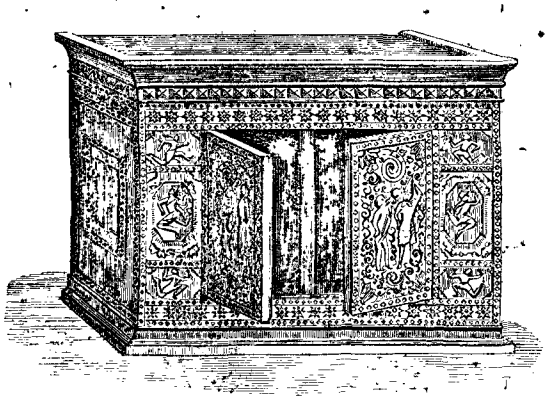


Fig. 31

Some of the tin-smiths have also a large business in the craft of Demetrius, with their humbler material. They make shrines for images of Gautama. For these, the tin is cut and moulded in fanciful patterns, and japanned in a bronze colour. The same artists seemed to be employed in ornamenting wooden shrines of similar character, and chests also, with a mosaic of mirror, tin, and coloured glass.

* The *dha*, or bill, in various forms, is the inseparable companion of every man among the hundred forest tribes of Trans-Gangetic India. Among the civilized Burmans it is, of course, more confined to the lower orders, the peasantry and boatmen, except as a weapon of war. The Burman *dha* is a weapon about three feet long, with a slight uniform curve from end to end. About three-sevenths of this length is helve, the rest blade. The blade is generally about an inch and a quarter wide, with an obtuse point. It serves every purpose that a cutting weapon can serve, from making a toothpick to felling a tree, or killing a pig, or an enemy. Very long and heavy *dhas* were worn by some of the court officials, probably *gardes-du-corps*.

A combination of carved and gilt work, with geometrical patterns inlaid in mirror, is a favourite style of art among the Burmese, both in the adornment of the more splendid monastic buildings and in articles of furniture. It is often rude and incapable of bearing close inspection, but always effective. These, indeed, are the characteristics of Burmese art. A specimen is given above (fig. 31) of one of the chests made in this style for presentation to the monks as bibliothecs, commonly known among the plunderers of the British army as "phoongyi boxes." The relieved ornaments are moulded in a species of cement compounded of the resin called *thitsee*,* which is used by the Burmans very much for the same purposes as gutta-percha now is in England by carvers and gilders.

In the workshop of an artist in this style, within the walls, I saw some panelling which was being made for a room in the Palace. The panels were of mirror, with sunk centres containing gilt ornaments moulded in cement. The ridges between the panels were in glass and gold, with gilt rosettes at the intersections, and the whole effect was very brilliant.

Many of the carpenters, a very numerous body in the capital, are good carvers in a similar rough but bold style. Their principal employment is in working for the adornment of the exterior of monasteries. In one yard which I visited, about a hundred sawyers and carpenters were engaged in preparing the materials of a monastery, which the King was building at Sagain. They said there was no plan of the *Kyoung* drawn out, but that the master-workmen in that business only required to be told to build a *Kyoung* of so many cubits long and broad. All the details are, I imagine, traditionally proportioned, with a certain latitude to individual fancy.

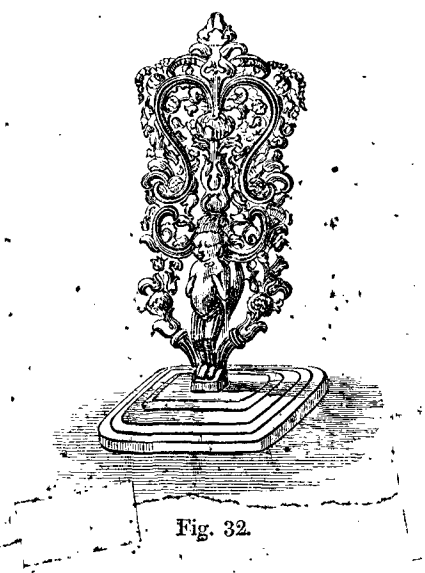


Fig. 32.

I give here an illustration of their art in minor articles of wood sculpture (fig. 32). It represents a stand for a mirror. I brought away also from Amarapoora a very spirited figure of an elephant, carved in teak. In treating this animal, it strikes me that the Burmese have a peculiar spirit and felicity.

A humbler branch of carpentry, that occupies many workshops in the main street of the suburb, is trunk-making. The boxes are of teak, capitally dove-tailed at the angles, and very cheap. They were duly prized by our party, and scarcely an officer, soldier, or lascar, came away without a specimen.

Looking-glass fitting is another business which seems to have many practitioners. Whole grosses of small portable round glasses are exposed for sale at their shops, and I was amused to see at one of them a wholesale manufacture going on of regular toilet-glass frames, with the orthodox drawers, &c.

There are two or three houses of glass-blowers in the Chinese quarter, which we visited.

* The Thitsee tree is, I believe, *Melanorrhœa usitata*.

But with a baffling mystery or timidity, which not seldom obstructed our curiosity, the people professed ignorance or the absence of the operators, and we could learn nothing as to their process. I suspect, however, that they only melt and re-blow English glass, as is practised in some Indian towns; Hurdwar, for instance. The bottles which I have seen of the Amarapoora manufacture were of fair texture and transparency, and greatly superior to the paltry and fragile phials produced at Hurdwar.

Earthenware shops are numerous, and sometimes exhibit very tasteful water-goglets (fig. 33). Pipe-bowls, like coarse Turkish chibouks, and lamps like the genuine Roman lamp, are exposed in heaps. I have also seen teapots of humorous design, in the form of ducks, &c. Earthenware, on a very large scale, I saw used for capping the posts of the lower platforms in monasteries. These caps were upwards of two feet in diameter, ornamented with well-formed bas-reliefs of flowers and figures, and covered with a good brown glaze.

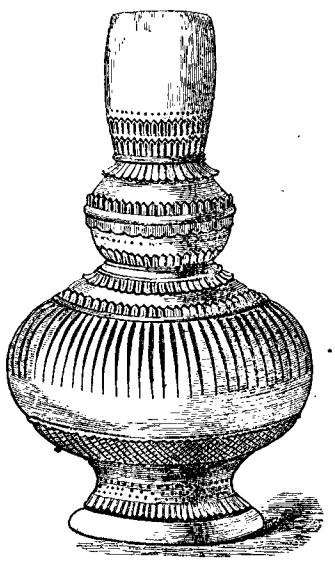


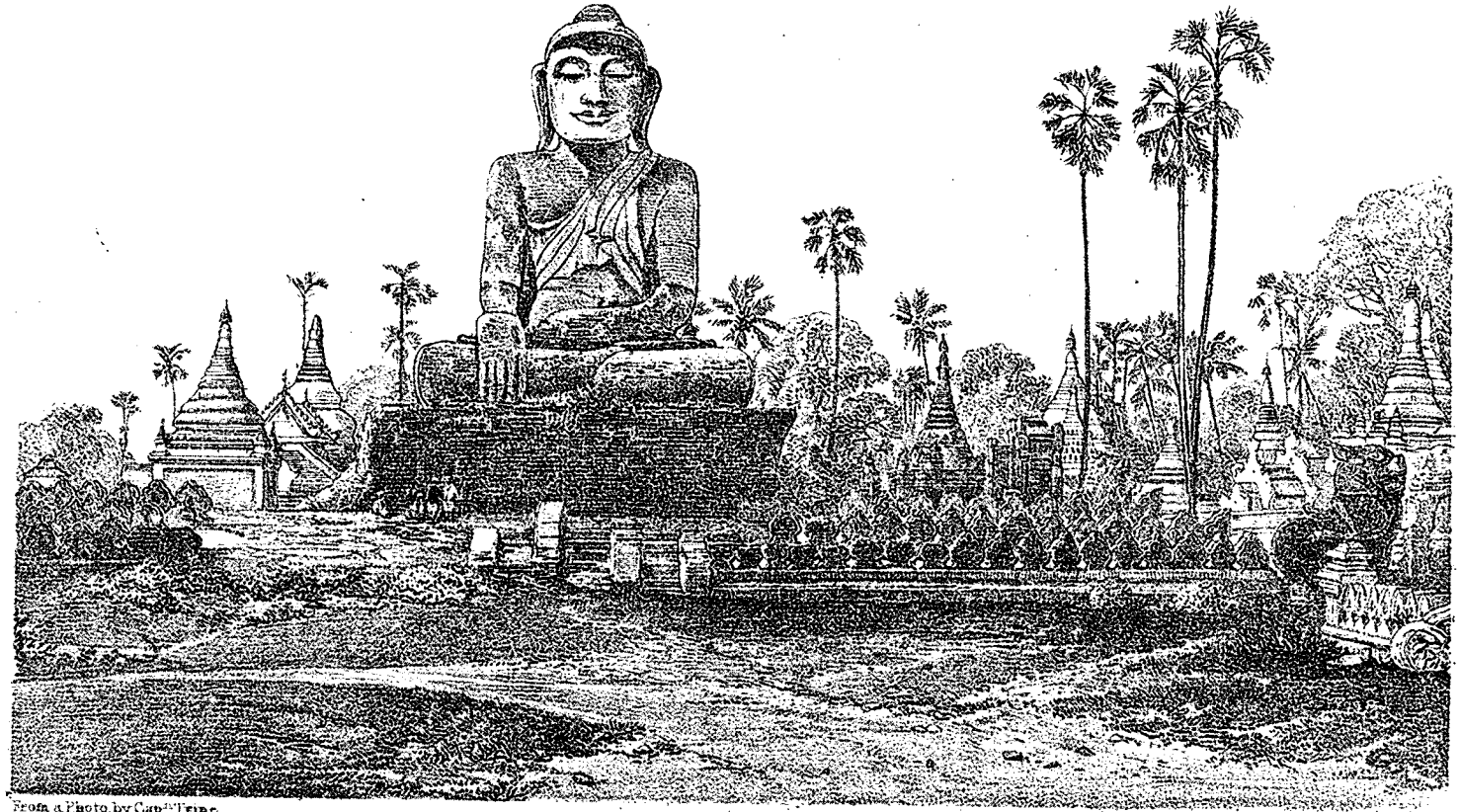
Fig. 33.

The gold and silver smiths in the city execute rough but effective work in embossed cups, &c. Their favourite pattern is the circle of the Zodiacal signs, which they have derived from India. Some of the work which we saw at Court in the wrought fibulæ of the *tsal-wés*, or chains of nobility, was of a much higher order in execution. But in general, the gold and silver work is inferior, I believe, to that of Tenasserim, and greatly behind that of India.

The sale of articles of food is almost confined to specific market-places, where the stalls of the dealers are densely congregated under a rude colonnade of bamboos matted over. A walk through one of these, about four o'clock in the afternoon, gave us a great idea of the population. The crowd and bustle of eager purchasers was almost comparable to that of a London market on Saturday night. The most abundant article seemed to me to be a species of broad bean. There was, however, a variety of edibles; mushrooms in large quantities, fish, pumpkins, *ngapé*,* palm sugar, custard-apples, plantains, oranges, love-apples, &c. But it must be said that the Burmese fruit-and-vegetable market has little to boast of. The only good fruit that we got was the custard-apple. Oranges were promising, but

* The paste of mashed and pickled fish, resembling very rank shrimp-paste, which is the favourite condiment of the Indo-Chinese races. It is the *balachong* of the Malays, and the *kapee* of Siam. Putrescent fish in some shape or other, is a characteristic article of diet among all these races, from the mountains of Sylhet to the Isles of the Archipelago. To the Chinese also, Sir John Bowring observes, "Fish is the more acceptable when it has a strong fragrance and flavour to give more gusto to the rice." (*Letter in the Journal of the Statistical Society, quoted in "Times," 12th March*, 1857.)

Makertich, the Armenian, assured us that the jars of ngapé at Amarapoora exhibited a flux and reflux of tide with the changes of the moon. I see this is an old belief. De la Loubère mentions it in 1688, as held by the Siamese.



From a Photo. by Capt.n Tripe

Day & Son. Lith.rs to The Queen.

COLOSSAL GAUTAMA

London. Smith, Elder & Co. 65 Cornhill.

scarcely ripe. The plantains were contemptible, woolly, and tasteless.* *Hlapét*, too, or pickled tea as we call it, was in the market, looking like spinach or damp Latakia. I was about to taste it as it stood, but the good woman of the stall insisted on preparing it systematically for me. She took a small pinch of the tea, dipped it in a plate of millet grains, then added garlic and assafœtida, and dashing over all a spoonful of oil, presented it to me. I made bold to taste, but nothing was perceptible except the overpowering assafœtida.

Rice was not sold in the market-place. Its sale seemed entirely to occupy some of the back streets, where it was spread out in heaps before the doors. But there were no shops exactly corresponding to that of the Indian bunya.

At a certain part of the main street in the suburb there are numerous *alfresco* cook-shops, where we used to see whole families seated at small tables, under slight awnings, and dining on savoury-looking dishes. There were roast fowl of monstrous dimensions, vermicelli, rice, chilis, vegetable soup, &c. &c. About one anna for two small basins of sundries was said to be the price. Chopsticks were set out for the Chinamen, and spoons for the natives. For the Burmese sup all things.

As we pass westward to the outskirts of the suburb, the streets are shaded with noble tamarind-trees. Here, on the banks of the Sagyeen-wa creek, which bounds the peninsula, are the densely peopled burying-grounds of the Chinese and of the Mahomedans. The creek is spanned by three fine wooden bridges, and from the extreme south-western point of the peninsula runs across the lake the long bridge, which was for some time our only and circuitous communication with the city. It starts from a dense cluster of small pagodas of all shapes and kinds, and high among the fan-leaves of the palm-trees which are interspersed rises a huge sitting figure of Gautama, gazing on the lake with a placid and eternal smile, which always recalled to us, as no other Buddhist figure did, the characteristic expression of the colossi of the Nile.†

Close to the debouchure of the Sagyeen-wa, in the Irawadi, is a small quarter of some thirty houses, which borrows its name from the creek. It is occupied exclusively by public prostitutes. These unfortunates are all slaves, and have been sold as such by their immediate relations, or given over to creditors, in discharge of debt, and by the latter transferred to the Sagyeen-wa-yat (quarter). Instances occur of men designedly marrying girls of good looks and family, for the express purpose of making money by them in this manner, or to satisfy the claims of an importunate creditor, by whom they are transferred to the quarter. The women themselves have no share in the produce of their wretched traffic, but are often beaten by the old woman in whose immediate charge they are, when their gains do not come up to her expectations.

Besides the western suburb, which has led us into such numerous digressions, other

* The fetid Dorian, prince of fruits to those who like it, but chief of abominations to all strangers and novices, does not grow within the present territories of Ava, but the King makes great efforts to obtain a supply in eatable condition from the Tenasserim coast. King Tharawadi used to lay post-horses from Martaban to Ava, to bring his odoriferous delicacy.

† See Plate XVIII.

suburbs, of much smaller size and importance, extend beyond the northern and eastern gates.

One of the most conspicuous objects in the northern suburb is the Ye-nan-dau, or Water-Palace of the King. It is an extensive timber building in the monastic style, with a *pyasath* or wooden spire, and is elevated on piles over the edge of the creek. In the flood season it is completely insulated, and must then be a very picturesque object. Here the King used to sit to witness the races of the war-boats, but it is said that these sports have fallen into disfavour since the loss of the lower provinces, which supplied probably the best boatmen, and formed the principal field for their employment.

From the eastern part of the northern wall of the city, and along the narrowest part of the peninsula, two parallel roads run due north towards the *Maha-myat-muni*, or temple of the celebrated brass idol brought from Aracan in 1784. This temple is about two miles from the city gates, and is the most popular place of worship in the metropolis or its neighbourhood.

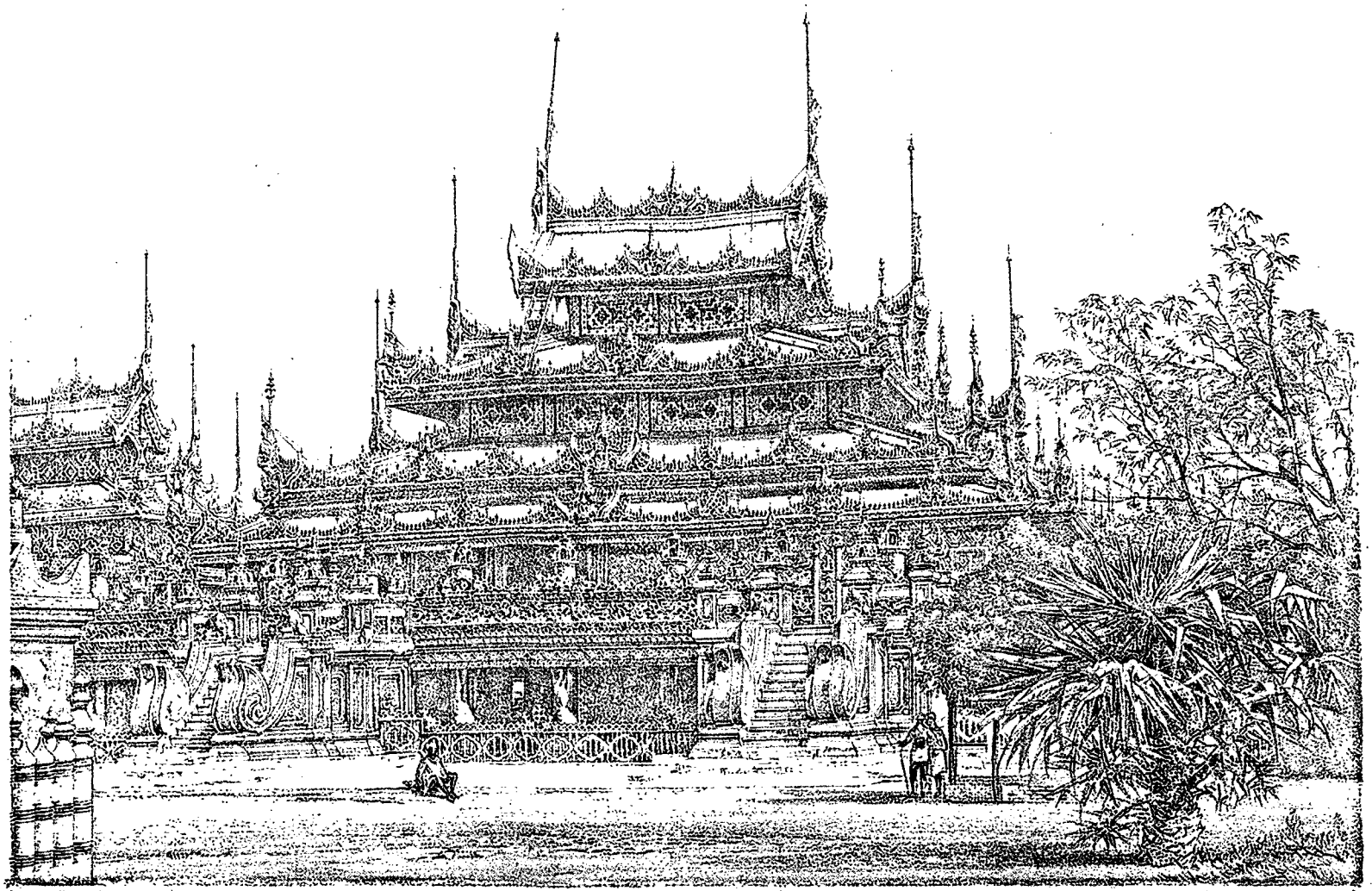
The most westerly of these roads is that thronged by the holiday worshippers, and abounds in shops for cheap articles of clothing. Here, too, are most of the brass-founders, and the marble-cutters, whose bells and images are most likely to find purchasers from folk bound on errands of devotion.

In a house near this road also I found a woman carrying on another curious art, indirectly connected with ecclesiastical objects. The Buddhist monks are very careful of their books, looking on them with even a religious veneration, and keep them not only shut up in handsome chests, but carefully wrapt in chintz covers (as is also common in India). These covers are tied on with a peculiar style of ribbon, bearing a long inscription of a religious character. These ribbons are worked either in silk or cotton, and are a common present from devout ladies to their spiritual guides. The beauty and accuracy with which the round Burmese character is formed on these ribbons had before struck me, and is indeed quite remarkable. It might give a lesson to our fair countrywomen, whose alphabetical attempts in any sutile medium seldom come nearer the intended inscription than would be its reflection on the agitated surface of water.

The second road to the Aracan temple is an elaborate raised causeway, paved and parapetted throughout with brickwork. For a great part of the distance this causeway is bordered on both sides with monastic buildings, and among these are structures undoubtedly the most magnificent in the whole country, and on which the utmost resources of Burman art and wealth have been lavished.

To give an idea of any of these is difficult, and to describe many of them would be tiresome. But, aided by illustrations from Captain Tripe's photographs, I will endeavour to give my impressions of the two most elaborate, the *Maha Toolut Boungyo* and the *Maha Oomiye-peima*.

These timber buildings are necessarily of short duration, and when the richness and elaboration of any one of them has peculiarly struck us, we have invariably found it to be of comparatively recent construction. The two edifices named are said to have been built at the cost of the two chief ladies of the kingdom, the former by the present King's step-



From a Photo. by Capt. Tripe.

Day & Son Lith.rs to The Queen

VIEW OF THE ROYAL MONASTERY AT AMARAPOORA CALLED MAHA TOOLUT BOUNGYO.

London. Smith, Elder & Co. 65, Cornhill.

mother, now Queen Dowager, and the latter by her daughter the Princess Royal, now Queen Consort of Burma.

They both embrace extensive groups of monasteries and shrines, each group enclosed in its own walled area. The centre building in each case is a large *kyoung* of the usual oblong construction,* nearly 300 feet in length. The first floor, the only real floor in fact, spreads in a wide platform, from which the inhabited building rises in four successive tiers of roof.† The whole building from the balcony upwards is gilt, and the eaves, gables, and balusters are carved in the usual manner.

But it is on a smaller building at the north-east angle of this central *kyoung*, and only a few yards distant from it, that in each of the two groups the luxury of Burmese art has been so freely expended.

In the *Maha Toolut Boungyo* this smaller building was also on the usual monastic plan, having a detached hall at the west end, and three shrines with tapering spires abreast of one another at the west end, but all rising out of the same platform at the level of the first floor. The whole building was carved like an ivory toy, and was a blaze of gold and other sparkling ornament. Even the posts of the basement story were gilt, which is seldom the case, and

* See Appendix F on the plan of Burmese monasteries.

† Not in successive *stories*. There is but one actual inhabited floor, though the exterior of the building assumes the form of several gradually diminishing stories. These doubtless were originally intended to imitate the really many-storied monasteries of ancient Buddhist India and Ceylon, such as the great rock-cut monastery in the Deccan, of which the five stories are said by Fa Hian to have contained 500, 400, 300, 200, and 100 cells respectively, or the Maha Lowa Paya at Anuradhapoor, which is reported to have been *nine* stories high. (Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*.)

An effectual bar to the actual adoption of these many-storied buildings in Burma exists in the deeply-rooted prejudice of every man in the nation against allowing any one not of admitted superiority in rank to occupy a more elevated position than himself. That any person should occupy a floor over one's head would be felt as an intense degradation. Hence, though the inhabited floors of nearly all buildings in Burma are raised to some height above the ground, there is no such thing properly as a two-storied dwelling in the country, excepting some few belonging to foreigners.

The same prejudice is, I presume, at the bottom of the etiquette which renders it a grievous solecism to stand in the presence of a superior.

This prejudice exists also in Siam, and among other eastern races. The etiquette just spoken of is, I believe, almost universal among the Polynesian islanders. In Java, too, Raffles says, that "instead of an assembly rising on the entrance of a great man, as in Europe, it sinks to the ground during his presence." And "when a native chief moves abroad, it is usual for all the people of inferior rank among whom he passes to lower their bodies to the ground till they actually sit on their heels, and to remain in this posture until he is gone by." (*History of Java*, i. 309.) This last usage is also common in Burma, and I have heard, I am sorry to say, that it has been encouraged by some of the smaller politicals in our Burmese provinces.

I do not know how to reconcile with the ancient existence of the great Singalese monastery above mentioned, the fact that this prejudice against the superior elevation of one's neighbours is very strong in Ceylon also, unless it has been derived in later times from intercourse with their co-religionists in Burma and the East. Forbes (*Ceylon*, i. 217) mentions a ludicrous scene at Colombo, where this punctilio led a Kandyan ambassador to remonstrate against entering a carriage, because the coachman occupied a higher seat than his own. To the same reason is generally ascribed the little use made by the Kings of Ava of the carriages, which have at various times been sent to them as presents, and the fact that when they do use them they are always drawn by men.

so were the brick staircases and parapets ascending to the platform, which I have never seen elsewhere.

The brackets or corbels from the outer posts, which support the projecting eaves of the platform above, were griffins or dragons with the head downwards, the feet grasping the post, and the tail rising in alternate flexures, which seemed almost to writhe and undulate as we looked. No art could be better of its kind. The outer range of posts rose as usual through the platform, forming massive props or stanchions for the balustrade above. The tops of these posts were gorgeously carved and hollowed into the semblance of an imperial crown, with various figures under its arches. The successive roofs were sheeted with zinc, that glanced in the sun like silver, and the panelled walls which rose in diminishing area from roof to roof were set round with half columns diapered with a mosaic of mirror, which looked like silver covered with network of gold. Even the ladders that leant against the walls, to give access from roof to roof in case of repair being needed, were covered with gilding and inlaid with mirror-work.

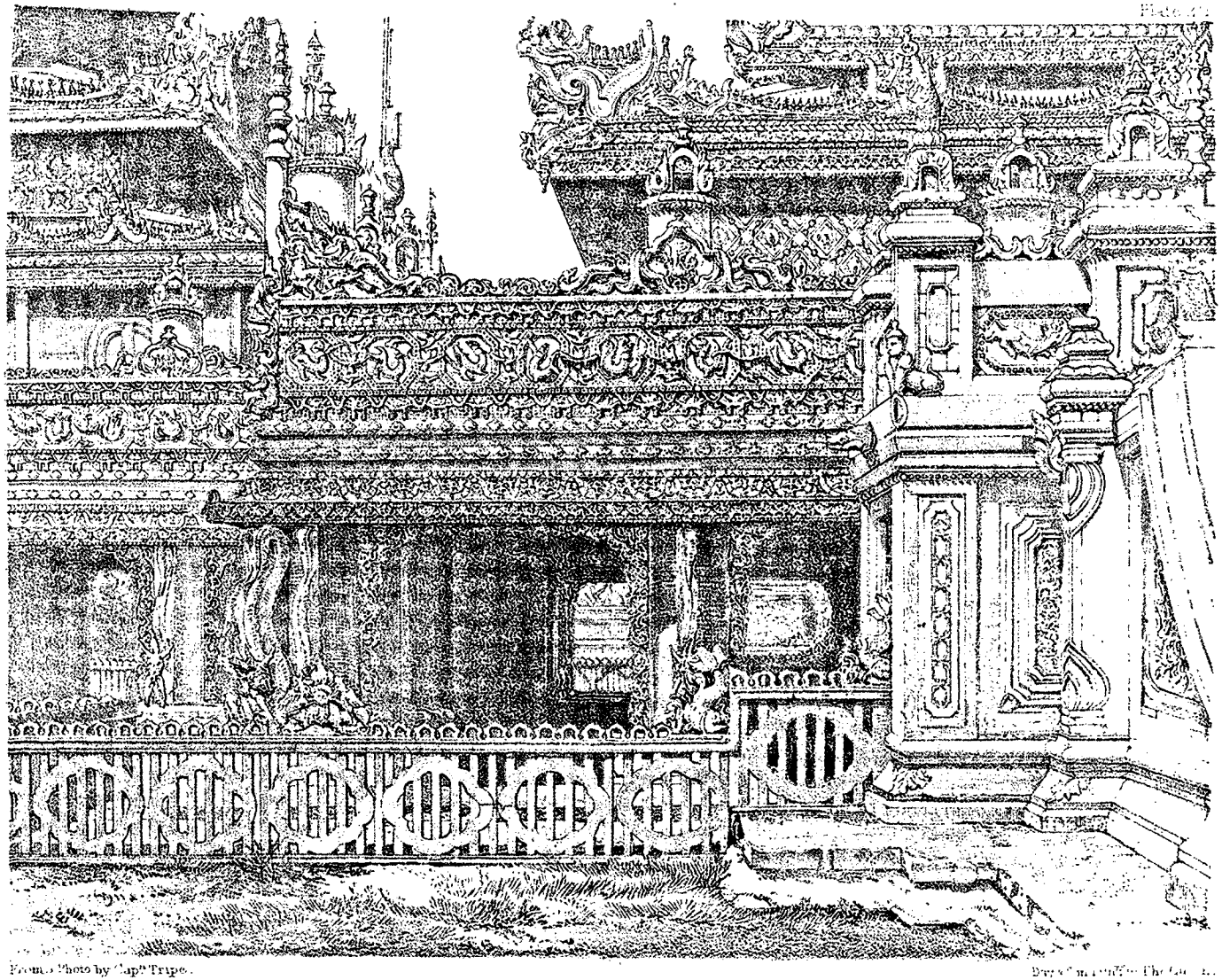
In the basement story were some curious works of art in another style. On the plastered reverse of the gilded staircases were paintings representing different nations, such as Burmese, Chinamen, Shans, and Englishmen. These were drawn with a good deal of character. The Chinese were done with much truth and spirit, and the Englishman with his dog and gun was most laughably recognisable, and far better in resemblance, as well as spirit, than any of the common Hindoo attempts to represent us.

Two paved and slightly raised platforms in the interior of the basement were set around with small flags of sandstone about a foot square, carved in a sort of bas-relief, or compound between bas-relief and incised outline. One set consisted entirely of representations of *bilús*, or demon monkeys, in all sorts of quaint action and attitude, catching different animals, fighting with them or tormenting them, riding on goats, crabs, elephants, tortoises, and what not. The other set mainly represented animals of all kinds in different attitudes, elephants, buffaloes, deer, oxen, hares, &c., some of them apparently engaged in Esopean dialogues. Nearly all these, though very rudely drawn and executed, had the humour and spirit of true genius. One figure for instance, of a *bilú* catching a goat by the hind leg with one hand and diligently punching him with the other, was capital. Another, of a hare crouched on his hams, in earnest conversation with a second of the same species standing on his hind legs in an admonitory attitude, spontaneously recalled to two of the party the spirit of Grandville's celebrated illustrations to La Fontaine.* I have already noticed the special gift of the Burmese in representing elephants. Here we had them in all sorts of positions, sometimes represented as fore-shortened with their backs to the spectator, which I conceive is rather an achievement in bas-relief.†

The *Maha Oomiye-peima* is in plan and general character, as we have said, quite similar to the preceding building, but it even exceeds it in gorgeousness of adornment. So the

* Sir J. Bowring says the hare is "a popular animal, and a frequent actor in the tales and fables of the Siamese." (i. 225.)

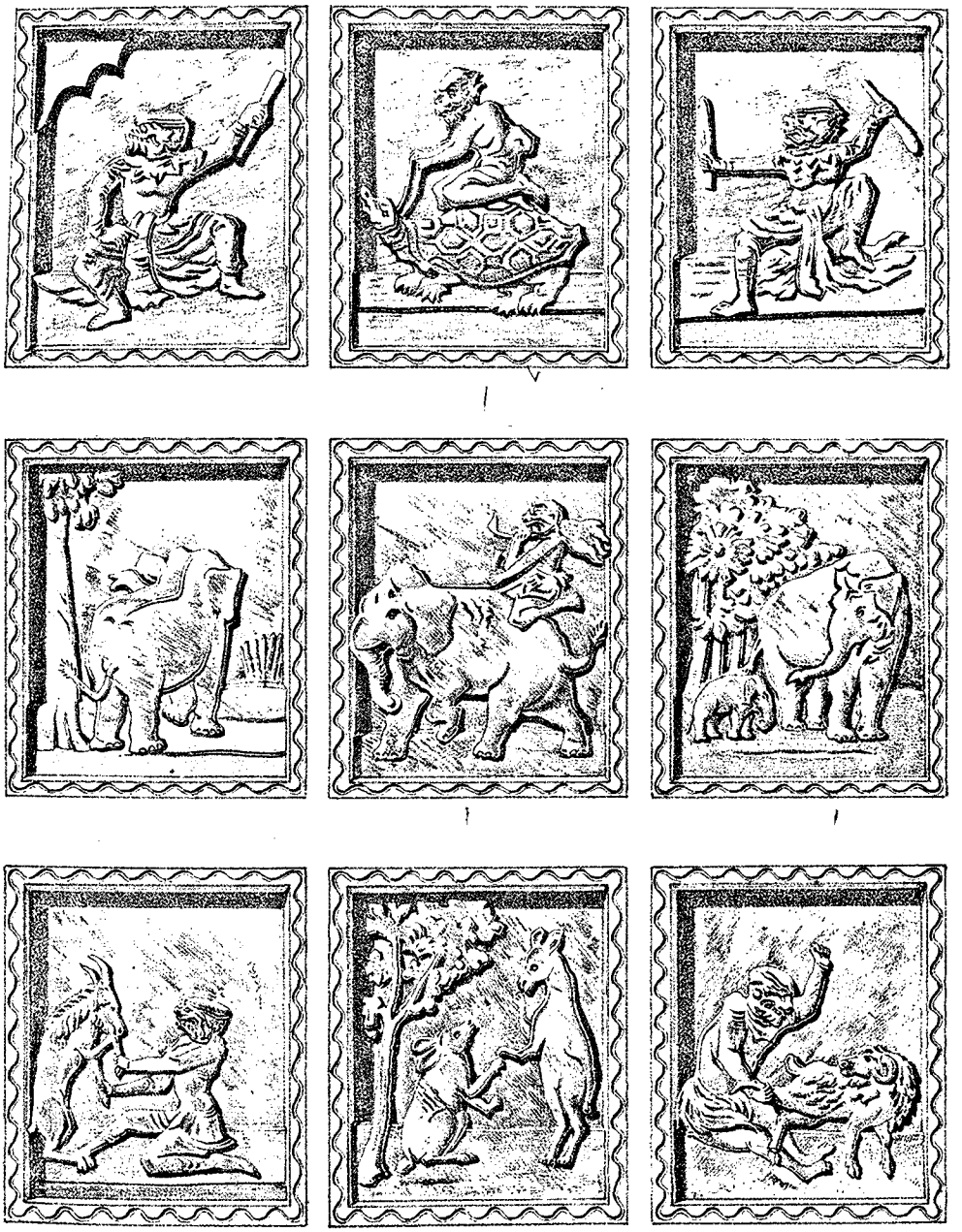
† See some of these in Plate XXI.



From a Photo by Capt. Tripe.

CARVED WORK OF ONE OF THE ROYAL MONASTERIES.

Plate



SPECIMENS OF HUMOUROUS BAS-RELIEFS ON THE PAVEMENT OF A MONASTERY AT AMARAPOORA.

Burmese told us before we had seen it, and whilst we were admiring the Toolut Boungyo. We were not inclined to believe them, but they were justified by the fact, as we found on passing into the adjacent enclosure.

In this second building the three spires remain ungilt, the work probably having been interrupted by the civil commotions of 1852. The contrast thus arising between the mellow colour of the teak and the brilliant mass of gold is no detriment to the effect. The posts of the basement, instead of being wholly gilt, are covered with scarlet lacker banded with gilded carving. From post to post run cusped arches in open filagree-work of gilding, very delicate and beautiful. The corbels bearing the balcony are more fantastic and less artistic than at the Toolut Boungyo. Instead of dragons they here consist of human figures in rich dresses, with the scallop wings of the Burman military costume, and wearing the heads of various animals, elephants, bulls, &c. These figures are all in different dancing attitudes, and all jewelled and embellished in sparkling mosaic of mirror and gilding.

The balcony balustrade is quite unique. Instead of the usual turned rails, or solid carved panels, it is a brilliant open work of interlacing scrolls, the nuclei of the compartments into which the scrolls arrange themselves, being fanciful, fairy-like figures in complete relief, somewhat awkward in drawing but spirited in action. Below this balcony is an exquisite drooping eaves-board, in shield-like tracery, with interlacing scrolls cut through the wood like lacework.

The staircase parapets (gilt masonry) are formed in scrolls of snakes scaled with green looking-glass, and each discharging from its mouth a wreath of flowers in white mirror mosaic. The posts are crowned with tapering *htees*, inferior in effect to the imperial crowns of the other monastery. The panels of the walls in the upper stories are exquisitely diapered and flowered in mosaic of looking-glass, whilst the eaves-crests and ridge-crest (the latter *most* delicate and brilliant) are of open carving in lattice-work and flame-points tipped with sparkling mirror. The indispensable religious pinnacles or finials, with their peculiar wooden vanes or flags, are of unusually fanciful and delicate carving, each crowned with its miniature golden *htee* and bells.

It is impossible to look at these Kyoungs without a feeling of wonder how a people so deficient in all domestic appliances should be capable of designing and executing such exquisite workmanship.* And one despairs of being able to exhibit to visitors from such a people, in any of our Anglo-Indian cities at least, works which they are likely to appreciate as indicative of our superior wealth and resources.

The Maha Toolut Boungyo is the residence of the *Tha-thana Bain*, "The Defender of the Faith," High priest, or Patriarch of all the Poongyis.

The colossal brass image in the Aracan Pagoda is a Gautama in the usual sitting attitude on a "Raja Palén," or throne of the peculiar character used by the King in the state audience-hall. The figure is about twelve feet high, with all the limbs in proportion.

* Yet Mr. Crawfurd speaks of Burmese work of this kind as much inferior in execution to that of Siam.

The face is polished quite bright, and all the rest of the idol is thickly encrusted with gold leaf, the accumulation of years, and of the offerings of thousands of votaries. "This image," Major Phayre remarked to the Woondouk who accompanied him on his visit to the temple, "is of very ancient date, I believe?"* "It is," replied he; "and a faithful representation of the living original. When the Lord Gaudama visited Aracan, Chanda Surya was the King of that country. The Buddha being about to depart, the King prayed him to leave his blessed resemblance and substitute with them, as some consolation for his absence. The Buddha consented; several attempts were made to cast an image, but they all failed. At length, by the divine interposition, the present image was successfully obtained." †

The Envoy ascended the Rajah Palén, and the Burmese made no objection to his examining the idol closely, and taking off for that purpose the *Thengan* or ecclesiastical robe which partially shrouded it. It is said to have been brought across the mountains in two or more pieces. But Major Phayre could trace no marks of breakage or separation in the metal, owing perhaps to the thick covering of gold-leaf. The people denied that the image had been broken. It is however very improbable that such a large mass of metal should have been carried across the mountains in one piece. It is said to have been brought by the Toungoop pass; over which a carriage road from Prome to the sea is now being constructed by Lieut. Forlong.

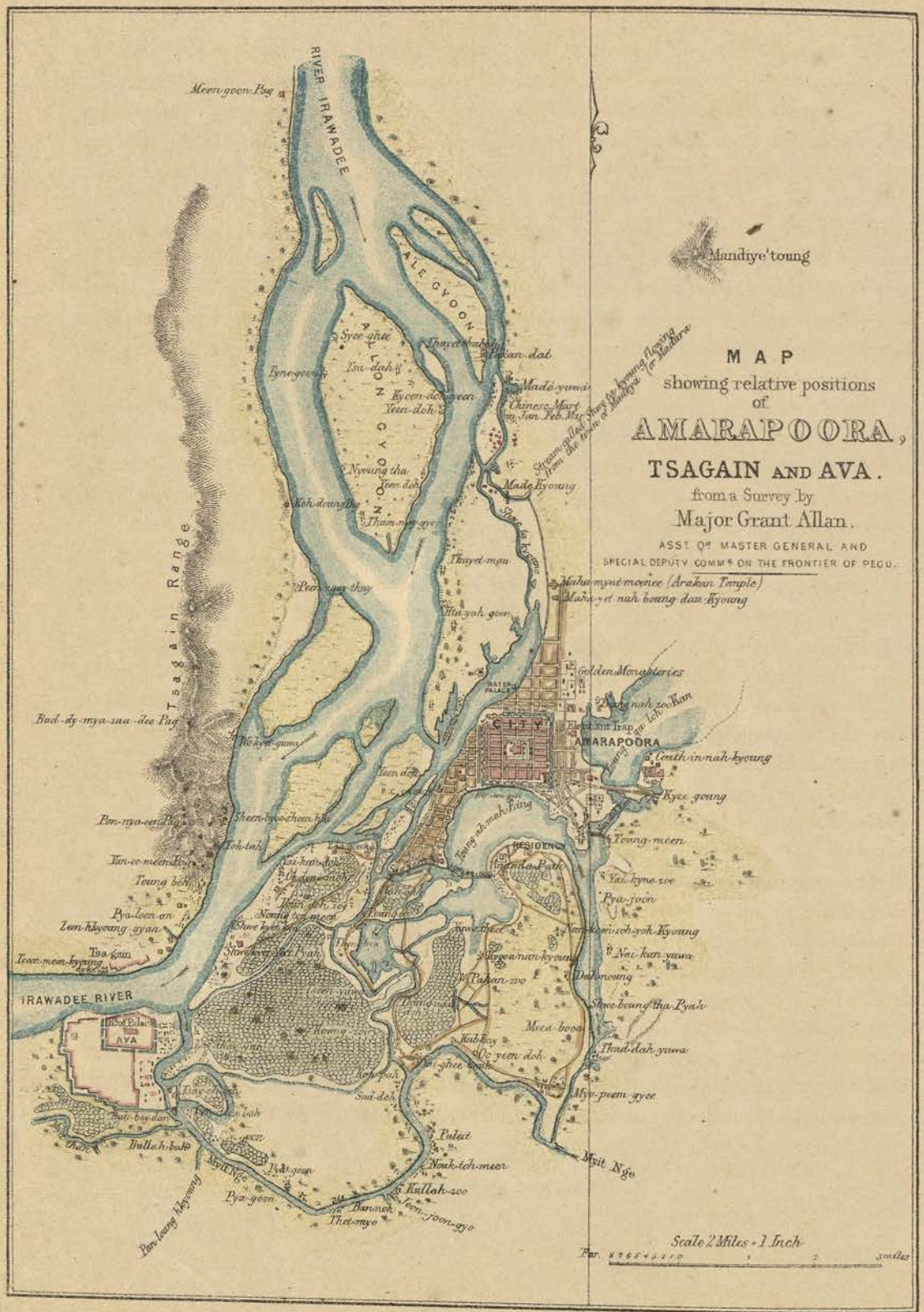
The image stands in a small and gloomy arched chamber of masonry, having only one entrance. Over this has been constructed a handsome wooden Pyasath or spire, richly carved and gilt.

There are two entrances to the enclosure in which the grotto or image-chamber stands. These communicate with the two roads from the city which have been mentioned above, and from the image to each outer gate covered-ways have been constructed of beautifully carved wood, adorned at intervals with spires of the usual form. These have not been built more than seven or eight years. Underneath these arcades are found numerous nuns, cripples, blind and diseased persons. Here also at all times, but especially on worship days, is held a sort of fair, where stalls for fruit, sweetmeats, flowers, tapers, and other articles used as offerings, as well as for ear-cylinders and all sorts of toys and gimcracks

* I did not see the interior of this temple, and I am indebted to Major Phayre for these notes regarding it.

† "The Buddhists of Ceylon have a legend, that in the lifetime of Gotama Buddha an image of the founder of their religion was made by the order of the King of Kósala, and the Chinese have a similar story; but it is rejected by the more intelligent of the priests, who regard it as an invention to attract worshippers to the temples." (Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 199.) The externals of Buddhism often remind us of some of the forms or corruptions that have appeared in connexion with the Christian Faith. In these stories we have a parallel to the Romanist legend of St. Veronica and the Sudarium. The footprints of Gautama are matched, it is painful enough to think, to some extent on the sacred summit of Olivet, as well as in grosser instances at Rome and Poitiers. (Arthur Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 446.) In fact, in Buddhism we have the whole system of Romanist relic-worship, and developed in many instances to an extraordinary exactitude of resemblance.

The Buddha foot-prints have also their parallel in the print of the foot of Hercules on a rock among the Scythians, which Herodotus mentions (iv. 82).


MAP
showing relative positions
of
AMARAPOORA,
TSAGAIN AND AVA.
from a Survey by
Major Grant Allan.
ASST Qr MASTER GENERAL AND
SPECIAL DEPUTY COMMrs ON THE FRONTIER OF PEGU.
RIVER IRAWADEE
ALE GYOON
Tsagain Range
Meen-goon-Pag
Mandiye'toung
Maha-myat-meenee (Arakan Temple)
Golden Monasteries
CITY
AMARAPOORA
RESIDENCY
IRAWADEE RIVER
AVA
Scale 2 Miles = 1 Inch.
3miles
Day & Son Lith.rs to the Queen

and small wares, line the passage to the temple. Certain shops here for the sale of toy figures and supple-jacks have a special celebrity among the juveniles of Amarapoora.

The pagoda slaves are the descendants of those who were brought away captives, along with the image, from Aracan, and amount it is said to several hundreds. In the enclosure are some thin brass images of warriors, bilús and monsters, which also were brought from Aracan. These do not appear to be much cared for, and are partially broken.

Under a long shed are deposited stone inscriptions, between two and three hundred in number. These Major Phayre found not to be originals nor exact copies of originals. It was found that ancient stone writings at Pagán and elsewhere were being defaced, especially where certain persons were mentioned therein as being dedicated to the temple as slaves. The descendants of these persons apparently tried to rid themselves of the stigma, and hence the inscriptions were defaced.

Pagoda slaves in Burma are outcasts. The great body of the people will not associate with them, nor intermarry in their families. They cannot throw off the stigma which attaches to them, and their descendants are slaves for ever. In order to counteract the object which these slaves are supposed to have had in view, copies of the most celebrated inscriptions, or of the essential portions of them, have been taken and preserved here.

The King, it is said, comes to worship the Aracan image about once in six months.

Closely adjoining the Aracan temple is the *Mahayetna-boung-dau*, probably the largest monastery in the country. It is quite similar in character to those which I have described as occupying the central position in the areas of the Queen's monasteries, but of greater size. This huge building, with its encircling platform, occupies a space of 440 feet by 200, and is supported on 404 massive teak-trees, none of which seemed less than two feet in diameter, and some of which, supporting the central and topmost tier of roof, must be at least 80 feet high.

The Poongyi, or prior of this monastery, was at the head of the order during the ex-king's reign. But it appears to be customary for every new King to appoint his own patriarch.

The peninsula on the east of the city walls is bounded by a beautiful lake, or chain of lakes, dammed up by broad and solid bunds, and having the banks crowded with a vast number and variety of religious edifices. But of these we have already described enough, and more than enough, and it is time that this long, and I fear wearisome, detail should close. I will only mention one building more, as it is rather a rarity; a large and handsome *kyoung* in brickwork. This was built too by a Mahomedan, Moung Bhai sahib, the infamous Myowoon of the capital under the ex-king, whom he encouraged and exceeded in atrocity, till that Burmese King Bomba, trembling at the rising discontent, cast off his favourite to be mauled and tortured to death amidst the howls of the exulting people:

"Sejanus ducitur unco
Spectandus: gaudent omnes."

CHAPTER VI.

EXCURSIONS IN THE ENVIRONS OF THE CAPITAL.

Excursion with Mr. Oldham up the Irawadi—Mengoon Pagoda, its History—Effect of the Earthquake of 1839—Treasures deposited—Colossal Leogryphs—Great Bell—Its Dimensions—Peculiar Pagoda, possibly Symbolical of the Mundane System—Col. Symes's Second Visit—Visit Madéyá, and Mendacity of our Official Guide—Burmese Gardens—Visit to White Marble Quarries—Reports of Light-haired People—Marble Hills of Tsagyin—The Serpent River—Tseengoo-myo—Caves of Shwé Malé—Part from Mr. Oldham—Extracts from his Journal—The *Kyouk-dwens*, or Defiles of the Irawadi—The Pagoda of Thikadau—Tame Fish—The Ruby Mines—Hamadryad Snake—Malé—Burman Obstructiveness—My own Return down to the Capital—Visit to a Monastery—Library and Books—Group of Pagodas in glorious Moonlight—Burmese Boatmen—Excursion to Old Ava—the Shwé Kyet Pagodas—Unwitting Occupation of a Pulpit—Chronology of Ava, Pagodas—The King's Barges—Population of Ava—Burmese Preaching—The Inner Fort and Palace of Ava—Modern Burmese Arches—Excursion to the Base of the Shan Mountains—Burmese Elephants—Miry Journey—Beautiful Scenery—The Myit-ngé River—The Paloungs, their Import of Tea and Export of Salt—The Myit-ngé River—Walk through the Jungle—Mr. Oldham ascends the Mya-leit Mountains—His Description of the View from the Top—Return to Amarapoora by the River—Visit to the Tank or Lake of Oungbenglé—Quaint Irrigation Sluices—Royal Rice-fields—Village of Oungbenglé—Mrs. Judson and her Friends—The Prisoners in the Second War.

No encouragement was given to our travelling about the country, though perhaps as much liberty in this respect as could have been expected was allowed; nor was the season very favourable for it. But one or two excursions were made by some of the members of the mission, of which I shall give an account in this section.

On the 20th September I started with Mr. Oldham on an expedition up the Irawadi. We had to take three boats, as those brought were mere skiffs. We quitted the lake by the Sagyeen-wa creek to the west of the town, passing through three good wooden bridges. These all had openings in the middle for the passage of large boats, varying from eighteen to twenty-four feet in width, and spanned by shifting planks. We had been kept so late that we did not that evening pass more than two or three miles above the city. Amarapoora at this distance looked grand and imposing, the golden pagodas giving great splendour to the landscape. The valley, too, is very beautiful on that side, backed as it is by the fantastic outline of the mountains called Mya-leit-doung to the east of the city. On the west, the Sagain hills rise immediately from the river, but they have an aspect of hopeless barrenness even at this season. We spent the night a little below the village of Tayoup-ta. It is in the immediate vicinity of Madé, where the caravans of Chinese Mahomedans have their depôt in the cold weather.

We had little wind next day; and got on very slowly, though the weather and the

scenery were most enjoyable. Ten miles above the capital we landed, at Mengoon, to visit the extraordinary *Folly* of the King Men-tara-gyi, or Bodau Phya (the "Grandfather King), as he is commonly called by the Burmese, the great grandfather of the reigning prince, and founder of Amarapoora.

This King, who died in 1819, after a rule of nearly forty years, spent twenty years of the earlier part of his reign in piling together this monstrous mass of bricks and mortar, employing on it the unpaid services of a vast number of his subjects, and an expenditure besides, it is said, of 10,000 viss of silver. Some say that it had been foretold to him that when the temple was finished his life would come to an end. But, in any case, he left it incomplete,* and the great earthquake of 1839 shattered it to the foundations.

This ruin is doubtless one of the hugest masses of solid brickwork in the world. It stands on a basement of five successive terraces of little height, the lower terrace forming a square of about 450 feet. From the upper terrace starts up the vast cubical pile of the pagoda, a square of about 230 feet in plan, and rising to a height of more than 100 feet, with slightly sloping walls. Above this, it contracts in successive terraces, three of which had been completed, or nearly so, at the time the work was abandoned.

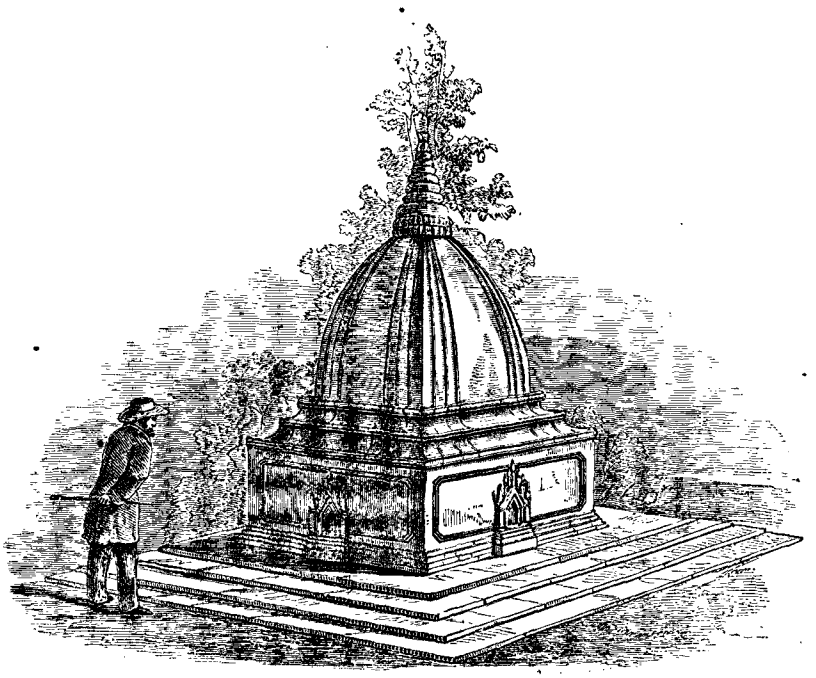


Fig. 34.

In one of the neighbouring groves is a miniature of the structure (fig. 34), as it was in-

* In fact during the latter years of his reign the old King was, if not a disbeliever in Buddhist doctrine, at least most hostile to the priesthood, and the order had for some time scarcely any ostensible existence. He is said to have made the filthy suggestiveness of the numerous prohibitions in the

tended to be. From this we see that the completed pile would have been little less than 500 feet high. The whole height of the ruin as it stands is about 165 feet from the ground, and the solid content must be between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of cubic feet of brickwork.

The fracture that has taken place is tremendous, and the effects of earthquake are seen on a scale that rarely occurs. The whole mass is shattered, torn, and split. Masses of wall 100 feet in height, and from 10 to 20 in thickness, appear as if they had been bodily lifted from their bases, and heaved forward several feet. The angles have chiefly suffered, and these are fallen in a vast pile of ruin; blocks of coherent brickwork, as big as small houses, lying heaped in hideous confusion on one another.

Up among the loose bricks and fallen masses at the north-east angle, there is a practicable though not easy ascent. Reaching the top, you find the whole surface rent into prisms by yawning crevasses, like those (as my companion aptly suggested) of an Alpine glacier. A square projection, which rises in the centre above all, appears to be a detached pier descending, unconnected with the rest of the pile, the whole way to the ground. This, too, is thrown much off its perpendicular.

The whole thing is a perfect geological phenomenon.

Strange to say, many stacks of bricks still stand in place on the top, as they were left by the bricklayers, probably thirty years before the earthquake; part of the scaffolding which formed an ascent in the middle of each of the four sides still makes a staggering attempt to hold on to the wall, tall teak masts, with fragmentary gangways attached, which kick their heels in empty air; and on the basement terraces great heaps of lime, ready for the work, have hardened into anomalous rocks, which will puzzle future geologists.

There is a doorway on each face, pedimented and pilastered in the Pagán style of architecture; but the cavity does not penetrate more than 14 or 15 feet.

This pagoda was in progress when Captain Hiram Cox was here as Envoy, in 1797; and he gives a curious account of the manner in which the interior of the basement was formed for the reception of the dedicated treasures. A number of quadrangular pits or cells were formed in the brickwork for this purpose. These were all lined with plates of lead, and were roofed with *beams of lead* about five inches square. This precious engineering device for the support of a spire 500 feet high was one of his majesty's own conception, and perhaps may have given rise to various patched cracks in the brickwork, which are evidently of older date than the earthquake.* Rumours of the greatness of the deposited

Wini (Sansc. *Vinaya*), the book which regulates the life and conversation of the monks, a pretext for the suppression of the order.

It appears, however, from Padre Sangermano, that about the beginning of the century he abandoned his Palace and its fair inmates, retiring to Mengoon, with some idea of adopting the ascetic life, and getting himself acknowledged as the new Buddha. But the orthodoxy of the Poongyis was proof against all his arguments; he threw up his pretensions to Buddahood, returned to his seraglio, and cherished a lasting hostility to the ecclesiastics. On his death the yellow robes rapidly effloresced again all over the country. (See Judson's *Life*, i. pp. 173, 191, etc. Sangermano's *Burmese Empire*, pp. 59, 90, etc.)

* These cracks are mentioned by Colonel Burney, who says the natives ascribed them to an earthquake which had taken place about fifteen years before his visit, *i.e.* about 1816. He also mentions

Day & Son, Lith.rs to The Queen.

From a Photo. by Cap.n Tripe.

VIEW OF THE GREAT PAGODA AT MENGOON AS SHATTERED BY THE EARTHQUAQE OF 1839.

treasures are common among the Burmese;* but what Captain Cox tells us of them from personal observation is not confirmatory of these rumours. He speaks of plated models of kyoungs and pagodas; of others, said to be of solid gold, but which on examination proved "to be less valuable;" of marble images, trumpery gems, slabs of coloured glass, white umbrellas, and, last of all, of a *soda-water machine*,† as among the consecrated valuables.

Overlooking the river, in front of the eastern face of the temple, stood two colossal leogryphs in brick. The heads and shoulders lie in shapeless masses round about, and only the huge haunches and tails remain in position, gigantically ludicrous. These figures were originally 95 feet high, as Cox tells us, and each of the white marble eyeballs, intended for the monsters, measured 13 feet in circumference.‡

North of the temple, on a low circular terrace, stands the biggest bell in Burma; the biggest in the world probably, Russia apart. It is slung on a triple beam of great size, cased and hooped with metal; this beam resting on two piers of brickwork, enclosing massive frames of teak. The bell does not now swing free. The supports were so much shaken by the earthquake, that it was found necessary to put props under the bell, consisting of blocks of wood carved into grotesque figures. Of course no tone can now be got out of it. But at any time it must have required a battering-ram to elicit its music.

Small ingots of silver (and some say pieces of gold) may still be traced, unmelted, in the mass, and from the inside one sees the curious way in which the makers tried to strengthen the parts which suspend it by dropping into the upper part of the mould iron chains, round which the metal was run.

The Burmese report the bell to contain 555,555 viss of metal (about 900 tons). Its principal dimensions are as follows;—

	ft.	in.
External diameter at the lip	16	3
Internal diameter, 4 ft. 8 in. above the lip	10	
Interior height	11	6
Exterior ditto	12	
Interior diameter at top	8	6

The thickness of metal varies from six inches to twelve, and the actual weight of the whole bell is, by a rough calculation, about eighty tons, or one-eleventh of the popular estimate. According to Mr. Howard Malcolm, whose authority was probably Colonel Burney, the weight is stated in the Royal Chronicle at 55,500 viss, or about ninety tons.

what escaped our observation, that the walls of the great cubical plinth appeared to have been banded by lines of iron or copper chain. (*MS. Journal.*)

* The common tale goes, that 197 images of solid gold and silver, of Mentaragyi, his women, children, and relatives, each image being cast exactly of the weight of the person represented, were here deposited. (*The same.*)

† "One of Dr. Priestley's machines for impregnating water with fixed air." (Cox's *Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire*, p. 110.)

‡ "The sockets for the eyeballs are left vacant, and to place the eyeballs in them will require some exertion of mechanical ingenuity, which I should like to see." (Cox, p. 105.) The enterprise was actually too much for the Burmese, as we learn from Col. Burney, who saw the figures in 1831, some years before their destruction. The eyeballs had never been inserted.

This statement* is probably therefore genuine, and the popular fable merely a multiplication of it by ten.

Still further north, there is an older pagoda of very peculiar character. The basement which formed the bulk of the structure consisted of seven concentric circular terraces, each with a parapet of a curious serpentine form. These parapets rose one above and within the other, like the walls of Ecbatana as described by Herodotus. The only ascent appeared to be from the east. In the parapet of every terrace were at intervals niches looking outwards, in which were figures of *nâts* and warders in white marble, of half life-size. A great circular wall inclosed the whole at some distance from the base.† It was difficult to ascertain the nature of the central structure, so shattered was it by the earthquake. The whole (though round instead of square in plan) had a great general resemblance to the large ancient pyramidal temple in Java called Boro Buddor,‡ as described by Raffles and Crawfurd; but this Mengoon structure was not, I think, very old, and I doubt if the resemblance was more than accidental. At the foot of the hills, some hundred yards to the westward, there was another pagoda of similar character, which we did not visit. And on the north side, in the direction of the great bell, there was a row of some forty or fifty life-size female figures, carved in wood and dressed in tiaras and scalloped robes, like the images into which the heads of posts are often hewn in bridges and the environs of pagodas.

At Mengoon (which means "the rustic," or temporary "palace,") the old King had a palace, where he was residing during Cox's visit, and during Colonel Symes's second mission in 1802. The latter was detained for forty days, totally unnoticed by the court, at an island on which corpses were burnt and criminals executed!

Leaving Mengoon we continued to track along the western shore till night-fall. The Sagain hills, now fallen off in height to some three or four hundred feet at most, but better clothed with wood or scrub, continued to hug the shore. They left no space for cultivation, but several villages occupied the bights. These seemed to be principally inhabited either by lime-burners, as at Oung-ta-zen and Kokogyoon, or by fishermen. The canoes of the latter were provided with a complicated leverage of long bamboo spars for dropping and raising the net. At the other side of the boat this was balanced by a very prominent

* This monster Burmese bell is therefore fourteen times as heavy as the great bell of St. Paul's, but only one-third of that given by the Empress Anne to the Cathedral of Moscow. (See *Pen. Cyc.* Art. *Bell.*)

† Perhaps this structure is symbolical of the great cosmical mountain Myen-mo (Maha-Meru), surrounded by its seven concentric and graduated ranges, in the centre of this *Sakwala* or mundane system, which again is encompassed by a circular wall of rock called the *Sakwala-gala.* (See Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, ch. i.) One of the Burmese feasts at the termination of their *Wa* or Lent is called *Tsee-mee-myen-mo*, or Myen-mo lamplights. The streets are illuminated, and in them are exhibited high round structures to represent mount Myen-mo, covered with little figures of its spiritual inhabitants. (Burney's *MS.*)

‡ The Javanese structure, however, may also have been intended to symbolize Mount Meru and its encircling ranges, for these appear to be sometimes represented as square in plan, excepting the outer ring fence. (See a plate of *Cosmogonia Indo-Tibetana*, from a Tibetan picture, in *Musei Borgiani Codices Avenses, Peguani*, &c., by Father Paulinus a Sto. Bartholomaeo, Rome, 1793, p. 231.)

triangular outrigger of the same material. We moored for the night at Tseng-gan, a village with several handsome pagodas and *theins*. Next morning, continuing still to pass up the now woody tail of the Sagain range for several miles, we then struck across the Irawadi to the mouth of the river of Madéyá, a tributary from the Shan hills.

The western part of the river channel here is occupied by numerous islands. These afford grazing to the King's elephants, When arranging for our little voyage we had intimated to the Burmese our wish to visit Madéyá. Our real object was to see the quarries of the celebrated white Ava marble, and we had been misled by Pemberton's map into supposing that these quarries were close to the town of Madéyá, and that our way to them would lie through the latter. On this account the authorities at the court had provided us with a companion in the shape of a *Bo*, or officer, belonging to Madéyá, in addition to the *Bo* of Malé, who was appointed to conduct Mr. Oldham to the coal-mines.

The Bo also maintained (falsely as we found) that the quarries were quite near his town, and that we could easily visit both, and return to our boat by nightfall. Some of the boatmen indeed spoke of a much nearer road from a village called Mawé, on the banks of the Great River. This road the Bo asserted to be quite impassable at the present season.

From a little village called Powá, at the mouth of the Madéyá River, we obtained a canoe, with mats to protect us from the powerful sun. We ascended in the canoe only about two miles to Myit-thein. Here, where a branch of the Madéyá river struck off southward, the Bo provided us with ponies. Passing through several populous villages on the banks of the Madéyá-khyong,* we then struck into a great expanse of rice-fields, of which there was a more extensive series here than we had seen since leaving Lower Pegu. The people were now transplanting the rice, which appears here not to be done till the waters have somewhat subsided. Our ponies picked their way marvellously along the slippery and narrow ridges between the rice-fields, but had occasionally to plunge into the Serbonian bogs on each side. The line of villages appeared almost continuous on our left, till lost in the great mass of gardens round Madéyá Myo. This we entered, after riding about four miles from Myit-thein. Never, even in Penang, or in the glorious orange valleys of the Sylhet mountains, have I seen a denser mass of productive trees than this, which seemed to stretch for a length of three or four miles by perhaps one mile in width. It was a perfect forest of cocoa-nut and areca palms, jacks, custard-apples, citrons, betel-vines, &c., whilst the ground was covered with dense thicket, or swamped in water.

This is what the Burmese call a garden. They do not seem often to have the thing which is properly so called.† This one supplies the capital largely with its productions, especially with cocoa-nuts and areca.

For a mile or more the road through this dense and fruitful thicket was paved with brick, and had brick parapets on either side. Kyoungs and houses began to be scattered

* *Khyong* or *hkyong*, a small river.

† In 1835, however, Mr. Malcolm describes handsome ornamental gardens at Ava, belonging to the then Prince of Tharawadi, and others. Amarapoora has not, it may be supposed, recovered from the revolution sufficiently to possess such embellishments.

more and more frequently among the foliage, till, passing by a wooden bridge over a fine full stream flowing rapidly to the south, we entered the town. This river, called the Shwé-ta Khyong, breaks off above the town from the Madéyá river by which we had ascended from the Irawadi. It discharges itself into that creek or channel of the Great River which passes near the Aracan temple, and washes the north-eastern corner of the capital. The valley of the Madéyá Khyong is said to extend back nearly to the Ruby-mine district. The town of Madéyá seemed to be a large and populous place for Burma, and our conductor's estimate of the number of houses at 3000 by no means overstated. Our Bo led us to the Governor's house, where we were pressed to alight. Not wishing to be uncivil, though unwilling to delay, we alighted and seated ourselves on carpets that had been spread for us on a reception-shed. When we at once began to talk about the marble quarries, our friend's whole story was changed; all that he had said before was absolutely ignored; and he now declared it to be impossible to visit them, unless we stayed a couple of days. Making a little inquiry from others of the people, we speedily saw, first, that our Bo-Men had lied recklessly; secondly, that he knew nothing about the marble quarries or the way to them; and thirdly, that the way was not by Madéyá. So we determined to return. We first walked out to the northward of the town to fix its position. Small monasteries and pagodas (many of which showed traces of the earthquake of 1839) were so numerous that we had to go to a considerable distance before we could get sight of any known points.

Returning to the Governor's house we obtained fresh ponies and mounted. An attempt was made, in the true official Burman spirit of discourtesy to foreigners, to prevent our mounting inside the yard,* but unsuccessfully. We splashed our way back through the mire again, and reached our boats on the Irawadi by nightfall.

As far as we could understand or learn the motives of our conductor's untruthfulness, the benefit which he looked to from our visit, and which would have been enhanced had we remained at Madéyá, was the excuse that it would have afforded him for levying a contribution on the townspeople. At frequent intervals along the road we had found guards turned out to receive us. The number of muskets altogether we estimated at about two hundred, including a rack of seventy-five in the Governor's house. Many of these militia, however, had only spears and dhas, the majority of the district muskets having been probably at our residency, where the regiment on duty was composed of men from Madéyá.†

Starting at dawn next morning (23rd September) we passed up the east bank, and striking into a large channel which diverges considerably to the eastward we landed about

* It is always one of the questions of Burman etiquette whether you are great man enough to be allowed, in paying a visit, to ride your horse inside the gate, or must dismount outside.

† Col. (then Captain) Hannay in his MS. journal of a journey to the upper Irawadi in 1835-36 mentioned that in a village called Tsa-khyet, in the Madéyá district, there are people called the King's gunners, among whom there were said to be several with light hair and eyes. Col. Burney had heard that there were persons of European descent in this neighbourhood, which led to Captain Hannay's inquiries.

Unfortunately, we were not aware of this interesting fact when we made this excursion.

eight o'clock at the village of Mawé, at the mouth of Khyong Ma-gyi, a considerable stream about 150 feet in width, running down from the eastern mountains. We now saw clearly our mistake in going to Madéyá; the triple hill on which the marble is found being only a couple of miles in a straight line from Mawé. Our path, however, was much longer, and we had a hot walk along the ridges of the paddy-fields. An hour and a quarter of such walking brought us to the little village of Kamagoong, nestled in a little hollow on the south side of the hill.

Immediately behind the village rose the eastern slope of the Marble-Hill, standing up at an angle of 30° or 35° to a height of 600 feet, and dropping steeply, almost precipitously, on the west side down into the rice-swamps. Down the bushy eastern slope seemed to pour the white streams of the marble débris. Eastward a tract of slightly elevated ground joined this almost isolated group of hills to the base of the Shan mountains, eight or ten miles distant; and in the hollow beyond this rising ground to the northward lay a compact and pleasant-looking town, called Tsagyin, from which the hill is named.

Even here, at Kamagoong, they had somehow heard of our coming, and in the village zayát we found a guard prepared to receive us. Four or five had fire-arms, as many more had spears, or old bayonets lashed to bamboos. The men came from the neighbouring town just mentioned.

The ascent was steep, and in the sun the glare from the stream-like trains of white marble chips and blocks dazzled the eyes like the Himalayan snows. It was not without difficulty that we could get one of the lazy Burman villagers to accompany us to the top as cicerone. But neither he nor any now in the village were workers in the quarries. These, as we understood, came from Sagain during the dry weather, and paid a tax to the King for the privilege of working and carrying away the marble. This is found on the slanting face of the hill, and the quarrying process consists merely in splitting away blocks from the rock where it crops out on the surface. Excavation is attempted to a very trifling extent only.

On the top of the hill stands a small ruined pagoda, and it is characteristic of the entire disuse of stone for building by the Burmese, that with the splendid material at hand they had nevertheless built this pagoda of brick, which must have been brought up in many a weary load from below.

The view was very extensive. At our feet, and southward, stretched a great tract of green rice cultivation; but it surprised us to see how very few the villagers were, even in this rich plain, and how much of the apparent level in other directions was quite uncultivated. Northward, that channel of the Irawadi by which we had ascended to Mawé was seen winding as far as the eye could distinguish, and separated from the main stream, which continued to hug the high ground on the west, by a wide tract of alluvial islands and interlacing creeks. But the finest feature in the whole panorama continued to be the broken, Gibraltar-like ridge of the Mya-leit-doung, nearly eastward from the capital.

On coming down from the mountain we found our deceitful Madéyá Bo had actually followed us, and as he had brought ponies with him he was not unwelcome. We returned to Mawé and continued our voyage. The marble is chiefly carried off to Amarapoora and

Sagain for conversion into images. Another purpose for which it is used is the manufacture of ten-viss weights. These are hemispherical blocks, usually ornamented with radiating flutes or grooves. A number of them were lying half finished at Mawé. For these half a tikàl was charged. For the finished weight from two to three tikàls.

The eastern channel by which we were now ascending bears the name of *Mawé Mhit*, or Serpent River, which its windings justify.

We did not reach its bifurcation from the main stream till considerably past noon next day (24th). The cause of this bifurcation is probably the rocky castle-like hill called Ket-thén-doung, which rises like an island from the alluvial plain, and acts as a *partiteur* to the flood waters.

This eminence is about 180 feet in height, and as might be expected, its summit is crowded with pagodas, flagstaves, and other emblems of Burman devotion. A village of the same name, containing some 250 houses, descends to the shore of the Mawé Mhit. In the street-stalls of the village we saw rude imitations of English scissors, steatite pencils, zigzag crackers, the usual weights in the form of the Henza bird, &c.

Two miles above, where we re-entered the main river, we reached the town of Tsengoo, from which I intended to return next day to Amarapoora. It was a pretty secluded spot. A dyke of greenstone rose at several points along the shore in rudely columnar blocks, crowned with pagodas and wooden zayáts and monastic buildings, whilst very noble peepul trees (which, perhaps slightly differing in species, have here a freer and grander growth than is common in India) shaded the green bays between those rocky eminences.

The village is a considerable one, numbering three or four hundred houses, but is intensely quiet and rural, buried in the abundant shade of noble trees, and without even a bazar, a thing which we find in much smaller places. It is a *Myo*; the proper application of which is to a place which is, or has been, walled, and the remains of the ramparts still exist, far exceeding the shrunken dimensions of the town. Tsengoo is the seat of a Tseet-ké or judge, as well as of a Myo-thoogyi or mayor, and of a Myo-woon or governor; the last non-resident.

Having intimated to the Bo my intention of returning very early in the morning, he begged I would stay to breakfast at Tseengoo, and, by way of inducement, sent to say that the gentlemen would surely visit the cave of Oungmeng and the Shwé Malé pagoda. Not having heard of this cave before, and having no reason to think highly of the Bo's veracity, we were disposed to think he might have invented it for the nonce. However, the villagers assured us that there was such a cave in the skirt of the hills, seven or eight miles distant, much frequented by holiday pilgrims at certain seasons. Presently the Bo himself came to press his point. But when he found that if we should decide on going to the cave we desired to have the pleasure of his company, he immediately began to take the obstructive part, and to show excellent cause why we should never be able to accomplish the trip in one day.

25th September.—The Bo, *bongré malgré*, had provided ponies for us, and we got off soon after six, which was marvellously early for Burma. Our road lay at first through flooded hollows, and then through dry and pleasant lanes, amid jungle of crooked bamboos, jujube,

acacia, and other trees. Only one teak-tree we saw, not a very large specimen of its kind, but rich in gigantic leaves and hanging blossoms. We passed two villages, Kyou-beng and Di-gá, surrounded by fields of tall Indian corn. In these we noticed a new and elaborate apparatus for scaring birds. A split bamboo, having the two halves kept apart by a short horizontal pin, was stuck in the ground. On the pin another long bamboo rested slanting. These were planted at intervals all over the field, and strings from the slanting bamboo passed over the tops of fixed poles, and concentrated in the elevated lodge of the boy-watcher, who tugged at them in succession, so that the clattering noise of the bamboo, rising and falling again in the split, gave the depredators no repose.

At these little villages, as well as at occasional zayáts by the roadside, we found, as usual, the militia turned out to receive us, in parties varying from six or eight to fifteen or twenty, and armed with spears and dhas, and a few old muskets. The last two miles of our road lay much in rice-swamp, or along the muddy *douls** between the fields. Nearly eight miles from Tsengoo, crossing the Malé Khyong, a clear mountain stream, we soon reach the village of Malé, consisting of 100 or 150 houses at the mouth of a valley running some miles up into the hills. Up this valley runs one road to the forbidden district of the Ruby-mines. A gay group of temples crowned the termination of a jutting spur above us, up which we mounted by a paved and parapetted sloping ascent. We were here in a bight of the mountains, which limited our view. The land between us and the Irawadi showed extensive patches of rice cultivation, but the few villages were scarcely visible among the trees, and Tsengoo-myo was only to be recognised by one or two pagoda tops among the mango groves. The lands near the Malé were irrigated by artificial cuts from the river.

Descending behind the temples we walked a mile, by a path through meagre forest, to the cave, which is situated on the neck joining the spur on which the pagodas stand to the hills behind. Having reached the entrance we sat down awhile, whilst the guides manufactured torches of dry bamboo fasces.

The descents to the cave are two, both by ladders. By one of these, and by a short sloping passage, descending to a depth of five-and-twenty feet or so from the entrance, we found ourselves in a hall of considerable size and some forty or forty-five feet in height. We then turned aside into a narrow closet, where the suffocating smoke of the bamboo torches almost made us give up the undertaking, ascended another ladder, went on our hands and knees to traverse a low passage, crossed a chasm on ricketty poles, and then through another contracted passage emerged on a second considerable chamber. There were some large sheets of stalactite here, and masses of stalagmite, but the limestone did not appear to be of a kind to form stalactite freely, and the usual icicles and fanciful pinnacles and mouldings of a limestone cavern were almost awanting. In some natural stalactitic niches at one end of the chamber were enshrined a few small gilt Gautamas, and before them hung a thick screen of pendant stalactite, which when beaten with a mallet gave forth a dull drum-like sound, and supplied the place of the bell in Buddhistic places of worship.

We could not find or hear of any passage leading further. The whole extent of the

* *Doul*—(Hind.) The ridge or small embankment dividing fields.

cavern was probably not more than ninety or one hundred yards. We were not sorry to have visited it, but the bamboo fasces which were used as torches were too green, and the light was insufficient. One effect, however, was peculiarly grand, when from the inner extremity of the great hall we saw the Burmans descending from the small crevice of daylight into the darkness, bearing aloft their feeble torches.

When we asked jocularly, before entering the cave, whether there were any *bilús* there, the people answered "No; there is a *Phya*," (an image of the Buddha). The latter they seemed to think a perfect antidote against the presence of evil beings.

Emerging from the cave, we descended the other side of the ridge and returned to Malé by a better road. At the zayát, the local authorities refreshed us kindly with weak tea and fresh cocoa-nuts. The latter were particularly grateful to our smoked, parched, and dusty throats. We were doubtless the first Englishmen who had ever been at Shwé Malé; and considering that we had just been crawling on our hands and knees over a flooring of bat's dung and old torch-ashes, I fear we did not give a very favourable impression of our nation.

We returned to Tsengoo, and there parted with regret, as I did not consider it right to be longer absent from the Envoy. Mr. Oldham continued to ascend the river. A few notes of his voyage he has kindly enabled me to extract or abridge from his journal.

After passing Kulé, a small village at the base of the little hill north of Tsengoo, the character of the river changed materially. The banks were now on both sides steep, and wooded to the water's edge; the river was well defined throughout, and no sandbanks or islands broke up the channel. Though this was greatly in favour of the beauty of scenery, it excluded good points for carrying on the survey.*

The same character marked the banks for many miles. Villages were few, there being in fact no level ground for the people to take possession of. And what villages there were, here and there, consisted of only a few houses.

About thirty miles above Tsengoo is Thika-dau, a small village of not more than eighteen houses on the west bank, and exactly opposite to a small island in the stream, on which is situated an old pagoda and some kyoungs, which occupy all its surface. The upper end of the island is protected by large piles and a framework of timber, but even with this precaution it appears to be gradually wearing away. Round about the pagoda on Thika-dau island are some very good bells, not very large, but very well cast. Of these there are seven, and they form very nearly a correctly attuned chime. In fact, a little filing from one of them would put them in perfect tune. They are sufficiently near being in tune to give by no means an unpleasing effect when struck in succession as chimes. "I heard several

* This is the lowest of those defiles or passes of the Irawadi which the Burmese call *Kyouk-dwen* ("rock-pool"). The middle Kyouk-dwen is a short distance below Bamó; and the upper and most formidable is forty or fifty miles above Bamó, terminating ten miles below the junction of the Mogoung river. The last defile is a remarkable one. The river contracts in some places to fifty yards (or even to thirty, according to Hannay); and it is so deep that in places Dr. Bayfield is stated to have found no bottom at forty fathoms. (?) When Drs. Griffith and Bayfield descended in April 1837, the river rose in this pass ten feet in one night. (Griffith's *Posthumous Papers*, p. 94; Hannay's *Journal as above.*)

times," says Mr. Oldham, "the visitors to the pagoda on the conclusion of their prayers striking these bells, and fancy at once carried me back to England and its village chimes."

The curious narrative that follows I must also give in Mr. Oldham's own words. It occurs in his account of his return voyage.

"Having gone over the little island, I returned to my boat, where a sight awaited me, that I confess astonished me more than anything I have ever seen before.

"On nearing the island as we descended the river, the headman in the boat had commenced crying out *tet-tet! tet-tet!* as hard as he could, and on my asking him what he was doing, he said he was calling the fish. My knowledge of Burmese did not allow me to ask him further particulars, and my interpreter was in the other boat, unwell.

"But, on my coming down to the boat again, I found it surrounded on both sides with large fish, some three or four feet long; a kind of blunt-nosed, broad-mouthed dog-fish. Of these there were, I suppose, some fifty. In one group, which I studied more than the others, there were ten. These were at one side of the boat, half their bodies, or nearly half, protruded vertically from the water, their mouths all gaping wide. The men had some of the rice prepared for their own dinners, and with this they were feeding them, taking little pellets of rice, and throwing these down the throats of the fish. Each fish, as he got something to eat, sunk, and having swallowed his portion, came back to the boat-side for more. The men continued occasionally their cry of *tet-tet-tet!* and, putting their hands over the gunnel of the boat, stroked down the fish on the back, precisely as they would stroke a dog. This I kept up for nearly half-an-hour, moving the boat slightly about, and invariably the fish came at call, and were fed as before. The only effect which the stroking down or patting on the back of the fish seemed to have, was to cause them to gape still wider for their food. During March I am told there is a great festival here, and it is a very common trick for the people to get some of the fish into the boat, and even to gild their backs by attaching some gold leaf, as they do in the ordinary way to pagodas, &c. On one of these fish, remains of the gilding were visible. I never was so amused or astonished. I wished to have one of the fish to take away as a specimen, but the people seemed to think it would be a kind of sacrilege, so I said nothing more on the point. The Phoongyis are in the habit of feeding them daily, I was informed. Their place of abode is the deep pool formed at the back of the island, by the two currents meeting round its sides. And it is, it appears, quite a sight, which the people from great distances come to see, as well as to visit the Pagoda, which is said to be very ancient and much venerated."

On the east or left bank, immediately opposite, is the village of Yuwazó, consisting of about twenty houses, and occupying a small strip of flat ground in front of the hills. From this there is a direct road to the Ruby-mines, which the people told Mr. Oldham (apparently with great exaggeration) were 15 days distant. The road passes up and down all the minor ridges, and crosses near the highest point of the great range called Shwé-oo-doung.* The mines are said to be 16 miles to the east of this range.

* I refer to Mr. Oldham's report for the information that he was able to collect about the Ruby-mines.

Their locality is always called by the old travellers, "Kapelan," or "Capelangan;" sometimes

Gold is washed in the streams about here, and successfully; but not with any system or skill. Just as the people have leisure, they work for a few days. The pits are never deeper than eight feet.

27th. Mr. Oldham visited the coal to the westward of the river in this neighbourhood. An account of what he saw will be found in his Geological report, in the Appendix.

"In returning," he says, "at about a mile from the coal, we came upon a large hamadryad snake. One of the men had a double-barrelled gun, but when he attempted to fire it (an old flint gun, carried, as usual among the Burmese, without priming) all the rest cried to him to stop. I said, Shoot him! but the snake looked at us, and glided away unhurt. I asked why he did not shoot it. The reply was curious, as bearing out a statement in Mason's Tenasserim, which I confess I did not credit before:* they said it would, if hurt, turn after and chase them; so it got off. It was about nine feet long."

On the 28th, two other sites of coal were visited. On the 29th, Mr. Oldham ascended the river to Malé, the only large village met with since leaving Tsengoo. It is situated on a bold rocky point, crowned with pagodas and some fine trees, and with the long lines of houses stretching southward from the point.

Behind the pagodas are several kyoungs, pretty and well ornamented, though not of great size. The village consists mainly of one long street. The houses are good, and the people all look comfortable and well off. There was no great evidence of trade, however, excepting in tea, of which large quantities were lying before the houses, in the baskets in which it had been brought across from the Shan-Paloung territory. This was all of the kind they call *wet tea*. This is prepared subsequently by the Burmans themselves into

spoken of as a kingdom, sometimes as a city, or as a great mountain. The name is suggestive of the *Paloungs*, a tribe inhabiting the hills immediately east of the mines. If one might hazard a further suggestion, *Kha*, signifying river in the language of the adjoining Kakhyens, *Kha-Paloun* may have been the name of the valley. The old Portuguese "Summary of Eastern Realms, Cities, and Peoples," translated in Ramusio (vol. i.), says that about Capelangan there are "*molte terre habitate da gente non molto domestica*," a description applying strictly to the Kakhyens, if not to the more industrious Paloungs.

In the thirteenth century the Talain chronicles speak of a kingdom of "Kanpalane" to the northward of the then kingdom of Martaban. (Mason's *Natural Productions of Burma*, p. 435.) But this can scarcely have been so far north as the Ruby-mine district.

* "The natives describe a venomous serpent that grows ten or twelve feet long, with a short blunt head, a dilatable neck, thick trunk, and short tail. It is of a darker colour than the common cobra, nearly black. I have never seen it, but the description given me accords so well with the generic characters of hamadryas, that it must be a species of that genus. 'The hamadryas,' says Dr. Cantor, 'is very fierce, and is always ready not only to attack, but to pursue when opposed;' this, too, is a conspicuous trait in our Tenasserim serpent. An intelligent Burman told me that a friend of his one day stumbled upon a nest of these serpents, and immediately retreated, but the old female gave chase. The man fled with all speed over hill and dale, dingle and glade, and terror seemed to add wings to his flight, till reaching a small river he plunged in, hoping he had then escaped his fiery enemy, but lo! on reaching the opposite bank, up reared the furious hamadryad, its dilate eyes glistening with rage, ready to bury its fangs in his trembling body. In utter despair he bethought himself of his turban, and in a moment dashed it upon the serpent, which darted upon it like lightning, and for some moments wrecked its vengeance in furious bites, after which it returned quietly to its former haunts." (Mason's *Natural Productions of Burma*, p. 345.)

their pickled tea (*hlapét*), in the manner which has been before described. The infusion of this wet tea is also used occasionally.

The women at Malé were very decidedly taller than is usual; probably two inches on the average above the average height of other Burman women; quite large-looking women, and fairer too than common. The men did not appear taller or better made than usual, but were perhaps, on the whole, a little fairer. But the great stature of the women was strikingly remarkable.*

Looking eastward from Malé over Tsan-pé-nago, there is a noble range of hills forming the back-ground. These rise in bold and craggy peaks, and attain an elevation of probably some 6000 feet. This is the range mentioned above under the name of Shwé-oo-doung, and as being only 16 miles to the westward of the Ruby-mines. There is a road from Tsan-pé-nago also; very hilly doubtless, and very circuitous probably; but still it seemed scarcely possible that it should be more than seven or eight days' journey at most.†

Above Malé the character of the river channel changes again, and resumes the same wide, flat, and open aspect as between Tsengoo and Sagain. Numerous large sandy islands and banks fill up the broad valley, and to the east the hills die away and recede from the bank for miles.

On these noble hills, which divide the valley of the Irawadi from the Ruby-mine district, the people of Malé said that snow lay for five months in the year; but that they were only occasionally and unfrequently visible, from the constant fog and mist which hung round them.

On the west bank beyond the broad bay just above Malé, small hills come down to the river bank, and continue for many miles. These hills, called the Menwun-Toung, are said by the people to be a continuation of the Sagain ridge. They are of no great height, the most elevated point being probably not more than 600 feet above the river.

From Malé, Mr. Oldham turned backwards to the capital.

30th. Mr. Oldham relates another instance of the obstructiveness and reckless inveracity of Burman officials that occurred at Thika-dau on his descent.

"I had desired a man to be sent yesterday out to the coal-pits for specimens of coal, to be ready for me on my arrival to-day. But on reaching Thika-dau, the Bo, or chief man, said that the coal had not arrived; the man was gone that morning, and would be back presently; would I just sit down and wait awhile? he would be back immediately. I said I would do no such thing; I would go straight on as I had intended, and would simply report that he had not got me what I wanted. I got into the boat and ordered it to be shoved off, when the coal appeared, carried down on a man's shoulders. 'Oh,' I said,

* A little higher up the river, Colonel Hannay noticed that some of the young men and women were remarkably good-looking, with quite a Hindoo caste of countenance, and fine white teeth, unusual in Burma. They were, however, quite offended at the doubt intimated by Colonel Hannay's question as to their Burman lineage.

† Three or four days' journey, Colonel Hannay gathered. But in that officer's journal a little further on, it appears that the distance from Tagoung on the Irawadi to Momeit, the chief place of the Ruby district, was three or four days for a foot traveller, but *ten* days for a laden bullock.

'there is some coal, then!' 'It is just this moment arrived,' said the Bo; 'the man has just come in.' I looked at it and said, 'Well, this is very extraordinary. It is only this moment arrived, and we have just had an excessively heavy shower, yet the coal is *quite dry!*' This quite dumbfounded them, and they turned away, partly to laugh, partly ashamed of being so easily caught in this barefaced lie. Here, as at Madéyá and elsewhere, I can only fancy that the object of the officers sent with us was simply to delay us another day, to have an excuse for screwing some of the unfortunate villagers, under pretence of the expense of supporting me."

Leaving Mr. Oldham, I take up my own narrative from our parting at Tsengoo, on the 25th. In descending the river, I kept to the main channel of the Irawadi, instead of following again the windings of the Mawé Mhit, by which we had come up. About sunset I stopped for half an hour at the contiguous large villages of Thézeik and Yuwa-thit on the western bank, where some of my boatmen wished to call at their homes. Going into the court-yard of a monastery, some of the younger monks asked me to go up-stairs, and I was courteously received by a mild and well-mannered Poongyi. In answer to my questions, he said there were thirty residents in the monastery, of whom ten were regular monks called *oupazen*, and himself the superior, or Poongyi properly so called.

There were handsome cabinets of carved and gilt wood in the room before which we sat; and as he said they contained books, I asked to see them. Two that he showed me were both, he said, in Pali. One was neatly and closely written with the style on palm leaves, as usual. The other was written with a thick black gum on a gilt material, too thick for palm leaf; ivory, probably. It was very richly gilt and ornamented, but the letters, which were of the square form, were large and coarsely formed. Their books, it is scarcely necessary to say, consist of an aggregation of long, narrow, loose leaves, packed between two outer boards, and so tied in a bundle. These books measured about twenty inches in length, by eight in depth, and four in thickness; the last dimension being the width of the page. They were carefully wrapped up in cloth, and tied with neat inscribed tapes of the kind described in Chapter V. One of these in silk, which the old Poongyi with a little pride said had been woven by the Rani of Mogoung, was exquisitely done. The Burmese pay great reverence to their books, *shikho*-ing or making a salám to them, and look with great horror at *our* irreverent treatment of books. To sit on a box of books they would consider absolute profanation.

Night fell, but there was a glorious full moon, and we continued our voyage. A group of temples called Shwé-doung-oo-mau, of which one was gilt, and the others bright with whitewash, stood on a conical hill of a hundred and fifty feet high, forming a bold promontory over the river, and attracted me to land. A long staircase, flanked all the way up by lions, which gleamed white in the moonlight, ascended on the north side; a sloping paved path, covered in with a wooden awning, on the south. At the top was a double terrace, with parapet, temples, sacred masts, &c., as usual. There was nothing remarkable in the structure, but the pure white of the temples and parapets in that glorious moonlight, and the great river of trembling silver below, made it a charming scene. The boatmen who went up with me sat down before the Gautama, in a wooden shed, before the principal

pagoda, and recited their prayers. I was surprised to see that two of them were shaking the while with suppressed laughter, which exploded very audibly as they rose to their feet. It was something, they said, in the dilapidated raiment of the man in front of them that took their humour so strongly.

These boatmen were willing, good-humoured fellows, and I liked them much better than the Burmese officials. On Dugald Dalgetty's principles, they seemed to lose no opportunity of laying in "provant." If we started betimes in the morning, they cooked and ate before unmooring; and if, as usual, we halted for our own breakfast about nine o'clock, immediately their cooking-pot was again a-boiling.*

A mile below the Pagodas I reached Shem-pa-gá, or Shein-magá, where I stopped for the night.

This is a large and busy village, containing, probably, six hundred houses, and having a large bazaar. The people are much occupied with the trade in salt, made in the low grounds behind the Sagain hills and away towards Mout-sho-bo,† in fishing, and in supplying the capital with firewood. Shem-pa-gá, with En-doung, passed last night, and a few other villages, forms a small district under a Bo. Captain Hannay mentions it twenty years ago as assigned for the support of the Queen's palankeen bearers. Next evening (26th) I reached the Residency.

On the 3rd October, with Major Allan, Dr. Forsyth, and Lieutenant Heathcote, I paid a visit to the old capital.‡ The communication between our lake and the Myit-ngé, by which we had first arrived at the residency, had for some days been entirely stopped, and we did not even pass through the Sagyeen-wa creek, which leads directly to the great river, without grounding once or twice in the Zenobia's gig. The river rose several feet after this, and did not sink quite so low again up to the date of our leaving. Sudden and frequent fluctuations are characteristic of the Irawadi, which in this differs from the great rivers of Gangetic India.

On our way down to Ava we halted to breakfast at the Shwé-khet-kya, or "descent of the golden fowl," a cluster of pagodas on a high promontory over the river, the face of which is revetted with a high wall. Here the river is hemmed into one distinct full channel between two decided banks, and there are no islands. A little further down on the same bank is the Shwé-kyet-yet, or "scratching of the golden fowl," (these names both refer to an uninteresting legend,) a large square pagoda on a hill top, which had been a very prominent object from our anchorage at Sagain. On each of the four sides there is a

* Colonel Hannay says in his journal that he had noticed that whatever a Burman boatman eats in addition *to his rice* is *generally stolen.*

† For an account of this salt manufacture, see Mr. Oldham's Geological Report in the Appendix.

‡ Ava, the state name of which is Ratnapoora, or Gem-City, is stated to have been founded A.D. 1364, by Thado-men-bya, Prince of Tagoung, who mastered the kingdoms of Panya and Sagain, into which the country was then divided. It continued to be usually the royal residence, with some intervals, till the end of the last century. The first mention of Ava by any European traveller, so far as I can find, is that by Nicolo di Conti, who was there about 1440. (Ramusio, i. 340.)

In 1526 the Shans of Monyin and Mogoung took the city, and overran the country, of which they held possession till 1554. In that year the Toungoo King of Pegu, Tshen-byoo-myá-yen ('Lord of many white elephants') conquered Ava and destroyed the city. The King Nyoung-men-tará, who re-

handsome gable porch of gilt timber, with other similar structures on the terrace,* the pillars of which were gaily ornamented with bands of mosaic work in mirror, which had a brilliant effect. The umbrellas, flagstaves, &c., the usual accompaniments of a pagoda, were also of unusual splendour, and the images were gilt and set with coloured stones; real or artificial, I cannot say. The ascent is by a long staircase, lined on each side with pagodas and small kyoungs.

We spread our breakfast on a square table-like platform in a zayát, at the foot of the Shwé-kyet-kya. As we were seated round this, many old women entered, bringing with them baskets of plantains, &c., apparently their food for the day. They spread a mat in front of our table with much care, but we did not comprehend what they intended, till a youngish Poongyi entered and seated himself on the mat. We then began to entertain the distressing suspicion that we had in our ignorance taken the reverend man's pulpit for our pic-nic-table! Carefully holding the peculiar talipat fan, which the priests carry on occasions of duty, so as to screen the congregation from his view, he commenced reciting what seemed to be a liturgic prayer. In this the women took part by regular responses, joining their hands and bowing their heads towards him. It was interesting to see a fat little three-year-old child trying to join his chubby hands and bow like his old grandmother. After this had gone on for a short time, the Poongyi gave them a sermon or address, delivered in a nasal monotone like all their recitations. He then rose and departed without noticing us. The whole service did not occupy more than twenty minutes. This was the third of the moon's quarters, each of which is a Sabbath or worship-day with a Burmese, and these old ladies had probably come out from the city to make a day of it and enjoy a religious holiday.†

established the city and kingdom, after the fall of Pegu, in 1601, appears to have been a natural son of the conqueror.

Ava was taken again by the Peguers, during their short resumption of independence, in 1752. They were speedily expelled by Alompra, but he always resided at Mout-sho-bo; and when Captain Baker passed through Ava in 1755 there were not more than one thousand families in the city, and scarcely a single building of importance. When Captain Alves arrived as Envoy in 1760, he found the King Noung-dau-gyi, Alompra's eldest son and successor, at Sagain, besieging Ava which was in a state of rebellion. On the accession of Tshen-byoo-yen in 1763, Ava was again made the royal seat. It was abandoned on the foundation of Amarapoora in 1783, and re-occupied in 1823 by the King and Queen, who entered in great state, accompanied by the white elephant, and by all the dignitaries of the Court, and Governors and Tsaubwas of the provinces. Ava was again deserted in 1837 by Tharawadi, who had vowed to make it a heap of ruins. (Burney, in *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Ben.* vols. v. 164, and vi. 121, &c.; and MS. Letter to Govt. dated 5th July, 1832; Sangermano, chap. viii.; Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*, i. 170, &c.; Symes's *Embassy*; Judson's *Life*, i. 269.)

* Readers of this narrative are probably tired of pagodas before now. But in Burma people *do* get very tired of pagodas, and the report would scarcely convey a just impression of the extent to which the country is overlaid with them, if it did not communicate a little of the same feeling to the reader.

† These sermons are more properly perhaps recitations of passages in the Buddhist sacred writings. The preacher is not necessarily a monk. Judson thus describes the discourse of a popular lay-preacher at Rangoon:—"His subject was the conversion of the two prime disciples of Gautama, and their subsequent promotion and glory. His oratory I found to be entirely different from all that we call oratory. At first he seemed dull, and monotonous; but presently his soft and mellifluous tones win their way into the heart, and lull the soul into that state of calmness and serenity, which to a Burman mind somewhat resembles the boasted perfection of their saints of old." (*Life*, i. 169.)

We landed at the mouth of the Myit-ngé, which is still the great boat-port of the capital, and shows a very large collection of craft, larger than that at Amarapoora. Some of the boats, or ships rather, must have been close on 150 tons burden. The craft of all sorts at the capital cities, exclusive of mere canoes, reached a number of some 1200.

Some distance up the Little River were lying the King's barges. One, now in decay, was formed of a pair of twin boats, the prow and stem of each moulded as a griffin's head and tail, with a high-spired pavilion on the platform. The other was a single broad boat, with a similar pavilion highly carved, and, with the exception of the deck, entirely gilt.

There is a strip of tolerably thick population along the river, and a few detached groups of cottages in the interior of the old city. But we saw no probability of the existence of a population of 15,000, which Mr. Spears ascribed to old Ava.

The ramparts still stand, though in decay, and the greater part of the interior area is a mere mass of tangled gardens and jungle. A few of the principal streets are still kept, or keep themselves, clear of overgrowth, and the others are traceable as muddy lanes at right angles to each other, but they are silent and untrodden. One large white modern pagoda, built, or thoroughly repaired, since the earthquake, rises from the thick foliage, near the west end of the river face, and is the chief mark of the site of the city to voyagers on the river. It is surrounded by a very extensive cloister, having marble Gautamas in niches ranged along it.

The river appears to be encroaching, and as the full sweep of its current from the north strikes here, it is surprising that it has not encroached more rapidly. The site of the Residency, long occupied by the respected Colonel Henry Burney, to whose MS. official journals and published papers I have been so repeatedly indebted for illustration in the course of this narrative, has been long swept into the river.

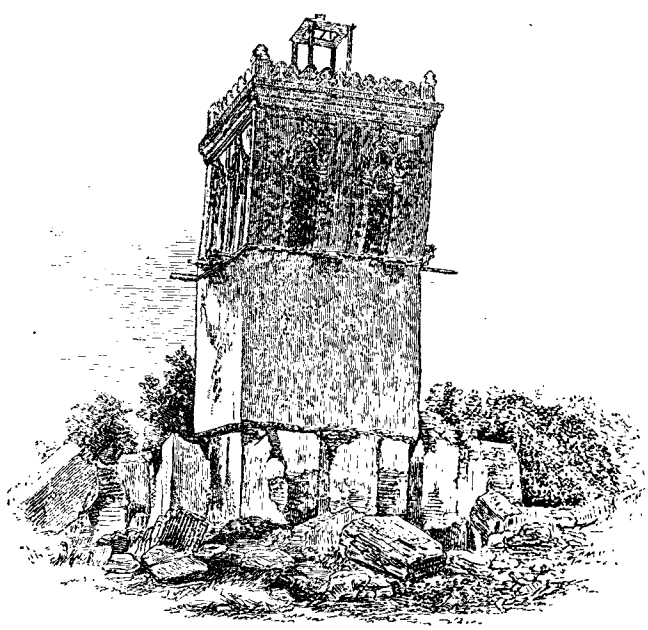


Fig. 35.

Passing a wide ditch and second wall, we entered the inner city in which the Palace stood. Little remains but the mere bases of numerous buildings, and platforms of brickwork. One high square tower, or belvedere, stands as the earthquake left it, greatly out of the perpendicular, and with the massive veranda pillars round its base staggering hither and thither, or prostrate in great unbroken masses of brickwork, giving a forcible idea of the

violence of the visitation. Near the Myit-ngé is a high terrace, with a great cluster of sacred buildings. Some of the chief of these, being of brickwork, are also shattered ruins. Though evidently modern, some of them display neatly turned arches. The Burmans have never really lost this art, though incapable of using it as their ancestors did, and sometimes exhibiting a paltry sham arch under a wooden lintel, as if mistrusting their powers of construction.

On the 8th October, after returning from the visit to the Palace which we paid on that day, in the company of Dr. Forsyth and Mr. Oldham, I started on a short excursion to the foot of the Shan Mountains, eastward of the city.

The Court had provided elephants to carry us, but not appreciating the quantity of impedimenta in the shape of bedding, basins, clean linen, and cooking-pots, which an Englishman feels constrained to carry about with him, even when roughing it to a certain extent, we had some difficulty in getting our baggage provided for. Burmese elephants are not equipped with a pad as in India, and the wretched little pannier-like howda, which sits in unstable equipoise astride of the animal's spine, limits the *bulk* of their load to less than half that of an Indian camel.

We did not get all arrangements made till nearly five o'clock, and then had some difficulty in crossing the lake, which was barely fordable by elephants, the waters having risen considerably in the last two days. The other branch of the lake, to the eastward of the city, we passed by one of the massive dams which hold up its waters, and about two miles further we halted for the night, at a dense cluster of trees and sacred buildings called Toya-gyoung—*the Jungle Monastery.*

Next day we continued to travel eastward, through continuous rice-fields, or through bushy lanes incredibly deep in mire. The whole country seemed cultivated, but villages were less frequent than one might have expected.

In the afternoon, about twelve miles from the city, we emerged from bush and mire on higher and drier ground, and reached the small village of Shan-yu-wa ("Shan village.") Here we found a deep stream, about a hundred feet wide, the Nga-doung-gya, flowing out of a large opening in the hills, which were now closing us in some miles to the north of our position, and joining the Myit-ngé a few hundred yards to the south. There was a handsome bridge, but the middle bay had been carried away, so that a passage would have involved the unloading and reloading of the elephants. The hills, which were our object, were still several miles distant, but as there was a very good timber zayát on a raised terrace over against the bridge, and other smaller sheds for the people, we determined to advance our bivouac no farther.

At the confluence of the two rivers, on a high bank over the water, we found a very beautiful little *kyoung*, called Ka-woon, backed by a cluster of pagodas. The site would have done credit to a company of Cistercians. It was most lovely as we saw it. The noble peaked and rugged ridge of Mya-leit-doung, a promontory of the mountain range, was half in purple shade, half glowing in golden green under the rays of the setting sun; to the eastward the shades were rapidly mounting over the long tabular slopes of the Shan mountains; jungle dotted with larger trees filled the flats that lay between these ranges,

From a drawing by Captn Yule after a sketch by Mr Oldham

Day & Son Lith^rs to The Queen

VIEW OF THE MYIT-NGÉ OR LITTLE RIVER AND PART OF THE VALLEY OF THE IRAWADEE FROM THE MOUNTAIN CALLED MYA_LIET

London, Smith Elder & Co 65, Cornhill.

the alluvial *strath*, in fact (as it would be called in Scotland), of the Myit-ngé, running in a long bight among the hills. This river itself, flowing in a broad full stream, the bulk of which surprised us, formed nearly a right angle just below the monastery. A mile up the valley sparkled the gilded pinnacles of the Shwé-zayán pagodas, backed by groves of tall palmyras, the sure indication of life and population amid the wilderness.

Our own bivouac was scarcely less beautiful. The Myit-ngé was invisible, but there was the smaller river below us, the massive but interrupted bridge overshadowed by fine spreading-topped acacias of a peculiarly ornamental species, two colossal leogryphs warding the descent to the bridge, the picturesque zayáts, the elephants and wild-looking soldiers of our escort in the foreground, the grand Mya-leit-doung, again in the middle distance, and behind all the grey Shan hills, seen in fragments through the branches of the acacias.

October 10th.—In the morning we crossed the smaller river in a canoe, and walked through plantain and mango orchards to Shwé-zayán, on the banks of the Myit-ngé, about a mile distant. Here we had expected to get ponies to go on to the Mya-leit mountain range, which was our object; but we had come without any official accompaniment on this occasion, and the result was, that the people declared that there were no ponies in the village, that the Thoogyi (head-man of the town) was gone away, and that we could not even have a boat to cross the river! Sending one of our people to seek for a boat, however, we visited the temples, of which a cluster crowns an eminence over the river. One of these, the Shwé-zayán, from which the village takes its name, is gilt. It is held in great esteem, and a yearly pilgrimage is made to it by all the dignitaries of the court. Hence the erection of the fine bridge at Shan-yuwa. There was nothing very remarkable about the buildings, some of which exhibited traces of the great earthquake; but one or two contained Burmese paintings, which are always more or less curious.

On the river-side there were many bullocks waiting to take loads of salt off into the Paloung country, which is the hilly region adjoining the Ruby-mines. This salt, the produce of the soil in the Sagain and Moutshobo districts, was packed in pairs of conical panniers, like gigantic strawberry pottles, about three feet high, coated internally with clay, and united by a small curved yoke to fit the bullock's back. These are the same baskets in which the wet tea for pickling comes down from the Shan and Paloung country. Much of it was lying at the landing-places, the baskets half-submerged in the river. At this season the traffic to the city is conducted by water.

Our interpreter at last having returned with a boat and with a guide to accompany us to the Mya-leit-doung, we crossed over to the small village of Mee-thuwé-bouk (charcoal-burner's village) on the other side. The Myit-ngé was here not less than three hundred yards in width, and flowing with a deep, full uniform stream and strong current. It does not, according to the people, vary nearly so much as the Irawadi, and should, from what they said, be navigable for moderate-sized boats throughout the year. It is stated to continue navigable for four days above Shwé-zayán (probably about thirty miles), and then to become rapid and rocky. The name of Myit-ngé, or Little River, is evidently bestowed in distinction from the Irawadi only.

Landing, we followed the river, which was bordered by a strip of sesamum cultivation,

for about a mile, and then struck into the jungle. The road we pursued was a cart-track, followed by wood-cutters and charcoal-burners in the dry weather. As we advanced, it became overgrown with long grass and thorns, not having been travelled over this season, and at last we found it under water. We had lost the morning by the delays at Shwé-zayán: the sun was now very powerful and the heat excessive. The Doctor, who suffered most, turned back, whilst Mr. Oldham and I continued our journey through the half inundated jungle to the spot on the east side of the ridge, which the guide pointed out as the best for commencing to ascend the mountain. After climbing the steep and stony path, apparently the shallow bed of a torrent, to a height of some three or four hundred feet, I also became ill, and had reluctantly to abandon to my friend Mr. Oldham the honour of ascending the Mya-leit-doung alone.

From the valley of the Myit-ngé, along which we had walked, the forest obscures the view of this grand ridge. Were this fine alluvial cultivated, as it might be, the scene would be magnificent. Up from the plain runs the steep dark-wooded talus of the hills; then they shoot aloft in huge precipices, broken and serrated at top into gaps and peaks, one of the highest of which, a large tabular rock, assumes from below, and even as seen from the city, exactly the aspect of the square watch-towers on the peaks of Aden; on the west the ridge sinks again in a rapid slope to the plains of Ava, the winding Myit-ngé again almost washing its base on that side as on this.

Mr. Oldham must describe for me the view from the summit of the ridge, the highest point of which he estimated at about 1700 feet. "On reaching the top, nothing was to be seen to the west but the long gorge and gap in the hill-side, densely clothed with small timber. To the north the eye ranged over the great plain of the Irawadi, with a few isolated hills starting out in the midst like islands in a great sea: and in the foreground the grand northern peak of Mya-leit, said to be called Pya-goon, rose with its steep side and broken outline in noble contrast to the flats beyond. Eastward the eye ranged over a succession of hills rising with long slopes, and smooth and very curiously unbroken outline, one above the other. The gorge of the Myit-ngé was at our feet, with its ruddy stream flowing tranquilly between its dark and well-wooded banks. * * * * The hill at the top is a very broken and irregular ridge, composed entirely of limestone rising in great rugged blocks, every crevice in which is filled with clusters of bamboos and young trees. The surface of the limestone is, as usual, eaten away into the most rugged and uneven surface. All the blocks are fallen and heaped together in the most inextricable confusion. Amid all this the dip of the beds is traceable to the East at about 50° or 60°. This dip, or rather the surface of the beds, evidently forms the slope of the hill on the east.

"From the rugged top I had a good view of the capital lying in the flat below, and of the Sagain hills, &c. These, which seemed so imposing from the Residency, here looked to be little hillocks, scarcely recognisable as such.

"I was struck with the sharpness with which the hills rise from the flats. Up to the very base of these hills the flat marshy rice country seems to spread, and then the hills rise suddenly and rapidly, like those on the banks of a sea or lake."

11*th.*—Instead of retracing our weary way to the city through the paddy-fields and mire, we succeeded in hiring a small skiff to take us down the Myit-ngé. The voyage to Amarapoora occupied seven hours. The river continued throughout our descent of almost uniform width, winding considerably, with many noble trees upon the banks, and villages pretty frequent, but none of large size. We landed only at one place, a handsome modern kyoung. It was inhabited and complete, excepting the staircases of ornamented brickwork, which are almost essential parts of a Burmese monastery. It had been built by a minister of the ex-king. The revolution took place, the minister fell into obscurity, and the monks were left without a staircase.

About four miles from the city we quitted the Myit-ngé by a channel branching off on the north bank. This brought us into the lake on which the Residency stands, at its eastern extremity.

October 16*th.*—Our last exploration of the environs of Amarapoora consisted in a visit to the ancient Irrigation tank of Oung-ben-lé. We went out by the causeway leading to the Aracan temple, and then through a tract of partially inundated fields. There was little rice in these, however—the rain having fallen very late, and the people not having been prepared for it. About five miles from the city (but by a circuitous route) we reached the embankment of the tank. It looks shallow, being almost entirely covered with lotuses

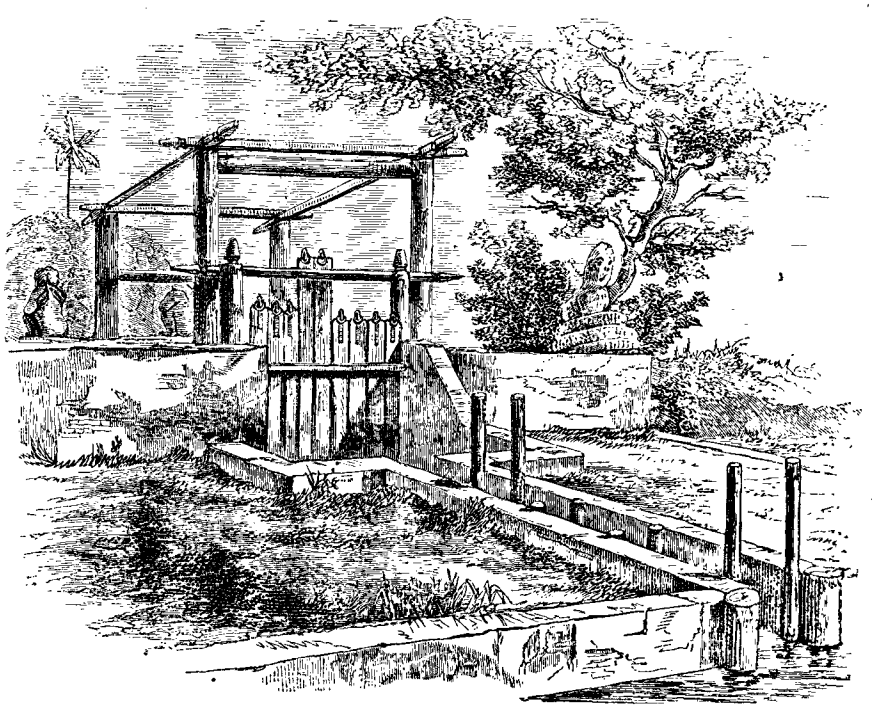


Fig. 36.

and other water-growth, so that the distant parts look like meadows, and thus the extent of the lake is not discernible. It is, however, when full, not less than from six to eight miles

long, by three in breadth at the lower end. A great part of it dries in the cold weather and is then cultivated. The banks are planted with very fine acacias. The outlets for irrigation are pretty numerous, and are both *kucha* and *pukka*, as we say in India, *i. e.* temporary and permanent. The latter (the masonry outlets) are curious and characteristically Burman, adorned with great snakes and monsters in brick-and-mortar sculpture. The sluice-gate consists of separate vertical planks dropped between pairs of teak balks. These planks are fitted with an iron eye at top, and above them a windlass or roller is supported on a massive timber frame. A rope is passed over this windlass to heave the plank, but it seemed to act merely as on a pulley; there was no handspike or other leverage.

The one large sluice seems to have been found unmanageable, for outworks have been built towards the lake with a greatly contracted opening, which was shut by a succession of rough planks, one behind the other. The pressure is no doubt considerable, for the water stood eight or nine feet above the country; and this succession of sluice-planks may have been meant to graduate it.

The rice-fields watered by this tank are called the *Le-dau-gyee*, or Great Royal Rice-fields, and are in the King's own hands, the cultivators receiving a certain number of baskets. But I believe the King does not anywhere take water-rent, though he has been restoring and extending irrigation-works considerably since the loss of Pegu, especially in the districts immediately south-east of Ava. The produce of *Le-dau-gyee* is said to be 200,000 baskets.*

The most elaborate sluice we saw was at the village of Oung-ben-lé (" cocoa-tree rice-field"). This is a small, poor hamlet, but its name has become known far and wide in England and America, and may almost be said to have become a household word in the annals of Christianity. Here, for the six latter months of the first Burmese war, was the prison of the Christian captives; and here, occupying "a little filthy room half full of grain," in the hut of one of the gaolers, that saintly and heroic woman, Ann Judson, after she had been through so many weary months a ministering angel, not only to her husband, but to all his fellow-prisoners, nearly sank under the accumulated hardships and oppressions which she had to bear from the rudest and most degraded of the Burmans; and here, during her illness, her husband, the Apostle of the Burman nations, was allowed, as a favour purchased from their gaolers, with shackled feet to go about the village, carrying his sickly child, " a beggar at the breasts of pitying mothers."†

To Oung-ben-lé also the Burmese, true to their worship of precedent, carried the Christian prisoners during the war of 1852. Though under the charge of the Lemaing-

* Burney.

† Wayland's *Life of Judson*, vol. i. I learn from Colonel Burney's Journal that, on his first coming to Ava as Resident, he sought out the two officials who are mentioned by Mrs. Judson as having shown kindness to herself and the other prisoners, Moung Shwé Loo, the Governor of the Northern Palace, and Moung Youk Kyee, the Governor of the city, making the former a special complimentary visit, and thanking the latter before the assembled courtiers, saying as publicly as possible that if that old man had done what he was repeatedly desired to do, and had assassinated the prisoners, the English and Burmese never could have been friends again, and the King's honour and character would have been irrecoverably destroyed. He also obtained leave to make special presents to these two worthy men.

Woon,* Moung Galá, one of the greatest ruffians in the country, they met with far better treatment than their predecessors. They were habitually allowed to walk out as far as the lake, and although no provision was made for them by the Government they had credit with the Chinese and others in the town, and never were very hard pressed for food. The people of the country round about used to sell them beef, having most probably stolen the cattle; and good fish were brought daily for sale, though it is prohibited on pain of death to fish in the lake. The party were kept at Oung-ben-lé from the 1st of April, 1852, till the general topsy-turvy during the revolution in the succeeding January, when their gaolers fled from the advancing insurgents, and the prisoners dispersed to their dwelling in the capital.

* The officer in charge of the royal rice-fields is so called.

CHAPTER VII.

RETURN OF THE MISSION FROM THE CAPITAL TO RANGOON.

Our Treatment at the Capital—The Personal Character of the King—His kindly Intentions and Acts—The Liberty we Enjoyed—Limit to our Intercourse with the People—The King's Character and Popularity—The Crown-Prince—The King's Refusal of a Treaty—His Motives—Dread of Disadvantageous Appearance in History—Historical Nomenclature of the Burmese Kings—The Russian War—Opening of Communication with France and America—The King's Steamer—His Wish for an Anatomical Model—Our Departure (Oct. 22d) and Escort—The old Nan-ma-dau-Woon—The Woondouk—Fall of the River—Nyoungoo and its Lacker Manufacture—The Shwé-zeegoong Pagoda—Pagán—Heavy Rain and Nocturnal Accident—Visit the Mud Volcanoes of Memboo—Arrive at Menhla, and Farewell Party at the Governor's—Pass the Frontier—Short Notice of Meaday and Thayet-myo—Customs' Statistics at Thayet-myo—Reach Prome and Rangoon—Conclusion of the Narrative.

THERE can be no doubt that our party, during its stay at the capital, as well as during the voyage up the river, had been treated with greater consideration and with more of that hospitable attention which Indian, as well as Western nations, consider due to the representatives of a foreign state, but which is altogether alien to the ancient principles and practice of the Burmans and their allied races, than had been the fortune of any previous British mission. This was partly due doubtless to the impression made by the results of the late war, and partly to the esteem and respect in which Major Phayre, from his long and thorough acquaintance with the character, manners, and literature of the Burmese, and his considerate but firm conduct towards them, was held by the King and Ministers. But it would be unjust to deny that it was also due in a great measure to the personal character of the reigning Prince. Throughout our stay his demeanour was most kindly to the Envoy, as well as to all the other members of the mission, when opportunity offered; and I may say with truth, that a kindly and respectful feeling towards the King was reciprocated by all these officers. It was evident that every endeavour had been made to fit up the dwelling prepared for us in such a way as he supposed would make us comfortable. Good bread was provided for our use daily at the King's charges; horses and elephants were furnished for our use; the amusements in which the people themselves delight were supplied only too copiously for our taste; and the King's care was not confined to the officers. The welfare of the European soldiers was a frequent subject of the King's inquiry; they were (with the whole of our numerous retinue, indeed) provided entirely at his Majesty's expense; of the numerous dishes of Burmese sweetmeats, with fruits and other delicacies, which were sent daily from the Palace to the Residency, a part was always destined expressly for the

European soldiery; and there was not an individual in the whole of our party of nearly five hundred who was allowed to leave without some small present from the King in remembrance of his visit to Amarapoora.* From differences of taste, or from the apathy and trickery inherent in petty officials, the King's kind intentions did not always take full effect. But we could not be the less sensible that his intentions were really kind and hospitable.

If some of the excursions that we should have wished to make, such as a visit to the Ruby-mine district, or to the city of Moutshobo, the cradle of the reigning dynasty, were thwarted by excuses more or less plausible (always made to turn on the King's regard for our comfort and safety), still the degree of liberty in this respect that was conceded to those members of the mission who chose to take advantage of it was greater than could well have been expected, especially if it be remarked that the objects of the mission, as partly one of inquiry, had been previously trumpeted in the Calcutta newspapers, which are regularly received by his Majesty, and gleaned for his benefit by the European or Armenian frequenters of the Court.† Some of the officers spent days in wandering about the streets of Amarapoora, and studying its peculiarities, without attendance, and without insult on any occasion; the use of surveying instruments was carried on without hindrance, resulting in the completion of Major Allan's beautiful map of the capital and its environs; and numerous fossils were collected by the King's orders for Mr. Oldham's gratification.

With all these concessions there were, however, stringent limits to our intercourse with the King's subjects. Scarcely a soul dared come to our residence, and so strict was the watch kept on the few who did come, that not one of them probably escaped unmarked, and some were known to be punished. This may have been the work of inferior officers, but of the fact there is no doubt.

The King is, without doubt, a remarkable man for a Burman; but rather in moral than in intellectual character, though his intelligence, also, is above the average. For the first time since the present dynasty acquired the throne, in 1752, if we may not say rather for the first time in the whole history, the Sovereign of Burma is just and mild in temper, easy of access, hears or seeks to hear everything for himself, is heartily desirous that his subjects shall not be oppressed, and strives to secure their happiness. He is, in fact, as far as we can judge, a man of conscience and principle. The very monopolies of trade which he has established in his own behalf have been created with the intention (however short-sighted) of securing a revenue without the infliction of taxation on his people. And if there is any extravagance in his expenditure, it shows itself rather in the liberality of his gifts than in selfish indulgences.

There can be no doubt of his personal popularity. The people speak in terms of ad-

* The day before we embarked, the King sent a silk *putso* and a Shan briquet for every soldier of the escort; and a small lackered box, a Shan jacket, or what-not, for every Indian servant and lascar.

† It is quite customary for Burmese Envoys to take copious notes of all the information they can collect about the countries they visit. Examples of their Journals may be seen in Burney's account of Burmese Embassies to China (*Journal Asiatic Soc. Beng.* vi. 405, et seq.); and in extracts from the Journals kept by the Burmese Envoys to Bengal in 1831-33, given by the same author in *Asiatic Researches*, xx. p. 184.

miration of his good qualities, and uniformly, and with apparent sincerity, declare that they never had a King so just and so beneficent. The contrast with what they have known heretofore, by experience or by tradition, must be powerful.

He is too sagacious to suppose that he can stand against the British power, and, as long as he lives and reigns, peace will probably be maintained. But he does not the less continue to hanker after the province he has lost, and to listen eagerly to reports which hold out a chance, however vague or distant, of his being able one day to recover it through some disaster to the British power. The predominant influence formerly attributed to the Ein-shé-men, or Heir-apparent, no longer exists. He has the position which properly belongs to his station, but nothing more.

It has been seen that his Majesty's prejudice against putting his name to a treaty proved unconquerable. During the early part of our stay, when some preliminary communications on the subject took place through Messrs. Spears and Camaretta, these gentlemen were inclined to think the King not adverse to such a treaty as was proposed to him. But Major Phayre's interview with him on the 21st September was the only occasion on which he allowed the subject to be entered on with him personally, and then he adjourned the question. And from this time he seemed to be making up his mind to a refusal. An interview for the further consideration of the matter was constantly deferred, whilst his Majesty's request, that the Envoy would not enter on the subject with the Woongyi, appeared intended to reserve it for personal discussion with himself. To have disregarded the King's request could not have inclined him to view the demand more favourably, but the Envoy's compliance with it evidently perplexed the Minister, who expected him to bring forward the subject during their conversation on the 4th October. On the 10th of that month the King at length announced that he could not grant a private audience for the discussion of the treaty, and referred the Envoy to the Woongyi. The result of their interviews on the 12th and 16th October has been related in the foregoing pages.

A variety of motives were probably acting on the King in his refusal to sign a treaty. In the first place, there is not a doubt that he is keenly sensitive as to what may be written of him in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Burma, and feels that his name might be dishonoured if connected with the yielding of territory, even tacitly.* When he ordered

* The *name* of every Burman disappears when he gets a title of rank or office, and is heard no more. And the name, properly speaking, of the reigning King seems to have no existence. He is *The King;* that is enough. Hence there is a sort of vagueness and want of definition, if I may so say, in speaking of past Kings. I never could learn any name for the ex-King except that he was the *Pagán-Men;* that is to say, he was Prince of Pagán before he came to the throne. So with the King's father. We call him King Tharawadi, because he was known as Prince of Tharawadi before he came to the throne. But this is like calling William III. or IV. King Orange, or King Clarence. Hence the various Kings are known in history, either by some vague sounding title which they assume on coming to the throne, like "Great King of Righteousness," or "Lord of White Elephants," or by some *nickname*, derived from facts in their history or personal relations, and applied after their death. Thus we have one late King always spoken of as the "Grandfather King," a title which must have been given during the reign of his grandson, who succeeded him. This grandson is generally known as the Noung-dau-gyi, or Royal Elder Brother, because he was so called in the time of his younger brother, Tharawadi, who deposed him. At the time of the French Revolution, in 1830, the Woongyis always spoke of Charles X. as "The King-set-up-

a copy of the Royal History to be presented to the Envoy, the latter heard him give some directions in an under-tone regarding the period up to which the history was to be given. It proved to be brought no further than 1822, so that the narrative of his uncle's loss of territory was not included. He, no doubt, considered that many chances might arise to render a treaty avoidable. First, among these, came the war with Russia. He was told by the Armenians, of whom some are bitter enemies to the British, and all hearty partizans of the Czar, that the Russians are invincible, that they would certainly conquer India, and that we should have to withdraw our troops from Pegu to resist them.* The Santàl insurrection, too, was (not unnaturally) made much of, and tended to strengthen the hope that his opportunity was coming. The excuse, grounded on a professed hope that the new Governor-general might grant better terms, Major Phayre considered to be rather a clumsy device for procrastination, than a serious belief that such might really be the case. The mission to the Emperor of the French, in 1856, was probably taken up in the idea that the Emperor might influence the Queen of England in the King's favour; and various articles from London papers are believed to have been represented to His Majesty as indications that he is likely to meet with a more favourable hearing in England than in India.

Very lately the King has also opened friendly communication with the United States, by sending a letter to the President, in charge of the Rev. Mr. Kincaid, a well-known American missionary. It is not very easy to see the object of this. I should incline to think that it originated in the intelligent Monarch's eyes beginning to open to the real position of Burma among the nations, and his consequent desire to introduce himself to notice among those whom he sees to be really the important powers of the world.

At our last interview the King took care to express emphatically to the Envoy his

by-the-English." The King who built the temple of Dhamayangyi, at Pagán, is called "The-Dethroned-by-Foreigners." One of the last Kings of Pagán is styled *Taroup-pye-men*, "The King who fled from the Chinese;" a King of Toungoo who was taken prisoner by Philip de Brito de Nicote, about 1612, is *Kalaya-men*, "The King seized by the Kalás;" and a King dethroned and drowned in the Kyendwen, in 1661, is called "The King thrown into the water." Now, perhaps, his present Majesty dreads going down to posterity as a "Lackland," or "The King who signed away his realm."

The mode of historical nomenclature just alluded to has a close parallel among the islands of the Archipelago; the kings of Macassar are often designated in their records from the place or circumstances of death. One is the "Throat-cutter;" a second, "He who ran a-muck;" a third, "He who was decapitated;" a fourth, "He who was beat to death on his own staircase;" and a fifth (as if it were rare), "He who died reigning." (*Crawfurd's Indian Archipelago*, ii. 381.)

Similarly, De la Loubère says of the Siamese kings, "It is not easy to know the king's name; they carefully and superstitiously conceal it, for fear lest any enchantment should be made on his name. And others report that their kings have no name till after their death, and that it is their successor which names them."

* The following passage, written by Colonel Burney in 1830, might just as truly to the letter have been written in 1855:—

"It is curious to know that the war between Turkey and Russia is a subject of very lively interest at this capital. There is a very mischievous set of Moguls and natives of Hindustan here, who take every opportunity of depreciating the English, and feeding the King's mind with idle hopes of our being on the verge of destruction as a nation."—(*MS. Journal.*)

desire for peace, and his anxiety that no outrages should occur on the border.* He made no remark regarding commerce between the two countries, probably because (although he is the principal merchant in the kingdom, and monopolizes all the staple exports), it is in Burman estimation, or professed opinion, beneath the dignity of a government to regard such peddling matters.

At the especial desire of the King, the Envoy consented to take down to Rangoon, for repair, a small steamer which his Majesty had obtained from Calcutta after the close of the war. We understood that he was very anxious to commission one or two steamers from England through our Government. But after refusing the treaty, he probably did not think the time favourable for making this request. He expressed a wish to have the model of a human skeleton, of the natural size, executed in white wood, with pliable joints. It will be seen from his Majesty's remarks to Dr. Forsyth during our audience on the 8th October, that he is fond of dabbling in medical studies.

October 22d.—At seven this morning we started on our voyage down the river, accompanied as far as Kyouk-ta-loung by Father Abbona, Camaretta, Spears, old Mr. Makertich,† the Woondouk, and the Nanmadau Phra Woon. The Myo-Woon of the city was also of the party, by the King's command. The kindly old Nanmadau Phra Woon sat on deck the greater part of the time, telling the beads of his little amber rosary, and repeating unceasingly to himself the Pali words ANEITYA! DOKHA! ANATTA! expressive of the transitory, suffering, and unreal character of all sentient existence.

A dozen war-boats accompanied us, to escort us and convey the party back, so we proceeded slowly. At Kyouk-ta-loung we anchored, to take on board a pilot, and to take leave of our friends. The Envoy said they really were impressive in their farewell speeches. The old Woon, wiping his eyes with his putso, declared that his wife and himself were equally inconsolable for Major Phayre's departure. "I pray," said he, "daily for the Governor-general, for His Majesty the King, for Commodore Lambert, and for yourself, that you may all be exempt from the ninety-six diseases and the five enemies, and from all evil whatsoever. I did so this very morning before daybreak, when leaving home to come down to you. When I go back, their Majesties will ask, as they always do, what you have been saying. What am I to reply?"

"That I am truly grateful," answered the Envoy, "for all the kindness that His Majesty has shown to the mission."

The Woondouk then also made a friendly farewell (having presented each of his acquaintances in the mission with a box of Burmese cheroots of portentous dimensions), and requested the Envoy to write to him. The anchor was weighed, and we proceeded on our downward voyage.

The fall of the river had caused a considerable difference in the appearance of the

* Such outrages had been rather frequent during the preceding year and a half. Villages had been plundered and the people driven off into the King's territory, and Major Allan's party, engaged in laying down the boundary, had been fired on, and an officer killed.

† Not the Kalá Woon, but an Armenian merchant, more respected, I believe, than any of his countrymen at Amarapoora. The other Makertich accompanied the flotilla in his own boat.

country. Islands and high banks now rose, where on our upward voyage trees and houses were half submerged. The channel, however, was now better defined, and the country altogether looked better, more green and fresh.

October 23*d.*—About nine this morning we were off the town of Nyoungoo,* at the northern end of the Pagán remains. A party landed to visit the lackered-ware manufactory for which the place is noted, intending to follow the steamer to Pagán by land. I was suffering from fever, and could not join them; but I am indebted to Mr. Oldham for some notes of what they saw.

They visited the manufacture of lackered boxes, and saw many of the processes in actual operation.

In one corner of the house, men and women were busy, either splitting and cleaning the bamboos, or weaving them into little basket-like boxes, forming them all of assorted sizes, on regular mandrils of wood. These are then passed on to others, who smear them over with well-tempered mud, mixed (in the better class of boxes, but not in the coarser) with a little *thitsi*, the black varnish which they use so abundantly.† These are put out to dry in the sun, and, when dry, are again chucked, or put on the lathe, and polished down to a smooth surface by the use of bits of soft earthy sandstone and water.‡ After thorough drying again, they are coated with a mixture of the ashes of burnt bones and *thitsi*, and rubbed down again. Next they receive another coating of the same composition, in which the *thitsi* is mixed in somewhat larger proportion, and again they are smoothed down. *Thitsi* alone is then put on and polished. The box has now a smooth and brilliant black surface, and is in a sense complete. The subsequent processes vary with the pattern and the colour that may be desired. For instance, the ordinary kind, in which the prevailing colour is red with black markings, is produced in an extremely simple but most ingenious way. The bands or lines passing round the box are laid on in the *thitsi* by a kind of style or point, fixed in a bit of wood or bamboo, and projecting from it a little. This point being charged with the *thitsi*, the box is put on the lathe, and the bamboo held firmly with the hand against the end, with the point on the proper line.§ The box being now turned, a line of the black varnish raised slightly from the general surface is thus laid on. When all the required lines have been thus drawn, the box is entirely covered with a coating of red paint, made of vermilion ground, with a peculiar oil.‖ This is not laid on very thickly, but sufficiently to conceal all the black varnish below. When this coating is dry, the box is again chucked on the lathe, and the workman, taking a handful of the husks of rice and a little water, applies them firmly to the surface, causing the box at the same time to revolve rapidly. This friction rubs off all the red paint from every point which projects in the slightest degree from the general surface. By this means the black

* "Peepul-tree point."

† The substratum in the coarsest and cheapest boxes is sometimes of mud and cow-dung only.

‡ Sometimes with powder of fossil wood, as the marble idols are polished.

§ Some workmen dispense with the lathe, using the knee and left hand to turn the box.

‖ Called Shan oil, because made by that people. It is said to be made from the fruit of the wood-oil tree, a species of *dipterocarpus*.

lines on the box are rendered clear and continuous, and over the general surface a peculiar small chequer-work pattern is produced by the slightly projecting edges of the bamboo in the plaited work of the original basket.

If carried too far, this pattern is injured by the display of too much of the black surface, and if insufficiently done, the mottling becomes irregular and indefinite. But practice makes the workmen very expert, and the rapidity with which the boxes are chucked, polished off, and removed to dry, is perfectly surprising. In every house several of these lathes are at the same time carrying on different stages of the work.

When more colours are to be used they are successively applied, and subsequently removed down to the black by which the pattern is produced. This is done by a steel style, pointed at one end, and slightly flattened at the other. This portion of the coloured layer to be removed is marked round by an incised line, and then lifted off by the flat end of the style. In this way the most elaborate patterns are produced, and in no case is any preliminary sketching or drawing used. When the surface is partitioned into regular divisions or panels, these are measured off and rudely marked, but the whole of the detail is put in without any first outline or drawing, and without any pattern to copy.

The same designs are repeated again and again, and handed down traditionally from generation to generation. Any difference in execution arises, of course, from the superior skill of the workman.*

Having seen this interesting manufacture, the party proceeded to visit the Shwé-Zeegoong Pagoda, close by.

This is one of the most celebrated temples in the country, and all Burmans stop here to perform their devotions. It is often, according to Colonel Burney, mentioned in Burmese history. It was founded by Nauratha Men-zau, the forty-second King of Pagán, A. D. 1064, and completed by one of his generals, Kyain-tseet-za, who came to the throne after the son of Nauratha.† It enshrines a fac-simile of one of Gautama's teeth, which King Nauratha Men-zau went with a large army into China to invite to Burma. The tooth, or tusk as it is called, declined to come, but a miraculous duplicate of it was produced for the Pagán King.

The pagoda is of considerable size, in the style of that at Prome, and, like it, gilt all over. It stands in an enclosure surrounded by a high wall. This enclosure is now crowded with minor temples, *theins*, and *tazoungs*.‡ One of the latter was a most elaborate specimen of carved work. The design was much the same as in other places, but here all the surfaces, which are ordinarily left smooth, were cut in relief, with scrolls of foliage, birds enveloped in leaves, &c. The bosses in the centre of the panels on the under side of the roof were rose-like flowers, with a bird in the centre, and the lace-like fringe, or border of the woodwork, consisted above of worshippers in the attitude of prayer, and

* A very detailed and elaborate account of this manufacture, by Colonel Burney, will be found in the *Trans. Royal As. Soc.* iii. 147, and in the *Journal Asiatic Society, Beng.* i. 169.

† Burney's *Journal.* But according to Crawfurd's table of kings, Nauratha-zau died in 1030, and Kyain-tseet-za came to the throne in 1056.

‡ *Tazoung* is an ornamented shed or roof over an image of Gautama.

below of birds sucking flowers, or winging their flight from leaf to leaf. And yet this beautiful structure is falling to ruin, though said to be only twelve or fifteen years old.

Here is also the sacred fish of Gautama, and a stone image of a favourite horse of King Kyain-tseet-za, said to have been an Elf horse,* possessing the power of flying. The fish is thickly covered with gilding, the offering of successive worshippers, and is enclosed in a little canopied niche with doors. At the other side of the temple, in a small wooden building, are two hideous stone figures of Náts, which appear to be also much reverenced. Mr. Oldham said he could see no difference apparent between the worship offered to these figures, and that offered at the pagodas. Presentations were made of flowers, and food, and water, of gold leaf, &c., precisely as to the images of Gautama, and this by most of the worshippers who visited the large temple. Certain slaves are set apart for their care, and however contrary to the theory of Buddhist doctrine, they seemed to have more of reverence than the holy tooth in the adjoining pagoda. Several inscriptions were gathered in the enclosure, and just outside the northern gate there was a square sandstone pillar, with inscriptions on all sides.

There is a temple of the same name within the walls of Pagán, which is said in its original form to have been the first pagoda built in that city. It is otherwise uninteresting. The 24th October we remained at Pagán; but all that I have to say on the subject of that "Burman Thebaid," as Ritter calls it,† has been given in Chapter II.

October 25th.—Early in the morning we quitted Pagán, and reached Yenangyoung at 3 P.M. The change in the height of the river was here very marked. The creek formed by the waters of the Irawadi in the mouth of the *khyong*, or tributary stream, which had served as a harbour to the war-boats during our former stay here, was now quite dry, and its bed several feet above the surface of the great river. The fall must have been from twelve to fourteen feet.

This state of things underwent a change during the night. Showers had fallen during the day, but after midnight excessively heavy rain fell, and within two hours this brought a deluge down the Yenan River. The sands adjoining the inlet were covered with huts and with pots of earth-oil piled like shot pyramids to be ready for loading, and boats loading or laden with oil were lying alongside. The sudden rush of water, falling like a cataract into the Irawadi, swept away many of the little huts, and broke several of the boats from their

* In the original note it is called the horse of Gautama, but a memorandum in Burney's *Journal* gives the true account doubtless. I suppose, however, that an image of Gautama's horse would have been quite consistent with Buddhist ideas. In Fahian's travels mention is made of the Buddha's favourite horse Kianthé (*Kantaka*), which he rode when he went forth from his Palace to adopt the ascetic life. He loaded the horse with his vestures and ornaments, and ordered it to return. The horse knelt and wept at parting with his master, but obeyed, (*Calcutta edition*, p. 220.) Kantaka could gallop round the ring of rocks that bounds the world, between the morning meal and noon; (Hardy's *Man. of Buddhism*, p. 160.) The fish is, I believe, symbolical of Gautama. There is a legend, said to have been recited in Pali verse by Gautama, telling how he was once a Fish-King, and exercised the virtues as such. (*Id.* p. 278.)

† *Erdkunde*, 1835, Part V. p. 212.

moorings. Four or five were driven against the vessels of our flotilla and sunk; one of the Nerbudda's boats was driven right under the Panlang flat, and came up on the other side. The Bentinck and our flat dragged their anchors, and were carried up stream by the eddy which the sudden rush of water gave rise to; then, the stream regaining its preponderance, we swung back again and dashed on the King's steamer, which was lashed alongside the Nerbudda, doing her considerable damage. The constant shouting of men and women from the shore was just heard above the noise of the rushing water, and the smell of earth-oil was overpowering, from the quantity that had been wrecked or swept from the shore and was floating on the surface of the river. We were unable to learn with certainty if any lives had been lost.

October 26th.—Making a short halt at Memboo, I went with Mr. Oldham, Dr. Forsyth, and Mr. Grant, through heavy rain still continuing, to visit the mud volcanoes in the neighbourhood of that town. But the description of these I leave in Mr. Oldham's better hands.*

We halted in the afternoon at Menhla, where we spent our last night in the King's dominions. Makertich, the Governor, who had attended us from the capital, gave a farewell entertainment at his house, which Mr. Oldham describes for me, as I was not well enough to go.

Arranged in five rows in front of the guests were some five-and-thirty women and girls seated, who commenced a low, quiet recitative, gradually swelling as they proceeded into a monotonous song. They then rose and continued to stand, accompanying their song with varied movements of their arms and bodies, not ungraceful, although stiff and *Burman* in character. This group of girls continued to perform for half an hour or more, when they gradually retired backwards, still keeping up their recitative, and their places were successively taken by another party of equal strength. The song was now more varied, and the action also more varied and lively. This party was again succeeded by a third group of younger girls, whose song and action were still more lively, rapid, and varied. They concluded by forming different figures, and at last sitting down in a long oval, supposed to represent a boat, whilst in time with their song they went through the attitudes of rowing, &c. It appeared that these girls had been regularly practising this performance for many days before our return; and certainly they had been admirably trained.

27th.—We passed the boundary pillars about 11 A.M., and reached Thayet-myo about half-past 12, having made scarcely any halt at Meaday.

The boundary between British Burma and the King's remaining territory nearly follows the parallel of 19° 29′. It passes nearly throughout its extent over a wild and rugged country, very scantily peopled, and was laid out in 1853-54, with great ability and labour, by Major Grant Allan, of the Madras Quarter-Master-General's department, from the summit of the Aracan Yoma-doung (or Spinal Range), to the first ridge of mountains eastward of the Sitang. It was not thought necessary or desirable to extend the definition of the line to the Salwen, through the mountainous territory, more or less occupied

* See his paper in Appendix.

or claimed by the race called Red Karens, who have always maintained a savage independence.

At Meaday (or more properly Myadé) are located the ordnance and commissariat magazines of the frontier force. It is a position of considerable natural strength, occupying a peninsular plateau, elevated about sixty feet above the lowest level of the Irawadi, and on the eastward separated from the mainland by the swampy valley of the Kenee river, which, after doubling for some distance parallel to the great river, joins it about a quarter of a mile below the fort. The plateau was formerly covered by a mass of pagodas and monasteries, but now displays only monotonous lines of barrack roofs. It is surrounded by an irregular parapet of brick. The whole place greatly requires remodelling and adaptation to its purpose.

Meaday, as I have noticed elsewhere, is mentioned by Ferdinand Mendez Pinto (chap. liv.), as *Meletay*, "a fortress twelve leagues up the river from Prom." In other passages he speaks of "the kingdom" or principality of Meletay.

Five miles below Meaday, on the opposite or western bank, is Thayet-myo, "the city of mango-trees." It is mentioned by Symes as "Sirraip-mew," and by Crawfurd as Tharet, which is the more correct spelling, though pronounced as I write it. The latter speaks of it as a thriving, populous place, but when selected as a British cantonment I believe it had been almost deserted.

Thayet-myo is the head-quarters of the frontier brigade, and a European regiment is cantoned there. The site is high and dry for Burma, and has hitherto proved very healthy. The climate is oppressively hot in April and May; the thermometer then rising to 110° in the mat and plank houses of the residents, which are not adapted to mitigate such a heat. But about the end of May rain begins to fall, and throughout the rest of the year the temperature is mild and pleasant. Throughout the monsoon the fall of rain does not exceed forty inches, but the sky is generally clouded, and the European soldiers go about freely in the day-time, play cricket, and amuse themselves on the river. Boats have been provided for their recreation by Government, and seemed to be fully made use of.

The soil and climate are said to be very favourable to the growth of European vegetables; but as yet the want of water for garden irrigation has been an obstacle to their culture, except on an experimental scale. Springs are only found at a depth somewhat lower than the dry-weather surface of the Irawadi, and that is sixty feet below the general level of the cantonment, so that the excavation of a well is rather a serious undertaking.

An experimental sheep-farm has been established here by the Commissariat, and has been completely successful. The flocks thrive and breed freely.

Wooded hills, at a distance of four or five miles at the utmost, embrace on three sides the undulating plain on which the cantonment stands.

Villages here are almost confined to the banks of the river, and those are few; there being little land adapted to rice-cultivation. The discovery of coal on the side of a hill about five miles south of the station raised great hopes in the early part of 1855; but it proved to be a very thin and isolated patch of a vertical seam, not workable in itself, and from its position affording no promise of near recurrence in a more profitable form.

The view from the hill on which the coal was found (which I visited with Mr. Oldham on our way up the river), presented an unbroken tract of dark forest, without a visible symptom of human habitation. Westward, however, among the outer spurs of the Aracan Yoma-doung, there are irrigated and cultivated valleys, belonging to the quondam district of Mendoon. This was the appanage from which the King derived his title before his assumption of the throne.

At Thayet-myo we have a Custom-house, at which duties (ten per cent on the value) are levied on various articles of import and export. My endeavours to obtain a complete detail of the exports and imports for a whole year have been unsuccessful. But enough is shown in the details which I have abstracted and arranged in the Appendix to illustrate curiously the present wants of the Burmese, and the staples of the Irawadi trade.

From the first quarter completed after the establishment of the Custom-house, the amounts of trade and collections have beeen as follows:—

	Total recorded Value of Trade.	Total amount of Duty Collected.
*3rd quarter of 1853-54 . .	Rs. 5,45,815 6 6	Rs. 22,748 7 10
*4th ditto ditto	5,89,872 14 2	36,780 0 0
*1st ditto of 1854-55 . . .	5,99,758 14 1	42,757 0 0
*2nd ditto ditto	7,41,005 4 8	36,152 10 6
*3rd ditto ditto	6,96,909 11 5	44,915 13 0
4th ditto ditto	11,60,719 2 1	92,980 14 11
1st ditto of 1855-56 . . .	13,68,362 14 4	1,19,482 9 3
2nd ditto ditto	8,04,799 11 6	65,173 15 10

These last four quarters show for one year a total value of trade amounting to forty lakhs and thirty thousand rupees, and of collections amounting to three lakhs and twenty-two thousand. But the fact is that the duty on *imports*, and the record of value of imports, only commences from the 4th quarter of 1854-55, the previous returns marked * being only for exports. During the last three quarters the proportion of imports and exports has been as follows:—

4th Quarter 1854–55, Value of	Imports	Rs. 2,64,453	12 3
„	Exports	8,96,265	5 10
1st Quarter 1855–56	Imports	3,88,337	15 6
„	Exports	9,80,034	14 10
2nd Quarter ditto	Imports	4,20,685	2 4
„	Exports	3,84,114	9 2

The want of a complete year's returns leaves us in the dark as to the balance between imports and exports.†

* See Tables in Appendix H.

† Since this was written I have seen, in the *Friend of India*, the imports for a whole year from June 1st, 1855, stated from official documents at 18,46,342 Rs., and the exports at 15,42,464 Rs., giving a total of 33,88,806 Rs., or 338,880*l.* for the present value of the trade up and down the river at the frontier.

A very small proportion of the exports consists of English goods. The great bulk is composed of the staples of a Burman's diet; rice, salt, and putrescent fish in sundry shapes. Of rice, clean and uncleaned, no less than 62,000 tons were exported from our provinces into the King's territories during the year from 1st November, 1854, to 1st November, 1855. Of the rank condiment called *ngapé*, 13,500 tons were exported in the same time, valued at more than 90,000*l.* sterling, and sufficient to supply about twenty-five pounds a-head for all the probable Burman population of the king's dominions. It is diffused, however, among nearly all the tribes inhabiting and adjoining the Burmese territory. The exportation of piece goods in the same period did not amount to more than three annas' worth for each individual of the same population (estimating them at 1,200,000.)*

Of the imports, probably, some considerable proportion of the petroleum, sesamum, teak, timber, and cutch, may have been destined for foreign shipment. But the 88,000 rupees' worth of silk goods during the nine months of 1855, the 1220 *tons* of chillies, garlic, onions, and turmeric, the 470,000lbs. of tea, the 1,140,000lbs. of tobacco, and the 50,000 lackered boxes, were all probably destined for consumption among the inhabitants of British Burma. It is remarkable to find so little cotton (Rs. 1341 only), an article which used to be exported from Rangoon in considerable amount, as well as by the Aeng pass to Bengal. Of the present trade by the latter route, I have not succeeded in getting any account. But the King's monopoly of the cotton has probably thrown this staple nearly all into the Yunan trade, in which the demand for cotton seems insatiable. The import of wheat seems as yet inconsiderable (about 400 tons in the three quarters.) The article called "Pegu wheat" in Mark Lane, I am told, comes from Bengal.

There is a Custom-house on the Toungoo side of the frontier also, but the trade there is comparatively insignificant.

After a very brief halt at Thayet-myo we continued our downward voyage, and reached Prome after dark. From Thayet-myo to Prome the Irawadi flows between bold, hilly, and (at this season) densely-wooded banks, peculiarly striking to those who in India have generally been accustomed to associate rivers of great magnitude with ill-defined channels, and flat alluvial valleys. There is, however, a sad want of life and population. The most prominent exception to this is at the twin villages of Kama and Gyoondoung, lying on each side of the fertile little valley of the Madé, a tributary flowing in from the Aracan hills.

There is no need to carry this narrative further. We reached Rangoon on the 30th of October.

* See Tables in Appendix H.

CHAPTER VIII.

NOTES ON THE INTERCOURSE OF THE BURMESE COUNTRIES WITH WESTERN NATIONS, UP TO THE PEACE OF YANDABO.

Ptolemy, where was his Golden Chersonese—Why Golden?—Introduction of Buddhism—Intercourse with Ceylon—Burmese Inscription at Gaya—Marco Polo—Nicolo da Conti—Santo Stephano—Barthema—Nunez d'Acunha—Odoardo Barbosa—Tattooing, and Burmese Barbarism—Portuguese Envoy—Ferdinand Mendez Pinto—Lake of Chimay—Portuguese Partisan Leaders in the Sixteenth Century—Toungoo Princes conquer Pegu and all the adjoining Countries—Caspar de Cruz—Bomferrus—Cæsar Frederick—Superlative Terms in speaking of Peguan Power and Magnificence—Fall of Pegu and Devastation of the Country—It has never recovered—Gasparo Balbi—Mr. Ralph Fitch—Jamahey (Zimmé)—Jesuit Relations—Philip de Brito de Nicote—Dominance of Ava over Pegu begins—First English Trade with the Country—British Factories in the Interior of Burma—Negrais surveyed—Fleetwood's Mission—Alison's Mission—Contests of Burmese and Peguans in last Century—Baker's Mission to Alompra at Moutshobo—Lister's Mission—Massacre of Negrais—Mission of Captain Alves—French Mission—Symes sent Envoy by Sir John Shore—Captain Cox sent as Resident—Treatment of him—Lord Wellesley sends Symes again—Insulting Usage—Lieutenant Canning's Missions—Disturbances on the Aracan Frontier—War of 1824–26—Treaty of Yandabo.

PTOLEMY is, I believe, the only ancient geographer who gives any particulars of these countries. He quotes his predecessor, Marinus of Tyre (who lived about A. D. 100), as referring to the log of one Alexander, who had voyaged along the shores as far as *Thinae* and *Cattigara*. Great difference of opinion has existed as to the identification of these and the hitherward localities which he names. Some, considering that the Aurea Chersonesus which was passed in reaching the two places above mentioned can only answer to the Peninsula of Malacca, have carried their locality as far eastward as the southern extremity of Camboja. But Gosselin* has shown strong reason to believe that the Aurea Chersonesus really represents the protuberant Delta of the Irawadi, and that Thinae is rather to be identified with Tenasserim. There are abundant difficulties in the way of either interpretation.

It is an interesting subject, but a great deal more learning and leisure than I possess would be required to discuss it properly. Two arguments, however, may be mentioned which appear strongly to favour Gosselin's theory. Ptolemy describes the various rivers of the Chersonesus as mutually communicating, a circumstance which could not apply to the Malay Peninsula, but which applies excellently to the waters of the Delta. These rivers, whose embouchures he names Chrysoana Palanda and Attabas, would therefore be

* *Récherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, par P. F. J. Gosselin. Paris, 1813. Vol. iii.

three of the principal outlets of the Irawadi. Again, immediately westward of the Chersonesus, he places the Sinus Sabaricus, and in this gulf the mouths of the river Besynga. Now, a little below, in his sketch of the hydrography of India beyond the Ganges, the Geographer says distinctly, "From the range of Mæandrus flow down all the rivers beyond Ganges, *until you come to the river Besynga.*" This remark seems infallibly to identify Mons Mæandrus with the Yoma-doung, the great spinal ridge of Aracan, and the river Besynga with the Bassein branch of the Irawadi.

The Rev. Mr. Mason, in his valuable book, "*The Natural Productions of Burma*,"* following the more common arrangement of maps of ancient geography, which makes the Sinus Sabaricus represent the Gulf of Martaban, traces Besynga in the Salwen, called by the Talains, or people of Pegu, *Be-khung.* But it may be suggested that *Bathein-khyoung* (river of Bassein, in Burmese) affords at least as strong a resemblance. And it is curious that this very Gulf of Negrais, which we take to be the Sinus Sabaricus, is called by several of the old travellers "the Sea of Bara."†

Where the data are so vague, attempts at the identification of names are rather amusing than profitable. But a few may be mentioned. *Sada* suits in locality as well as name with Sandoway, which is mentioned at a very early period of Burmese history.‡ *Zabai* has been identified by Gosselin with Tavoy. In Ptolemy's list of inland cities to the north of the Chersonesus occurs the name of *Mareura metropolis.* The identity of this has been suggested§ with the ancient city of *Mauroya;* which, as Col. Burney tells us from the Burman histories, preceded Tagoung as the seat of the Sakya kings. Mauroya is now known as Mueyen, a town not far south from Bamó.

In *Tugma metropolis*, an inland city of the Aurea Regio, we have, perhaps, the venerable city of Tagoung; in *Tharra*, an inland city of the Chersonesus, Tharawadi, or, perhaps, Thare-khettara, the ancient name of Prome; *Satyrorum Promontorium* we might be tempted to find in the point of Bilú-gyoon, or Ogre's Island, off Maulmain. At the northern confines of Mons Mæandrus, Ptolemy, true to this day, places the *Nanga logæ*, or Nága Lóg; which he defines, as truly, to mean "the Naked Folk." Eastward, towards the Sinæ, are the Kakobæ, whom Col. Hannay‖ finds in the Ka-khyens, called by themselves Kakoos; and near the shores of the Magnus Sinus we find the Kadopæ, or Kadotæ, who may be the Karens, called in the Talain language, according to F. Buchanan, *Kadoon.* Beyond them we get among tribes of Pirates, who are said to have skin like that of a hippopotamus, not penetrable by arrows; so we may decline to follow Ptolemy any further. It may be noted, that though the Geographer characterises several tribes in these parts as

* Published at Maulmain, 1850. See under the head of Ethnology, p. 427. Mr. Mason is a member of the American Baptist Mission.

† Vide Cæsar Frederick in *Purchas*, ii. 1717, and Gasparo Balbi, *id.* p. 1724. At the same time, be it said, I feel some misgiving that this *Bara* may be only the *Bar* of Negrais. In Wood's map, at the beginning of Symes's Narrative, one of the mouths of the Irawadi is called *Barago;* and I believe Barago Point is still the name given by mariners to the extreme point of the Delta.

‡ See Colonel Burney in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, v. 163.

§ By Colonel Hannay in his *Sketch of the Singphos*, 1847, p. 32, and by Mr. Mason, i. p. 445.

‖ As above, p. 2.

Anthropophagi, he affixes "Emporium" to the names of various places on the coast, which seems to indicate civilization and foreign trade.

Why these lands should have been termed the lands of silver and gold (Argentea Regio, Aurea Regio, Chersonesus Aurea) may appear obscure, as they are not now remarkably productive of those metals. There are, however, gold-washings on a small scale in many of the rivulets both of Pegu and of the valley of the upper Irawadi and of the Kyendwen, which may have been more productive in ancient times. And the Argentea Regio may probably (as suggested by Col. Hannay*) have been the territory including the *Bau-Dwen*, or great silver mine on the Chinese frontier, which is believed to supply a large part of the currency of Burma. Indeed Aurea Regio may be only a translation of the name Sonaparanta, which is the classic or sacred appellation of the central region of Burma, near the junction of the Irawadi and the Kyendwen, always used to this day in the enumeration of the King's titles. These regions may, moreover, have been the channels by which the precious metals were brought from China, and the mountains near the sources of the Irawadi, which are said to be very productive of gold; and possibly, even at that remote period, the profuse use of gilding in edifices may have characterised the people, as it does now.

It seems, however, most probable that this practice was introduced with Buddhism.† Yet even at the period of the first Buddhistic mission to this region, at the conclusion of the third great synod, B. C. 241, it was known in India as "*Suvarna Bhumi*," the Golden Land.‡

According to Mr. Mason, the ancient capital of the Talains (of the Toung-thoos, according to the tradition of the latter) was Thadung, or Satung, a city whose traces still exist between the mouths of the Salwen and the Sitang. Suvanna-bumme, he adds, but unfortunately stating no authority, is still the classic Pali name of Satung.§

In the beginning of the fifth century, Buddhaghosa, a Brahmin of Magadha, visited Ceylon, and there revised the Buddhist scriptures, and re-translated them into Pali. He carried his version with him to Pegu, and there made it known. In A. D. 1171, a mission was sent from Burma to Ceylon, and ten years subsequently five men deeply versed in the Burmese scriptures came from Ceylon to Pagán. One of the number is said to have been a Cambojan, and another a Cingalese.‖

* *Sketch of the Singphos*, p. 2.

† The elaborate gilding of chapels and monastic cells in India and Central Asia is mentioned by Fahian, the Chinese pilgrim of the fifth century. (See Laidlay's *Translation*, p. 18, &c.)

‡ "Sono and Uttaro were deputed to Suvarna Bhumi, or Golden Land. As this country was on the sea-coast, it may be identified either with Ava, the Aurea Regio, or with Siam, the Aurea Chersonesus. Six millions of people are said to have been converted, of whom twenty-five thousand men became monks, and fifteen hundred women became nuns."—Quoted from the *Mahawanso*, by Major Cunningham, in his *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 118.

§ Mason, as above, p. 427. He also says that Maubee, in the delta of the Irawadi, was called *Suvanna nadi*, River of Gold. Sobana emporium and Sobanas occur as the names of a town and river in Ptolemy's list. And Chrysoanas, his name for one of the rivers of the delta, looks like a translation of the same.

‖ Mason, p. 453.

The intercourse with Ceylon appears to have continued more or less till a late period. It was not always an intercourse of merely a religious character. In one instance, more particularly referred to at page 47, we find a King of Ceylon carrying a hostile armament against the Burman countries (A. D. 1153);* and in another we find "Brama, King of Pegu," as he was called by the Portuguese, sending to solicit the daughter of a King of Ceylon in marriage (about 1566).†

It is scarcely possible that any intercourse should go on at the present day, if we may judge by the surprise and incredulity of the Burmese courtiers, when told by Major Phayre that the sacred island of Lankadwipa also belonged to the English. The last remarkable instance of intercommunication between Ceylon and Burma, of which I am aware, occurred towards the end of the last century, when the maintenance of caste-distinctions among the priesthood by the kings of Candy provoked the low-caste monks to organise an expedition to the orthodox Buddhists of Burma, with a view to the restoration of equal rights. [This mission has been more particularly noticed under note C.]

That religious visits were made during the middle ages from the Burmese countries to the sacred spots of Buddhism in India, is proved by an inscription in Burmese at Buddha-Gaya, discovered by the Burmese Envoys who were sent to Lord W. Bentinck in 1831-33. Some doubt attaches to the reading of the date, and the determination of the King whose repair of the temple it commemorates. Col. Burney ascribed it to the reign of Aloung-tsee-thoo, A. D. 1105.

There is no mention of Pegu by the Mahomedans of the ninth century, whose travels were published by the Abbé Renaudot, and are given in Pinkerton's and various other collections, nor, so far as I can learn, by any Western traveller till the time of Marco Polo.

Indeed, the first opening for Christian travellers into Asia was in quite another direction, and much farther to the North. Monks of Italy, France, and Flanders, jostled each other at the court of Kara Korum; and Mongol ambassadors found their way to Paris and Northampton,‡ when as yet all that Europe knew of India was derived from Strabo and Arrian.

It is probably Pagán which Marco Polo speaks of under the name of Mien, "a great and noble city, the head of the kingdom." *Mien* is said by Col. Burney to be the Chinese name of Burma.§ But Marco does not speak as if he had himself been in the country,

* It is curious that in the reign of the preceding monarch of Burma, Aloungtsee-thoo, it is said in the chronicles that "the Governors of Bassein, of other districts in the Talain country, *the Kalá Governor of the Island of Ceylon*, and he of Tenasserim, having rebelled, were put down, and their countries taken possession of."—(Mason, as above.)

† *Hist. of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese.* London, 1695.

‡ Rémusat, *Mémoire sur les Relations Politiques des Princes Chrétiens, &c. avec les Empereurs Mongols*, 1824, p. 154.

§ *Journal As. So. Ben.* iv. 400. Dr. Buchanan says that the Chinese of Yunan call the Burmese *Lau Meen.—As. Res.* v. 223. In Duhalde's Maps a distinction is made between the kingdoms of *Yaoua* and *Mien.*

and there is only one unmistakably Burmese feature in his story. This is in the description of two towers in pyramid fashion which a certain king caused to be built near his sepulchre; "upon the top, round about the balls," he says, "many little gold and silver bells were hanged, which at the blowing of the wind give a certain sound." The date of the expedition which Marco Polo relates is between A.D. 1272 and 1290.

In 1444 Nicolo di Conti,* a Venetian, returned from five-and-twenty years' travelling in the East. He visited Racha (Aracan), on a river of the same name, and thence, "after seventeen days passing desert hills, came into a champaign country." He must, therefore, have gone over the Aeng pass, or some other pass of the Aracan Yoma. He speaks of the river of Ava as greater than the Ganges, the city of Ava as fifteen miles in circuit, &c.; the kingdom itself he calls Macin (*Maha-chin*, doubtless, a name often applied in India to the little known Eastern kingdoms indiscriminately). He is the first traveller, I believe, who mentions the white elephant, and the name of Ava, which had not then existed a century.† He speaks also of the Burmese fashion of tattooing the body, as common both with men and women. The latter do not now practise it, though among their Khyen neighbours it is almost confined to the women.

Di Conti makes the singular statement, that the people in their daily prayer said, "God in Trinity keep us in his Law." This, which at first sight looks like fiction, is really an evidence of his veracity. He had doubtless heard of "the three precious ones," the triad of *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Sanga*, the Buddha, the Law, and the Clergy (see note by Rémusat, in *Pilgrimage of Fa-hian*, Cal. 1848, p. 42).‡

In 1496 Pegu was visited by Hieronymo da Santo Stephano, a Genoese, who is, I believe, the first European by whom Pegu is distinctly mentioned. He speaks of it as a great city ruled by a "Gran Signore," who possessed 10,000 elephants. He was prevented from visiting Ava by war between the two nations.§

About the same time, or a little later, we find at Pegu another traveller, Lodovico

* *Ramusio*, i. 340. The narrative is very imperfect, which is to be regretted, as it bears the stamp of honesty. A few additional particulars are given in Purchas, ii. 159, from another version of Di Conti's travels.

† He is also the first traveller who mentions a strange, obscene, and barbarous custom, which is spoken of so repeatedly by all travellers during the next two hundred years, that it seems impossible to doubt its having existed, though, I believe, there is not now the slightest trace of it; unless the practice be so, which some of the Burmese warriors are said to retain, of inserting a piece of metal under the flesh to make themselves invulnerable. Some old travellers ascribe to the Siamese and Shans, as well as the Burmese, the custom alluded to. The prevalence of such a custom might seem a strong corroboration of the idea expressed by Ritter (*Erdkunde*, v. 171), that the Burmans have not long emerged from barbarism. There is a deep element of barbarism in the Burman character, but, looking to Pagán and other evidences, it may be doubted whether their civilization, such as it is, was not fully greater eight centuries ago than in later days. The modified practice referred to above is witnessed to by Mr. Howard Malcom, who was allowed by one of the Christian converts at Ava to take several amulets of gold from under the skin of his arm.—(i. 307.)

‡ In the letter which the King of Ava wrote to the Governor-general, in 1830, his Majesty speaks of his "observing the three objects of worship, namely, God, his precepts, and his attendants or priests" (Buddha, Dharma, and Sanga).

§ *Ramusio Navigationi et Viaggi*, Venetia MDLXIII. i. p. 345.

Barthema, of Bologna. He gives few interesting particulars, but mentions "great canes" (bamboos) "as large as a barrel," and, like all the travellers to these parts, speaks much of the rubies, the original locality of which they all assign to a city, or mountainous region, called Capelan, beyond Ava. He also speaks of Pegu and Ava as at war.*

With the extension of European discovery in the beginning of the sixteenth century, European traders and Portuguese adventurers began to haunt the coasts of Pegu. The first Portuguese traveller known to us is Ruy Nunez d'Acunha, who was sent thither by Alphonso d'Albuquerque in 1511.†

The travels of Odoardo Barbessa to this coast, about 1520, are given in Ramusio's collection. He speaks of "Verma" as a distinct kingdom from Ava, as many later travellers do. Apparently Toungoo is meant.‡

About the same time Antony Correa was sent by the Portuguese to negotiate a treaty with the King of Pegu.§

The celebrated Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was in these countries as a military adventurer in 1545, and professes to have been present at the sieges of Martaban and Prome. His relations are full of extravagant statements, and a great deal of his geography is probably absolute invention. Still it is evident that he was in the country. Among names still easily recognisable which he mentions, are Dalaa (Dalla, near the coast of the Delta), Digon (Dagon, *i.e.* Rangoon), the Province of Danaplu (Danobyu), Ansedaa (Henzada), and Meletay (Meaday). The last he correctly describes as a fortress twelve leagues up the river from Prome.‖

Many of the old maps depict a certain "Lake of Chimay," somewhere in the far interior of the Indo-Chinese countries, whence issue all the great rivers of Eastern India.¶ But Ferdinand Mendez is probably the only traveller who declares he had *seen* it. He gives it, however, a different name.

During the constant wars that went on between Siam, Pegu, Toungoo, Ava, and Aracan, during this century, some Portuguese partisans appear generally to have been found on either side. Thus, in 1544, when Martaban was besieged by "Pará Mandará (as he is called by the Portuguese writers)** King of the Burmas" (*i.e.* of Toun-

* *Ramusio Navigationi et Viaggi*, Venetia MDLXIII. i. p. 165.

† *Purchas*, ii. 1681. ‡ *Ramusio*, p. 316.

§ *Modern Universal History*, vi. 162.

‖ Elsewhere he speaks of the *kingdom* of Meletay, which other travellers have reproduced as a kingdom of *Melintay*. It is curious that Malanda is one of Ptolemy's names for an inland city in this region.

¶ Such a notion seems to have been generally diffused, probably from India with the Buddhist legends. Doubtless it originated in the fact of the rise of the Indus, the Sutlej, the Ganges, and the Tsanpoo, within a space of little more than two square degrees, from that great world-water-shed on which lake Manasarovar lies.

** Probably Men-tara-gyi Phra, a common appellation of Burmese monarchs. It is commonly interpreted by Burmese scholars as "Great King of Justice," or Righteousness. But as I see that *Para Mendr* is also a title of the kings of Siam, the word must be from the Pali, probably from *Mantra*—Counsel, as suggested by Professor Wilson.

goo),* we find among his force some galleys manned by Portuguese under John Cayero, and five years later, when the same Prince invaded Siam and attacked the capital, he had with him 180 Portuguese, under James Suarez de Melo, whilst the King of Siam, in his besieged city of Odia,† had fifty Portuguese under James Pereyra.‡

Some years later, when this conquering King of the Burmas had been murdered by the "Shemîn of Satân" (Sitang, probably), and the latter contested the throne with a member of the old royal house of Pegu, whom the Portuguese call Shemindoo, he was killed before Pegu by a fortunate shot from the musket of Gonzalo Neto. But, in 1552, a second Prince of Toungoo again got possession of Pegu. This is the King called by the old writers Aleagar, or "Brama King of Pegu,"§ who extended his conquests over Ava, Mogoung, Jangomai (Zimmé), the west of Yunan, and other adjoining states, and the wealth and splendour of whose court made Pegu so famous in Europe as an empire of fabulous magnificence.

Caspar de Cruz, a Dominican, appears to have been to the East between 1550 and 1560. He speaks of the "Brames" as "a great people, very rich of gold and precious stones; chiefly of rubies; a proud nation, and a valiant. *The country very scarce of victuals.* They wear their clothes painted or wrought. They are somewhat like the Chinas in their faces; they have very rich and gallant shippings garnished with gold, in which they sail in the rivers; they use vessels of gold and of silver; their houses are of timber very well wrought. The kingdom is very great. They have not commonly war with the Chinas, because of the great mountains that are between the one and the other, and because the Chinas are well fortified on that side,"‖ &c. All which is very accurate.

In 1557 Bomferrus, a Dominican missionary, returned from Pegu. He had spent three years in learning their language and mysteries, that he might preach among them, "but was soon forced to give over and return into India; for they could not endure to hear any better knowledge than they had."¶ This missionary appears to have given a tolerable account of Buddhism as it exists in these countries.

In 1569 Cæsar Frederick, a Venetian merchant, was in Pegu, and gave a very interesting account of that country. That same "Brama of Toungoo" was on the throne, who was said to have twenty and six crowned heads at his command, and to be able to bring into the field a million and a half of men of war!** "For people, dominions, gold and silver,"

* According to the history consulted by Sangermano, the kingdom of Toungoo was founded by a Prince of Pagán in 1252. The conqueror, Para Mandara, whom Sangermano calls Mentrasvedi, was the thirtieth prince of the line.

† Odio, Yuthia, or Ayodhyá, the former capital of Siam, above Bankok.

‡ *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese.* London, 1695. ii. 134–8.

§ His name in Burmese history is Tshen-byu-mya-yen, "Lord of many white elephants." He is the personage called by Pinto, "The Chaumigrem." "He was born on a Wednesday," says the chronicle, "and on the day of his death the great pagoda fell into ruins, an inundation covered the whole city, and a shower of rubies fell from heaven."—*Sangermano*, p. 45.

‖ In *Purchas*, iii. p. 169.

¶ *Purchas*, v. p. 507. This Friar, according to Sir Thomas Herbert, "came home professing that he had rather with St. Anthony preach among pigs than among such a swinish generation."—*Herbert's Travels*, p. 359.

** That is, more than twice the whole population of the British province of Pegu in 1856.

Master Frederick hesitates not to say, "he far excels the power of the Great Turk in treasure and strength."

These expressions seem utterly preposterous, when we see what Pegu and Burma are in our day. All the old travellers use similar superlative terms in speaking of the Peguan monarchy at this time. Yet Frederick, and Fitch, who followed him a few years later, are men who give a sober and true account of other matters, in which we still may compare their descriptions with facts as they are.*

It may, perhaps, be remarked, that only at the end of the last century the spectacles of Colonel Symes appear to have shown him in Burma a magnificent and civilised empire, including a population which he estimated at seventeen millions. Later experience has proved that the Colonel's view of the magnificence and civilisation was as exaggerated as his estimate of the population.

But, making allowance for a similar tendency to the over-estimation of so distant a region by the older travellers, in reading their narratives it is impossible to resist the conviction that the lower provinces, at least of the Irawadi, exhibited in the sixteenth century a much more flourishing and wealthy community than now exists in the delta, and we have, in the subsequent history of the country, the causes of a great deterioration. The splendour of the Peguan monarchy was very short-lived. In the time of the son of the conquering Prince came a succession of internal and external wars, during which the country was harassed and devastated, both by the cruelties of the savage King, and by invasions from Aracan, Siam, Toungoo, and Ava, by all which Pegu was reduced to the depths of desolation and misery; insomuch that Purchas, in a curious chapter "on the destruction and desolation of Pegu,"† collected from the writings of numerous eye-witnesses, his contemporaries, thinks it appropriate to observe, that "the natives of Pegu are not quite extinct, but many of them are fled into other kingdoms." Notices of the history of Pegu are defective during the greater part of the seventeenth century, and I do not know what further wars took place during that period. But towards the middle of the century following came its temporary re-assertion of independence and even of supremacy, and its rapidly succeeding subjection to the vengeance of Alompra. It is not surprising that Pegu should never have recovered from calamities so repeated and disastrous. History scarcely justifies the expectation that countries should recover, even in long periods of comparative repose, from such universal and thorough devastation. And the habits of the Burman races are not favourable to increase of population. A singularly small proportion of their children live to maturity.‡

* See, for instance, Frederick's vivid and accurate account of the bore in the Sitang (*Purchas*, ii. 1716), which I have lately had the opportunity of comparing with that of a good observer, Mr. T. Login.

† V. p. 500.

‡ I have lately read, in the course of my ordinary duties, a report by Mr. T. Login on a projected canal to the Sitang, from the Pegu river at a point below the ancient capital. He speaks incidentally of traces of extensive cultivation in tracts which now scarcely show two souls to the square mile. The vast ruined pagoda of Mahkau, of which Mr. Login speaks in the same report, doubtless represents the site of the castle of Maccao, mentioned by the old travellers as the place where goods for the royal city were discharged; and where the King had his gardens and his boat-races.

During the three years that have elapsed since the war that terminated in the annexation of Pegu, in

Returning from this digression, we find, in 1583, Gasparo Balbi, a jeweller of Venice, visiting Pegu with a stock of emeralds. As with all the travellers about this period, his ship made a port in the river of Bassein, or one of its channels, called by them Cosmi, or Cosmin,* which seems at that time, distant as it was from the capital, to have been the principal port of Pegu.

In entering the Bassein river, his description of the gilded beacon temple of Modaen, on Pagoda point, and of the swarms of flies attracted by the *ngapé* manufacture at Negrais, are pleasant to read in their graphic truth, after three centuries nearly have past.

From Cosmin the travellers appear to have taken a route through the ramified channels of the lower Delta, and Balbi mentions several great and fair cities by the way.† In seven days they reached Dalla (near the mouth of the Rangoon river), and next day the "citie of Dogon" (Rangoon), where he describes the great Pagoda, &c., in a manner still very recognisable.

Mr. Ralph Fitch, merchant of London, is the first Englishman who has given an account of a visit to Pegu. He follows the same route as the last traveller, by Cosmin to Dalla, Sirian, and Pegu.

Fitch's account of the capital appears to be borrowed to some extent from that of his predecessor, Frederick, which I have partly extracted in illustration of my description of Amarapoora.‡ From Pegu he extended his travels to "Iamahey, which is in the country of the Langeiannes, whom we call Iangomes; it is five-and-twenty days' journey north-east from Pegu." This Iamahey, or Jamahey, is undoubtedly the Shan town of Zimmé, which has been very rarely reached by any European traveller in modern times. Fitch describes it as "a very faire and great Towne, with faire houses of *stone;*" which is remarkable, if true.

From the accounts of all the travellers of this period we derive the impression of a thriving trade in the ports of Pegu. Martaban, we are told by Frederick and Fitch, was frequented by many ships from Malacca, Sirian by ships from Mecca (Mocha probably) and Achen, Cosmin by ships from Bengal, St. Thomé (Madras), and Masulipatam.

some of the districts which, directly or indirectly, suffered most, such as Padoung and Mendoon (west and northwest of Prome), scarcely any favourable reaction has taken place.

The writer had an opportunity of seeing the state of the former small district, between the Aracan hills and the Irawadi, once covered with beautiful and thriving towns and villages, in travelling from the Aracan coast to Prome, in March 1853, just as the war was closing. And one may conceive how deadly and enduring would be the results of war, repeated year after year in such a country, by various hosts of barbarians. Such all these races eminently are in war, whatever they may be in peace.

* I had always supposed from the narratives that Cosmin must have been Bassein itself. But in Wood's map (1795), the last which gives the name, Cosmin is placed on another channel, to the eastward of the main Bassein river.

† Frederick states that at all the villages on this route "hennes, pigeons, eggs, milke, rice, and other things be very good and cheape;" a very different state of things from the present, when our hungry surveyors complain that they can get neither "hennes" nor eggs, let alone "other things," for love or money.

‡ See chap. v.

Fitch was at Pegu in the end of 1586, and the kingdom seems still to have stood in its glory.*

But only eleven years later, in 1598, Nicholas Pimenta, Visitor of the Jesuits in India, relates the destruction of the Peguan monarchy, and the miserable state of the country, as reported to him by ships which arrived at St. Thomé when he was organising a Mission for Pegu.

In March 1600, Boves, another Jesuit, writes that he was in the country when the King, besieged by the Kings of Aracan and Toungoo, surrendered and was put to death. "It is a lamentable spectacle," says the Padre, "to see the banks of the rivers, set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now overwhelmed with ruins of gilded temples and noble edifices; the ways and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished, and cast into the river in such numbers that the multitude of carcases prohibiteth the way and passage of any ships; to omit the burnings and massacres committed by this, the cruellest tyrant that ever breathed."†

After his victory, the King of Aracan made over the port of Sirian to Philip de Brito, a Portuguese partisan leader.‡ De Brito, however, quarrelled with the King of Aracan, and went to Goa to obtain the support of the Viceroy. During his absence, his followers proclaimed him King of Pegu. He continued to carry things with a high hand for some years, capturing the son of his former patron, the King of Aracan, for whom he demanded a ransom of 50,000 crowns:§ and some time afterwards he treacherously seized the person and treasure of the King of Toungoo,‖ with whom he had made alliance. In 1610 a traveller says of de Brito: "He yet also domineereth and careth for nobodie."¶ He had married his son Simon to a daughter of the King of Martaban,** which province had apparently risen again to brief independence during the anarchy which succeeded the fall of the Peguan monarchy.

In 1613, however, the King of Ava appeared on the field, and with a large army besieged de Brito in Sirian, where the Portuguese leader made a desperate defence. The King of Aracan, whom he had so grievously offended, sent fifty vessels to his assistance, but they were captured by the Burmans. At last de Brito was betrayed and carried to the King, who caused him to be "spitted," or impaled, and set up on an eminence overlooking the fort. In such misery he continued to live for two days. His wife, Donna Luisa de Saldanha, was sent to Ava with the other captives.††

The dominance of Ava over the lower provinces dates from this time.

The King, after having been crowned at Pegu, sent his brother to master the southern

* *Purchas*, vol. ii.

† Boves in *Purchas*, ii. 1748.

‡ Ditto, ditto.

§ *Hist. of Disc. and Conq. of India by the Portuguese*, iii. 138, &c. and *Purchas*, v. p. 514.

‖ Hence called by the Burmese *Kala-ya-men*, "The King whom the Kalás seized."—Colonel Burney in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* iv. 404.

¶ *Relations of Strange Occurrents*, by Peter Williamson Floris, in *Purchas*, i. 322.

** *Hist. of Disc. and Conq.* as above.

†† *Hist. of Disc.* as above, iii. 191. See also *Modern Universal History* (1781) vol. vi. p. 202, and *Purchas*, v. 502 and 514.

states. He soon conquered Tavoy, and proceeded to besiege Tenasserim. Here Christopher Rebello, an outlaw from Cochin, with forty Portuguese and seventy slaves, in four galliots, attacked and routed the Burmese flotilla of 500 vessels.*

A short time afterwards the King of Ava, fearing the vengeance of the Portuguese, should they unite with his rivals of Aracan and Siam, sent ambassadors (to Goa apparently) to the Portuguese Viceroy, to apologise for the killing of de Brito, and offering to join in an attack on Aracan. The Viceroy agreed, and sent an envoy in turn, but he was treated with true Burman nonchalance, and nothing resulted.†

Though Mr. Fitch, and possibly other wandering English merchants, had visited Pegu in the preceding century, no English convoy had at that time come to the Indian seas for trade. The East India Company was first established in 1599, when Pegu was in the depths of its desolation. Hence, though our trade had spread far to the eastward, no attempt at intercourse with the Irawadi delta had taken place up to 1618. Curiously enough, the first intercourse originated from the eastward. A year or two before the period named, the English factor at Siam, Lucas Anthonison by name, sent one Thomas Samuel to Zengomay (Zimmé),‡ to inquire into the prospects of trade there. Zimmé had been subject to the great King of Pegu, but, during the misfortunes of that monarchy in his son's time, had been taken by the Siamese. The King of Ava, whose power had risen, as we have seen, on the fall of Pegu, and who was extending his conquests over most of the provinces that had been subject to the latter, obtained possession of Zimmé whilst Samuel was there, and carried him, with other foreigners, to Pegu. There he died, and his property was seized by the King.

The relator, William Methold, in the supplement to Purchas's Pilgrims, calls the monarch King of Pegu, and at Pegu he appears to have held his court. But he was, in fact, properly the King of Ava.

News was brought of Samuel's death to Masulipatam, where Lucas Anthonison happened now to be factor for the Company. He took the opportunity of sending two agents, carrying a letter and present for the King, professedly to apply for the restoration of Samuel's effects, but also with a small adventure to make trial of the trade.

The agents were unfaithful. They misappropriated the proceeds of the trade, and wrote most discouraging accounts of their treatment. But they were sent back in April 1619, with most of Samuel's property, as well as a present from the King and a letter inviting trade.§

The history at this period is very obscure, but it would appear that soon after the time mentioned, British intercourse with the Burman countries became more free than it ever was again up to the annexation of Pegu. Dalrymple ascertained, from old documents at Fort St. George, that the English had settlements ‖ at Prome and Ava, as well as at Sirian, and even at a place on the borders of China, which he conjectures to have been

* *Hist. of Disc.* as above, iii. p. 197. † *Ibid.* p. 255.

‡ Called by the Siamese, Chang-mai ; Xieng-mai of Sir John Bowring.

§ Methold in *Purchas*, v. 1006.

‖ He says, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But it could not have been earlier than the circumstances mentioned by Methold.

Bamó.* The Dutch, who had a considerable trade with Burma, likewise possessed factories in the Upper Provinces, and are said also to have been at this time in occupation of Negrais.

On some dispute with the Burmese Government, the Dutch threatened, or attempted, to invite the interference of the Chinese. On this, both Dutch and English were ejected.†

In 1658, or 1659, when a Chinese force invaded Burma, and attacked the capital, the guns on the ramparts of Ava are said to have been served by a party of native Christians under a foreigner named *Mithari Kátan*, a name which Col. Burney happily suggests to be intended for "Mr. Cotton."‡

The trade seems to have revived towards the end of the century. In 1680 and 1684 the Company's agents had made unsuccessful attempts to re-establish factories in Burma or Pegu. In 1686–7 their attention was turned to Negrais; a survey was made of the island, and it was taken nominal possession of.

In 1695 Nathaniel Higginson, Governor of Fort St. George, sent Mr. Edwa rdFleetwood and Capt. James Lesley as Envoys to the court of Ava. Their objects were to obtain the settlement of a factory at Sirian, the release of English captives, and of a sloop belonging to one Bartholomew Rodriguez, which had been confiscated, and the restoration of the effects of one Adrian Tilbury, a merchant of Fort St. George, who had died at Martaban.

They carried presents to the amount of about 1000 pagodas, and a letter from Governor Higginson, written in a very humble style. The presents were a regular mercantile speculation. The Envoys were to try to get as much as possible in return, "asking for more" if they found it feasible, and were themselves to get ten per cent on the proceeds as an incitement to do their best.§

Mr. Fleetwood does not appear to have been a gentleman likely either to impress the Burmese court with an exalted idea of his country, or to bring back with him any interesting particulars of theirs. He seemed to think he had made a great *coup* in providing himself with a letter of introduction to the King's mistress. The Mission had as little success as it deserved under such auspices, but the re-establishment of the factory at Sirian was conceded. Two years later (1697) Mr. Bowyear was sent as chief of the factory at Sirian, and was charged with a mission to the court similar in its objects to Fleetwood's. It appears from the instructions that the return-presents made to Fleetwood's Mission had

* Dr. Bayfield, when at Bamó in 1837, heard of the remains of an old brick building of unknown origin as existing at Old Bamó, between one and two days' journey from the present city. This he conjectured might be the British factory; but the disturbed state of the country prevented his visiting the spot.

† This is Dalrymple's account. I find, however, in Valentyn's great *Beschryving van Oost Indien*, or description of the Dutch East Indies (Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1726), vol. v. pt. ii. p. 126, that the Dutch had a factory at Sirian from about 1631 till 1677, with subordinate factories at Ava and other places. The Dutch Government of Coromandel sent several embassies to Ava also. Valentyn ascribes the breaking up of the trade to the constant wars that were going on in those regions.

‡ *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vi. 126.

§ Higginson's *Instructions to Fleetwood.* In Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*, ii. p. 337 et seq.

been profitable to Mr. Higginson, and he was not indisposed to repeat the speculation. But he honourably adds, "If the returns of the present shall stand in competition with, or hinder, the restoring of Bartholomew Rodriguez his cargo, I had rather forego the receiving of any returns for the present, than hinder the restoration of the cargo." No record of Bowyear's mission has been found, and it is probable that he did not proceed to Ava, as the King died just after his arrival in the country.*

In 1709 a Mr. Richard Alison, or Allanson, was sent as envoy to Ava. No account of his Mission has ever been printed. It appears from Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies"† that this gentleman was twice deputed to the court of Ava. But the date of his other Mission is unknown. From this point I shall content myself mainly with a brief note of events, as the remaining history of British intercourse with Burma has been fully related in a very able and interesting paper by Dr. Bayfield, which is printed in the Appendix to Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier.‡.

The agent of the Company at Sirian, Mr. Smart, appears to have acted with duplicity during the contests of the Burmese and Peguans for the possession of Pegu, which ended in the temporary supremacy of the latter. In 1743 the factory was burnt by them, and the establishment was withdrawn.

In 1752 the King of Tavoy, then for a short time independent, invited an establishment. But his terms were unreasonable, and no movement was made to act on his offer.

In 1753 a factory was established on the Negrais, which was, in fact, taken possession of in the Company's name.

In 1755 we find a factory under Captain Baker existing at Negrais, during the continued contests between Peguans and Burmese, the latter being again in the ascendant. The chief at Negrais urged on his Government that we should take a decided part with the Burmans. But, about the same time, some English ships at Dagon (Rangoon) took part with the Peguans.

In July of this year Capt. Baker and Lieut. North (who died at Pagán on the way up) were sent by the Resident at Negrais on an embassy to Alompra at Mout-shobo. The usurper laughed at the idea of assistance from the English, and the Mission had no result. Capt. Baker took observations on his way, and made a map of the river, which is given by Dalrymple.

In 1751 Dupleix, the Governor-general of French India, had sent an ambassador to the King of Pegu, and obtained the concession of a factory at Sirian. But, in 1756, the

* Bayfield; see below.

† Edinburgh, 1727, vol. ii.

‡ "Historical Review of the Political Relations between the British Government in India and the Empire of Ava, from the earliest date on record to the present year; compiled by G. T. Bayfield, acting-assistant to the Resident in Ava, and revised by Lt.-Col. Burney. Ava, 15th December, 1834."

For the facts of the remaining history I have made free use of this review. The original authorities are, for the times of Alompra, Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory;* for Symes's first Mission and Crawfurd's, their published narratives; for the other Missions, the original papers in the records of the Indian Government. Where I have used other authorities they are referred to.

Government of Pondicherry, contrary to an engagement of neutrality into which the factory had entered with Alompra, having sent succours to the Peguans, and these having fallen into the hands of the conqueror, he massacred the officers, and carried the rest of the French as prisoners to Ava.* From these prisoners some of the Burman Christians of the Dibayen district are said to be descended.

In 1757 Alompra addressed a letter to the King of England, written on gold adorned with rubies, which he delivered to a Mr. Dyer and others who visited him at Rangoon. It is not known what became of this letter.

In June of the same year Lieut. Newton, who was in charge of Negrais, deputed Ensign Lister to go to the King with the pompous title of Ambassador Extraordinary. He overtook Alompra on his way up the river from Rangoon, and by dint of some considerable bribery, obtained the King's signature to a treaty conceding in perpetuity Negrais, and ground for a factory at Bassein, with freedom of trade, in return for a pledge of military assistance from the Company against the King's enemies. This treaty had never any practical effect.

1759.—The greater part of the establishment at Negrais was withdrawn. And on the 6th October in that year the whole of the remaining Europeans, with many natives, were treacherously massacred by the Burmese. The King was said to have suspected that the factory had been in communication with his enemies, the Peguans.†

In 1760 Captain Alves was sent with letters and presents from Holwell, Governor of Fort William, and Pigot, Governor of Madras, to demand satisfaction for the massacre, and liberty for the prisoners. Alompra had died on his Siamese expedition a few months before Capt. Alves' arrival at Ava. He found the city in rebellion, and the new King besieging it. He was plundered and otherwise shamelessly treated. The prisoners were released, but the idea of satisfaction was scouted, and Ensign Lister's treaty was ignored.

The factory at Bassein was never re-established, but one appears to have been kept up at Rangoon, at least till 1782.

In 1769 the French East India Company sent an envoy to the court of Alompra's son, Senphyoo-yen,‡ with the view of re-establishing their trade. They obtained from the King the grant of a factory and other privileges, but these concessions were never acted on.§

* Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales.* Paris 1806, iii. 5.

† On the shore of the mainland, close to the north of Negrais, is now being laid out the new Port of Dalhousie. "The whirligig of time has brought about its revenges. The kingdom of Pegu, which the rough hunter conquered, has passed from his house to the hands of that power whose servants he treacherously slew; and the city that will rise on the site of his crime will borrow a name from the woody dells of Esk."—*Blackwood's Magazine,* May 1856.

‡ Called by Sonnerat "Zekin-médou," the Shembuan of Symes.

§ Sonnerat, as above, p. 8. This author, whose voyages took place between 1774 and 1781, has a dissertation on the advantages of taking possession of Pegu, for which he calculates that 1000 or 1200 Europeans would suffice, as the Peguans would join them. He commences, prophetically, "Il est certain que les Anglais chercheront un jour à s'emparer du Pégu."—iii. p. 60.

1794.—The Burmese, who had conquered Aracan in 1783, began to make insolent and threatening demonstrations on the Chittagong frontier; and it was known that the French were directing their attention to Burma as a good fulcrum for attack or intrigue against British India. For these and other reasons, the Governor-general (Sir J. Shore) deputed an embassy to Ava under Captain Michael Symes, of His Majesty's 74th Regiment.

It cannot be said that this Mission was treated with much respect, or advanced the estimation of the British power among the Burmans. Captain Symes was treated as the Envoy of an inferior power, and was undoubtedly himself imposed on by Burmese pretensions. The whole colouring of his narrative tends to leave a very exaggerated impression of the civilisation and magnificence of the Burmese empire.

In 1796, in accordance with the permission conceded in the document given to Capt. Symes, Capt. Hiram Cox was sent to act as Resident at Rangoon on the part of the Government of India. He had charge of some articles which the King had commissioned through Symes. But he was not to proceed to court, unless summoned.

He was summoned, and reached Amarapoora in January 1797. There, or in its neighbourhood, he remained during nine weary months, bearing with singular patience every kind of slight, indignity, and imposition, the history of which it is quite painful to read. In October he returned to Rangoon, and in February he was re-called by the Government, who (misled perhaps by the impression that Symes had given) intimated their opinion that the conduct of the court must have indicated personal dissatisfaction with Capt. Cox. And the King and his ministers were addressed, notifying Cox's recall, and offering to appoint another gentleman in whom the Vice-president had the greatest confidence, should His Majesty desire it.

Captain Cox's private journal was published in 1821, some years after his death.

Several insolent communications were in the following years received from the Viceroy of Rangoon and the Governor of Aracan, and in

1802, Capt. (now Col.) Symes was sent again by Lord Wellesley. His Mission was attended by an escort of 100 sepoys, and equipped in a style characteristic of the great pro-consul. He was to seek a treaty of alliance, the cessation of extortionate exactions on trade, the establishment of a Resident at court and of a Consul at Rangoon, and to claim Negrais, or compensating commercial advantages.

The Mission was a total failure. The Envoy was treated for three months with the most mortifying neglect and deliberate insult, and at last quitted without an audience of leave. It is not to be wondered at that the Colonel published no narrative of his second Mission.

In May, 1803, the apprehension of French intrigue in Burma again induced the Government to send Lieut. Canning as agent to Rangoon. But in consequence of the insolent violence of the Ye-woon, who was in charge of the Government there, and insisted on opening all letters, Lieut. Canning judged it best to return in November.

In 1804 an outrage was perpetrated on a British ship from Penang, which put into Bassein for wood and water. No notice was taken of this.

1809.—Capt. Canning was despatched as agent to Rangoon, with the special view of explaining to the Burmese the nature of our blockade-system, which was then enforced on the French Isles, to protect British interests, and to watch the progress of the French in Burma.

He proceeded to Amarapoora at the King's desire. He met with much better treatment than either of the two last Missions to the court, and the explanation, which was the main object of his Mission, was effected. But he did not leave without receiving from the Woongyis two most impertinent letters to the Governor-general.

1811.—This year commenced those disturbed relations on the Aracan frontier, which eventually led to the war of 1824. A native of Aracan, called King Berring, or Khyenbran, embodied a number of followers within our territory, and invaded Aracan. In September Capt. Canning was sent to give explanations on this matter, and to complain of the conduct of the Governor of Rangoon towards British trade. Whilst he was still at Rangoon, a gross violation of our territory was committed by the Governor of Aracan. Additional instructions were sent to Canning to complain of this, and to demand the withdrawal of the Burmese troops from the frontier. In consequence of a repetition of the offence he was recalled, whilst repeated orders came from Amarapoora to send him to court, by force if necessary. He depatched the presents, but returned to Bengal in August.

This was the last Mission up to the breaking out of war in 1824. It is not necessary to follow here the repeated and complicated encroachments and provocations which led to that event. War was declared on the 5th March, 1824, and the peace of Yandabo was signed on the 24th February, 1826.

CHAPTER IX.

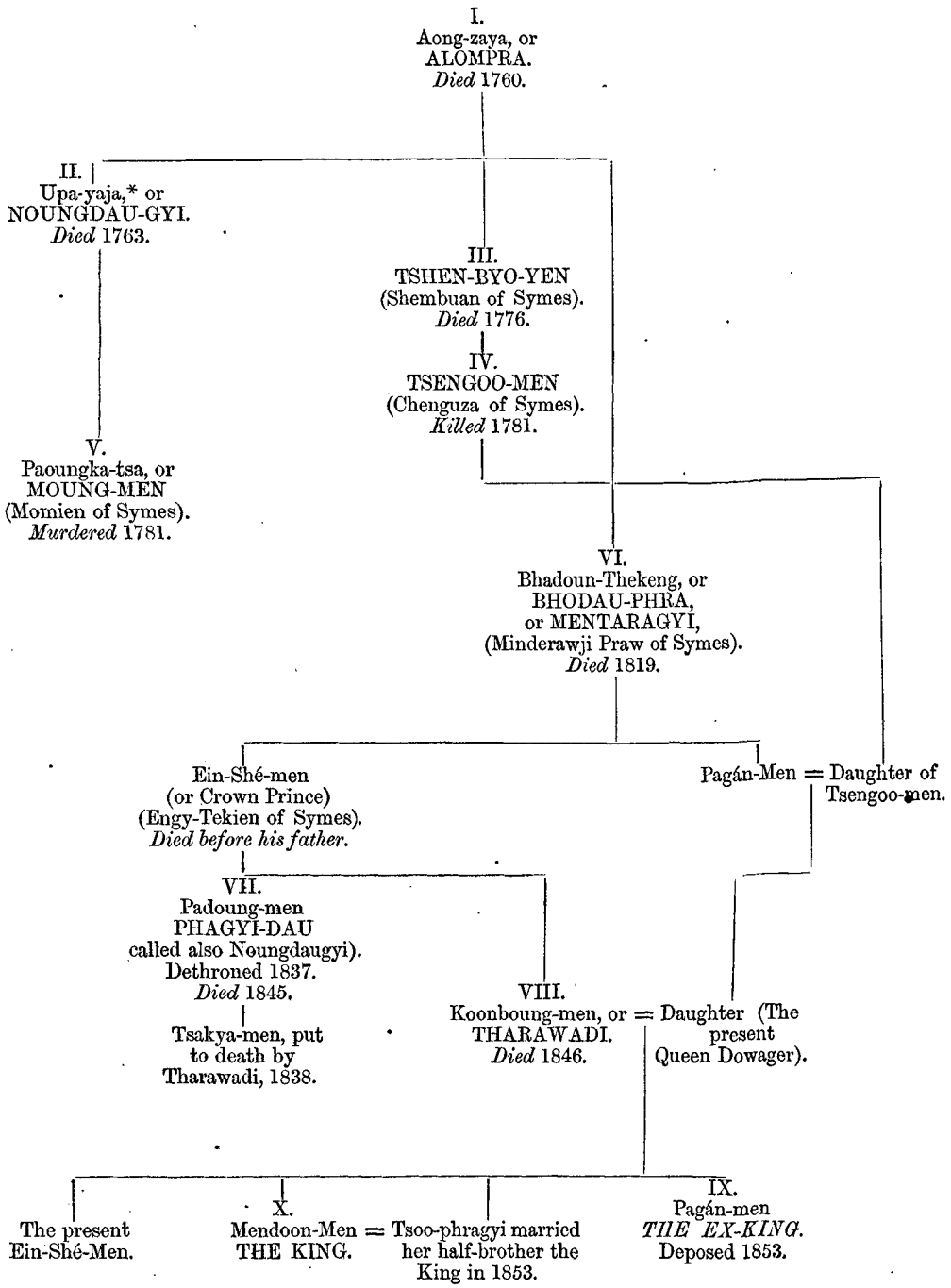
NOTICES OF THE HISTORY OF BURMA FROM THE PEACE OF YANDABO (1826) TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1853.

Genealogical Table of the Dynasty from Alompra to the Reigning Prince—Acme of the Burman Dominion in 1824—Treaty of Yandabo—Crawfurd's Mission—Burmese Embassy to Calcutta in 1827—Major Henry Burney sent as Resident to Ava (1830)—Reciprocal Mission to Bengal—State of the Court during Burney's Residence—The King's Character—The Queen and Her Brother Menthagyi—The King's melancholy Madness—His Treatment of his Ministers—His Extravagance—The Starving Lion—The Prince of Tharawadi—The Crisis—Tharawadi successfully rebels—Becomes King—His violent Conduct—Burney departs—Harsh Judgment of Burney by Lord Auckland's Government—Execution of the Ex-King's Son, the Queen, and her Brother—Colonel Benson sent as Resident—Treated with every Annoyance and Neglect—He departs—Captain Macleod Acting Resident—Revolt in Pegu and barbarous Executions—The Great Earthquake of 1839—Macleod withdraws to Rangoon—Quits the Country—The King's menacing Conduct—His Insanity—Anecdotes of Him—He is put under Restraint—His Death—Succession of the Prince of Pagán—His Initiatory Cruelties—Brutality and Debauchery—His Wicked Favourites—Their Oppressions and Downfall—The War of 1852—The Prince of Mendoon flies from the Capital and Revolts—Treatment of the Christian Prisoners in 1852—The Prince's Troops invest the City—It is surrendered, and the Prince assumes the Throne—His Coronation—He marries his Half-sister—Ancient Hindoo Customs at the Burman Court.

THE genealogical table on the following page exhibits the descent and succession of the Kings of Burma, from Alompra, the founder of the existing dynasty.

Some of the leading facts in the previous history of the Burmese countries will be found incidentally noticed in the note upon foreign intercourse with those regions. The object of the present chapter is to furnish a sketch of events at Ava, from the termination of the first war to the revolution which placed the present Sovereign on the throne of a contracted empire.

As with the Nepalese, and some other Indian powers, the empire of the Burmese Princes had just expanded to the widest limits known in their history, when it came into contact with British bayonets, and rapid collapse ensued. Thirty years have sufficed to strip them of dominions which had been the gradual acquisition of more than two centuries. 1824 saw the weak grandson of old Mentaragyi ruling over a territory that extended from Gowhati and the frontiers of the old British district of Rungpoor, to the great river of Cambodia eastward, and to the Island of Junk-Ceylon southward, embracing altogether an extreme width of 800 miles, an extreme length of 1200 miles, and a seaboard of equal extent. 1854 saw the Burmese confines reduced nearly as low as they had been in the centuries of decay that succeeded the fall of the Pagán dynasties, and without access to the sea, except through many leagues of British territory.



* Called by some of the writers in Dalrymple's *Repertory, euphoniæ causâ*, "Upper Roger." The appellation is taken from the *Sub-King* of the ancient Hindoo monarchies, *Upa-raja*, or *Yuva-raja*.—Sans. The names with Roman numerals are those of the Kings.

By the Treaty of Yandabo, Aracan and Tenasserim became British provinces. Among the articles, there was a stipulation that each state should have the right of maintaining a Resident with his escort at the court of the other; and it was provided, also, that a commercial treaty should be the subject of subsequent negotiation.

In September 1826 Mr. Crawfurd, the distinguished historian of the Indian Archipelago, who was then Civil Commissioner at Rangoon, proceeded to Ava as Envoy, to negotiate the commercial treaty. The arrogance of the nation had already, with marvellous elasticity, recovered all its old exorbitance. Though the Envoy experienced none of the personal insolence to which most of his predecessors had been subjected, many official impertinences, covert or open, were offered to the Mission and the Government which it represented. The Envoy was presented to the King on a *kodau*, or "beg-pardon" day, and no reply was vouchsafed by his Majesty to the Governor-general's letter. Mr. Crawfurd appears to have been rendered weary, hopeless, and disgusted, by the arrogance and impracticability of the Burmese ministers, and at last contented himself with accepting such a treaty as the Burmese deigned to bestow. It was of no great value, and was scarcely made ere they attempted to infringe it. The admirable work on Burma, which Mr. Crawfurd published after his return to England, was probably of much greater worth than the treaty.

In March 1827 a Burmese embassy came to Calcutta. Their principal object was to obtain the postponement of the outstanding half of the tribute. But they were referred at once to Sir Archibald Campbell, at Maulmain.

The fourth instalment of the tribute continued unpaid in 1830, when the Government, in spite of the warning which they had received from the sagacity of Mr. Crawfurd, determined on sending Major Henry Burney, an officer who had acquitted himself with great credit on a Mission to Siam, and in other duties in Malacca and Tenasserim, to reside at the Court of Ava, in terms of the stipulation in the 4th article of the Treaty of Yandabo. The Resident reached Ava in April.

In October of the same year, the Burmese despatched a reciprocal Mission to Calcutta. These Envoys were nearly three years absent, and visited the upper provinces to meet Lord William Bentinck.

It was not without great difficulty, and the patient overthrow of boundless chicanery, that the last instalment of the tribute was wrung from the Burmese Government. It was, however, completed at last, in October 1832, and even a small overplus* was found to have been received, and was duly returned.

Major Burney, during his residence at Ava, which extended (with some interruptions from ill-health) from April 1830 to June 1837, obtained considerable personal influence over the ministers, which was always exercised for good. But his own growing and often-expressed conviction seems to have been unfavourable to the utility of maintaining permanently a British Resident among the Burmese, as producing, with a Government so blind and perverse, too many occasions of contact and irritation. At first he appears to

* Sa. Rs. 14,000.

have entertained the hope of obtaining the personal regard of the King, of being admitted familiarly to his levees, and of thus being able constantly to exercise a beneficial influence: but circumstances were unfavourable. The then King of Burma, Phagyi-dau, or Noungdaugyi ("Royal Elder Brother") as he is now most commonly called, a man of about forty-seven or forty-eight years of age, was popular among his subjects at the capital, on account of his partiality for the public amusements, the shows, boat-races, and fêtes, in which they so much delight,* and he had the reputation of good nature, accessibility, and unwillingness to shed blood. But he was without ability or strength of character, restless, childless, arrogant, and violent. The ministers never dared to bring an unpleasant subject plainly before him, and he often vented his displeasure on even the chief among them by flinging his spear, Saul-like, in open court, or by inflicting on them the most degrading punishments.† He felt bitterly the loss of his provinces, never could bear to confess even the equality of the British Government to his own, and viewed the presence of the Resident with jealousy and aversion, as that of a dictator and a spy.‡ Ever since he came to the throne, and even before that, an extraordinary influence over him had been wielded by his chief Queen, a woman of low origin, and of age at least equal to his own, but who spared no pains by the most assiduous devotion to keep up that influence which her fascinations had originally acquired. In earlier years she had been commonly known among the King's relations as "the sorceress." Her power was shared by her brother, known as Menthagyi (*Great Prince*), once a fishmonger, a man of considerable intelligence, and when he chose, of unusually dignified manners for a Burman, but superstitious, cowardly, brutal,§ and grasping beyond all bounds.

The Sakya-men, the King's only son, born by a deceased Queen of royal blood, was a lad of about eighteen at the time of Burney's arrival; but he was then, and continued to be throughout his father's reign, kept completely in the back-ground by his step-mother.

* One of his favourite amusements was riding pony-races with his attendants in the streets before the Palace.

† Such as, placing them fettered in the common gaol for the night; or spreading them out all day on their backs in the hot sun with a heavy weight on the chest. (See *Crawfurd*, p. 287.) Mr. Howard Malcolm mentions, that just before he was at Ava the King had forty of his highest officers spread out in the public street before the Palace wall, and kept for hours under a broiling sun with a heavy beam across their bodies. (*Travels*, i. 249.)

‡ The Burmese probably looked on the office of the Resident as too strongly analogous to that of the *Tsitkês* whom they maintain at the courts of the tributary Shan princes.

§ There is a curious story in Judson's *Life* of Menthagyi's superstition and cruelty. Some foreigner had given the King a lion, an animal much talked of by the Burmans but perhaps never seen before. During the successful advance of Sir Archibald Campbell it struck Menthagyi, who had heard of the "British lion," that there was some mysterious complicity between the Royal beast and the victorious enemy. He persuaded the King, accordingly, to send the lion to the death-prison (where the Christian prisoners were then confined), and to have him there *starved to death*. "The unhappy prisoners had seen *men* starved, and beaten, and smothered, and strangled to death, then dragged from the door and thrust like dogs into some shallow pit, or left for wild dogs to devour; and they thought they had gained a fearful familiarity with every species of wretchedness. But there was something almost supernatural in this new horror—a gradually starving lion." After the lion's death, Judson, who had fever, was allowed to remove to the empty cage. (*Life*, i. 312.)

Menthagyi was looked on as a chief prince of the empire; and though affecting deference to the Woongyis, was really the ruler of the Hlwotdau. He and his sister were the leaders of the war-party in 1824–26, and no part of the loss or suffering which it occasioned fell upon them. They had contrived to appropriate much of the treasure left behind by old Mentárágyi; and a large part of the exactions wrung from the people on the pretext of the Yandabo tribute found its way into their coffers.*

The King had been subject to occasional melancholy or hypochondria, and in 1831 these fits assumed an aggravated form approaching to insanity. They continued to recur throughout the remainder of his reign; he ceased to take any part or interest in public business, and the rule of the kingdom was thrown more and more into the hands of the Queen and her brother. Nearly all the provincial governments and offices were filled by their creatures; and it was supposed, that in the event of the King's death their enormous wealth and influence would be employed to establish themselves permanently in power.

These two persons were naturally viewed with great discontent and hatred by all the princes of the blood, towards whom they latterly exercised no pretence of delicacy or deference, and especially by the Prince of Tharawadi, the King's own brother, and who had, till the King's illness, enjoyed his confidence and affection. As a Prince, Tharawadi, who had great tact and winning manners, was looked on as a man of liberality and intelligence, with some partiality for Europeans and appreciation of their knowledge; but his temper was violent, and he was addicted to gambling, drinking, and low society. He had a large appanage; and though he latterly withdrew from almost all intercourse with the court and ministers, and all attempt to participate in the business of the state, it was believed that for some years he had been collecting arms and gathering followers round him. It was supposed that he had no designs hostile to his brother, but that he was preparing for the contingency of the latter's death, and the part that he might then have to play. He was a favourite of the people, on account of his carelessness as to money and supposed liberality of disposition, and whatever public feeling there might be was in his favour.

In the spring of 1837 things came to a crisis. On a certain occasion, the ministers under the influence of Menthagyi ordered a military force to search the house of the Tharawadi Prince for a desperado, who was reported to be secreted there. The Prince's people having first driven off the assailants with disgrace, he fled, with his partisans, across the river to Sagain, and thence to Mout-shobo. This was on the 24th February, 1837.

From Mout-shobo, Tharawadi sent out his emissaries in all directions to stir up discontent, or (in his own words to Burney) "to set all the country a-boiling and a-bubbling."

A large rabble army of such as flocked to David at Adullam gathered rapidly to his standard. Thousands of men were hastily collected by the alarmed Government, and sent against the Prince; but they had no stomach for fighting in that cause, and speedily dwindled away.

* Much also that was not appropriated by them was squandered by the court in the most childish extravagance. At the very time when the court needed to be so hard pressed by the Resident to make good the payment, vast sums were thrown away in excavating from the Tsagyen quarries and bringing to Ava a monstrous block of marble, and converting it into an image of Gautama.

Burney's timely counsel had been neglected when it might yet have saved the Government; and it was too late when they at last declared themselves dependent on him alone for counsel and assistance. Though in shattered health, he undertook to go to Mout-shobo, to bring the Prince to terms. But the time was past. Tharawadi listened to him, but was now confident of success, and scouted compromise; and the bandits who surrounded him were hot for the plunder of the city.

This sack was, however, averted by the Resident's exertions, which extorted a pledge from Tharawadi that the city should be spared and no life sacrificed, if the ministers would surrender. Early in April the city and all the ministers and princes were in the hands of the insurgents. Tharawadi at first called himself only King of Yatanathainga, or of Koonboung* (both, I believe, names of Mout-shobo); but at the end of a month he proclaimed that his brother had resigned the sovereignty into his hands, and he took possession of the Palace.

The new King's head was turned and his heart hardened by his easy success. He was surrounded by violent and ignorant ruffians, many of whom had been notorious robbers. Numerous and barbarous executions took place in defiance of the pledge which Burney had extorted. The whole country was presently in anarchy, and no business was attended to by the party now in power, but that of sacking and plundering the deposed King's officers and their adherents. The King himself, though he generally treated the Resident with personal kindness, hated the check of his presence, and was irritated by his manly and humane remonstrances. He spoke habitually in public with contempt of the British Government, and disclaimed all obligation to observe the treaties made by his brother's Government.

In June, the King, who had vowed to make Ava a heap of ruins, left the city in charge of Moung Thoung Bo, a notorious robber, and proceeded up the Irawadi to Kyouk-myoung, carrying with him the whole court, a large part of the population, the ex-King and Queen, and the wretched Menthagyi.

For many days this quondam Cæsar and many others, ex-ministers, had lain in the stocks, dependent on the British Resident for the daily bread which their relatives dared not supply. The daughters of Menthagyi were forced to beg through the town for money to hire a boat to carry their father and his fellow-prisoners; and the eldest, to whom one of the new King's sons had once been a rejected suitor, was said to have been subjected by the King's order to worse indignity.

From the commencement of the revolution, Col. Burney had judged that no good could come of his remaining. And now, in the state of the King's temper, it could only lead to collision between the Governments, or to disgraceful submission to insult. Indeed, the King refused to allow the Residency to accompany him to Kyouk-myoung, or to allow the treaties or the Governor-general to be referred to in his hearing, and Ava was now no place for it to remain at. He withdrew, therefore, but partly on a genuine plea of ill-health, to Rangoon, and eventually to Calcutta and England.

* Koonboung-men appears to have become the historical name of Tharawadi.

Lord Auckland, whose thoughts were already turned to that very different stage on which the next few years were to witness so disastrous a history, seems to have regarded with impatience the prospect of embroilment in a Burmese quarrel. Perhaps there may have been irritation from previous differences of opinion, which Burney always expressed honestly. The Government disapproved of his withdrawal of the Residency, condemned many parts of his proceedings during these critical events with no little harshness, and passed over with cold and slight acknowledgment his exertions and great services in the cause of humanity. In such trying circumstances, and among such a trying people, he may have committed some errors. But his great merits, and the virtuous energy which had mitigated the horrors of a savage revolution, and saved a great city from fire and sack, deserved a better recompense.

The King, after several months' residence at Kyouk-myoung, where he had purposed to establish his capital, abandoned that whim and returned to Amarapoora, which he proceeded to re-occupy.

About the time of his return from Kyouk-myoung, an accusation of meditated treason, concocted by the King's debauchee sons, the Princes of Pakhán and Prome, was brought against the Tsakya-Men, the deposed Monarch's only son, who had always looked up to his uncle as a friend and protector, and he was put to death, with his entire household. The wretched Queen and her brother were spared for more than two years longer; and then, on the pretext of a revolt in the Shan countries, were put to death with a number of their followers, under circumstances of horrid barbarity.*

The ex-King was spared, at first, it was said, through superstitious fears instilled into Thárawadi's mind by his eldest daughter, an adept in astrology. This astrological lady is now the chief Queen of the reigning sovereign. Tharawadi appears afterwards to have treated his brother with kindness and consideration; and it was even rumoured at one time that he had invited him to resume the crown. The elder brother lived at least to the middle of 1845; but I believe he died before Tharawadi's own seclusion from power.

In the middle of 1838, the Government endeavoured to repair what they considered Burney's error, by replacing a Resident at the court of Ava; and Col. Benson was despatched in that capacity, with costly presents to the King. The Mission was, however, a total failure.

The new Resident was treated with annoyance and disparagement all the way up the river; was received at Kyouk-taloung by some low western adventurers holding no official position, and, when he reached the capital, was wretchedly accommodated on a low promontory, cut off from the town by a wide creek,† with no means of getting supplies, and subject, as they found in course of time, to actual inundation.

Col. Benson, during his six months' residence, continued to be treated with marked

* Wilson's *Narrative*, p. 278. This circumstance has escaped me among the original papers.

† The site is that marked as Htayagyoon in the survey of the capital. Neither dealers, boatmen, nor labourers would come to the Residency; and when Mr. Edwards was sent to the ministers to obtain assistance, he was told that it was not proper to make representations about such trifling matters.

neglect and discourtesy, and was never received by the King. It seemed as if Tharawadi was determined to maintain his views of the nullity of the Yandabo Treaty, and by his contumelious treatment of the British Envoy to wipe out the disgrace of the war. Col. Benson appears to have acted with spirit and temper; but in March 1839, suffering in health, and disgusted with his useless and intolerable position, he returned to Bengal, more warlike in his views and prognostications than ever Burney had been. He left in charge of the Residency Capt. Macleod, his assistant, who had long been employed on various duties in Ava and Tenasserim. Capt. Macleod, with whom King Tharawadi had been formerly acquainted, was favoured with an audience, but otherwise fared no better than his chief. At last, when the flood-waters of the Irawadi were laving the floors of the Residency, and the ministers continued to treat with contemptuous indifference his applications for another abode, on the plea of ill-health he quitted the capital and returned to Rangoon.*

In the beginning of the year, whilst Benson was still at Amarapoora, a revolt broke out in the district of Hlain, near Rangoon, under the influence of a Perkin Warbeck, who personated the King's murdered nephew, the Tsakya-Men; a personation which has since been several times renewed. The pretender was captured and executed at the capital, whilst cruel massacres took place in the offending district. The Myo-thoogyi of Hlain, with forty or fifty of his connexions, men, women, and children, were penned in a bamboo house, and set fire to,† or blown up with gunpowder. Others were subjected to more lingering agony. Twisted straw was wound round their bodies, fire set to one end of the coil, and the poor wretches thus consumed by inches.‡

Another event that occurred during Capt. Macleod's residence at Amarapoora was the memorable earthquake of the 23d March, 1839, which shattered every brick building in the valley of Ava, and converted the great pile at Mengoon into the singular phenomenon which I have described in Chapter VI. Repeated shocks occurred during the succeeding months, one of which threw down the pillars of the new Palace then in process of erection at Amarapoora.

Capt. Macleod continued to reside at Rangoon till January 1840, when he finally withdrew the British Residency from Burmese territory. His remaining was of little utility; and yet there was no very definite ground for the final step. From that time till the first visit of Commodore Lambert to Rangoon, in 1852, there was no attempt at intercourse between the two Governments.

For a year or two, the King's violent and menacing conduct, surrounded as he continued to be by disreputable subjects and low foreigners, troubled the British Government

* King Tharawadi was amused at the success of his efforts to extinguish the residency, and thought it an especially good joke that the Residents somehow always got ill.

† This wholesale torture is an old practice in Burma, and is mentioned by some of the travellers in Purchas. It was the fate anticipated by Judson and the other captives when driven out to Oungben-lé, in 1826.

‡ Commodore Lambert may or may not have plunged us into evitable war. Pegu may or may not pay its expenses. But such atrocities as these are ended.

every now and then with the apprehension of what they so much dreaded—a second Burmese war. Especially was this the case in the latter part of 1841, when King Tharawadi visited Rangoon with his whole court; a visit which had been preceded by a great note of military preparation. The King was "letting I dare not, wait upon I would," but he was not without a just sense of the British power, whatever might be his vaunts when stimulated by pride, passion, and flattery. So in the end prudence, and probably the King's impatience of everything like serious business, prevailed.

In spite of his caprices and insane cruelties, there must have been some attractive points about this King, for he is still spoken of at Amarapoora with something of kindly remembrance. This, however, may have been in great measure the result of the terror and hatred inspired by the more systematic and cold-blooded atrocities of the son who succeeded him on the throne. Tharawadi was a man of more active habits than has been usual among the Burmese Kings, and was fond of mechanical arts.*

As early as the period of his assumption of the throne, symptoms of insanity in Tharawadi's conduct had been noticed by Col. Burney. The shock occasioned by the explosion of the powder magazine within the Palace walls, in the beginning of 1841, is said to have further unsettled his mind. The ferocity which had been developed at the time of his first success increased from year to year in conjunction with caprice and whimsical extravagances, and occasionally broke out as unmistakable derangement.

A few anecdotes, noted from the recollection of residents in the country at the time, will give an idea of the Burmese court under King Tharawadi.

In 1843, when Sir Charles Napier's campaign in Sindh was first heard of at Amarapoora, the King remarked to an English merchant that he was on the best of terms with the British, and that if the Government would only send ships to Rangoon, he would put a thousand men on board every ship, to go and fight on our part in Sindh. "I want nothing from Queen Victoria in return," he said, "except a small feather, or some such trifle."

At the time when he made this chivalrous offer, His Majesty was putting people to death every day with his own hand. Through something of the same feeling, perhaps, that made him so anxious to get rid of Burney, it was noticed that the King committed no murders on days when the gentleman just mentioned came to court, insomuch that one of the Woongyis begged him to visit the King daily.

On one occasion the king was riding; his horse stumbled, and the umbrella-bearer who ran alongside laid hold of the reins to recover it. The poor man was immediately ordered to be shot.

Moung Pedru, Governor of Pagán, and a Mussulman, was ordered to be confined in a pig-sty and then put to death.

A favourite royal amusement was, to make any one who happened to be present kneel down with his face to the ground, when the King, drawing his sword, would facetiously

* A harmonicon of steel bars, which a party of musicians brought occasionally to the Residency, was said to have been of the King's manufacture. And Camaretta even could boast of having once possessed a *hat* made by the Royal hands!

score a chessboard with gashes on the unfortunate's bare back. A man who is still in office about the court can show the chequered endorsement of King Tharawadi's favours. Often he would have two or three men taken out, and would set them up to be shot at with his double-barrelled gun. He used to procure the livers of his victims and offer them to the tutelary spirits of various trees.

In the latter years of his reign, Tharawadi quitted the capital and lived almost entirely at Madé, a village on the Irawadi, a few miles north of the city, at which he had built a Palace.

In the summer of 1845 he had become so outrageous that scarcely any one dared to go near him. One of his illegitimate sons, the Pyee-Men (Prince of Prome), having succeeded in removing all the King's weapons, put him under restraint, and took on himself the Royal authority. But the King, with the cunning of the insane, affected recovery, and after a few days got back the reins into his own hands. His first desire was to put his son to death. The Prince, however, escaped for a time to the Shan states. The King, suspecting the Woongyi Moung Youk-gyi, who had been formerly Governor of Rangoon, to have been cognisant of the Prince's intentions, speared him with his own hand.

A few months later (September 1845) a more successful attempt was made to put the King under restraint. One of his sons, called the Taroup-mau-Mentha (Prince of Chinese Point), assisted by some officers of the court, seized his person, removed him to the Palace at Amarapoora, and placed him there in confinement. The attendance of his women and servants was allowed him till the end of his life, in November 1846. During this interval the Government was exercised by the Prince of Pagán, the King's eldest legitimate son, but he did not assume the Royal title till his father's death.

About the period of Tharawadi's seclusion, the Prince of Prome was brought in a prisoner from the Shan country. One of Tharawadi's queens, the Anouknan-dau, was accused (falsely, it is believed) of having conspired with that Prince to seize the throne. The Prince with five of his sons, and the Queen with all her relatives,* were put to death at the usual place of execution.† Such was the worthy inauguration of the Pagán-Men's Government, and its history did not belie this early promise.

Some time after his accession to the throne, he made a holocaust, after the old Burman fashion, of his brother, the Taroup-mau-Mentha, with his family and all his household, to the number of eighty or a hundred persons. I am speaking of deeds that have been done

* One girl, Tharawadi's child by this Queen, was spared, and she is now the principal wife of the Ein-shé-Men.

† Women are executed by the stroke of a bludgeon across the throat. The death reserved for a prince of the blood is peculiar. He is taken to the place of execution; his head is bent down, and his neck broken (it is supposed) with a stroke of a bludgeon. The body is then pushed, thus doubled, into a velvet bag, which is placed on a stick lashed across two jars, and launched on the river. The jars are then perforated.

Decapitation, as already mentioned, is the usual mode of execution, but crucifixion, fracture of the limbs, and other lingering cruelties, are occasionally practised. In the first volume of Ward's *Hindoos* (8vo. edition, 1822, p. cvii.) will be found an extract from a letter by Mr. F. Carey, a resident at Rangoon in the early part of this century, describing the frightful atrocities of this kind which he had himself witnessed.

within the last eight or nine years, when Lord Dalhousie was already Governor-general of India. The new King strongly resembled his father in person, but with nothing of the princely mien and winning manner which attracted strangers in Tharawadi. And he had all the worst parts of his father's character without the plea of insanity in excuse. He never paid the slightest attention to public affairs, but devoted himself to low favourites and low amusements; to cock-fighting, ram-fighting, wrestling, gambling, and debauchery. He detested Europeans, or, as the people at Amarapoora used to say, he hated everything that began with a *K* (*Kalá*). His chief minister was the Kyouk Padoung Mengyi, a man once a leader of banditti, who had been promoted to the Hlwotdau by Tharawadi on his first success. His cruelties were not mere acts of caprice, but were the means of carrying out or concealing extortions. His favourites and stimulators in these atrocities were two native Mahomedans, Moung Bhai Sahib, one of the Myo-woons of the city, and the latter's lieutenant (or *Myo-tsaré**), Moung Bhein. The power of these ruffians endured about two years; and it is said that during that period 3000 persons were privately put to death in the gaols, besides a nearly equal number of public executions. People were laid hold of on all sorts of pretexts, such as fishing in the royal lakes, eating beef, or killing goats, and after large sums had been extorted from them (in which the King was believed to share) their silence was secured by murder.

These villains were becoming more rampant every day, and the discontent became so audible that the King at last took alarm. A violent proceeding of Moung Bhai's within the Palace-walls was made a pretext for the King's indignation against him; he was arrested and put in charge of the other Myo-woon. At first the people could not believe that their tyrant had really fallen, and were afraid to speak against him. But when they saw that the King was in earnest, accusers flocked to the Yoomdau, and the unhappy wretch suffered all the magazine of tortures that he had inflicted upon others. Pins were driven under his nails, hot irons applied to all parts of his body, and his limbs beaten with sledge-hammers. After three days of this horrible mauling he was carted to the burying-ground and beheaded, along with Moung Bhein and others of his tools.

This happened a year or more before the war of 1852. It is no part of my plan to give a narrative of that war. With such government at head-quarters, it is easy to understand how the oppressions and exactions at Rangoon were allowed to go on from bad to worse till interference was inevitable.

The first shot in the war was fired from the Burmese stockades in the Rangoon river, on the 10th January, 1852, and Lord Dalhousie's proclamation annexing the province of Pegu was published at Rangoon on the 20th December of the same year. About the same time important events occurred at the capital, involving nearly a repetition of the occurrences of 1837.†

The Prince of Mendoon was the only thoroughly respectable man of Tharawadi's

* Literally "Town Clerk." This is the *Mew-Jerry* of Cox. Moung Bhein, as a sort of per-contra to his crimes, built the long bridge (1200 yards long) which crossed the lake near the Residency.

† The love of precedent which distinguishes the Burmese seems almost to mould their history in repetitions.

numerous family. He and one brother (the present Ein-shé-Men) were the children of that Prince by the daughter of a Tsayegyi, or clerk, who had been taken into his establishment as an inferior wife. The Prince of Mendoon had always been opposed to the war. In December the "cock-fighting king," as he was called in derision, aware of the discontent created by his folly and brutality, and by the disasters of the war, turned a jealous eye on the amiable Prince of Mendoon, and the latter, becoming aware that his life was in danger, on the 17th of that month fled from the capital with his brother and about 150 followers, and, according to family precedent, made for Mout-shobo. There must have been some preparation for this flight, for immediately after crossing the river, which they passed about fifteen miles above the capital, they were met by large bands of their partisans, and, facing about, routed the King's troops, who had gone after them. They then went on to Mout-shobo, and captured it after a little resistance.

The Christian prisoners, including Mr. Spears, but consisting principally of Armenians, had been put in durance at the beginning of the war, and had been deprived of their property, after which they were transferred to Oungben-lé, as has been mentioned in Chapter VI. On the 29th of December these prisoners were made aware of the approach of the insurgents by the sight of burning villages to the northward and north-westward. On the 31st their gaoler, Moung-galá, the Lamaing Woon, or Superintendent of the Royal rice-fields, went out with five hundred musketeers, some forty horsemen, and a few guns. Great firing ensued for four or five hours, for which nobody seems to have been the worse, but in the end Moung-galá retreated, casting his guns into the lake. The insurgents came on, and stripped the prisoners of all the little necessaries or money they had preserved, but left them thankful to keep whole skins. They were then unwatched, so they knocked off the irons which they had worn for nine months, and betook themselves to the city.

Next day (1st January, 1853) the Prince's troops flocked in from all sides and began a general plunder of the suburbs. Nothing was to be heard all day but the cleaving and battering in of doors by these brigands. All this time the gates of the walled city were open, and there was not a man or a gun upon the ramparts. The insurgents went round and round, but did not enter; and both parties were probably inclined for negotiation.

After three days, however, the King took heart; the gates were shut, guns mounted on the bastions, the parapets manned, and firing commenced on both sides.

This firing went on for six-and-forty days, resulting in a loss on both sides of 300 or 400 men at most. About the 18th of February a party within the walls, headed by the Magwé Mengyi, the present chief minister, seized and confined the King's chief advisers; and in the confusion and abandonment of the defence that ensued, the Prince's troops got over the walls and fell to plundering and burning the town. The Hlaing-Mentha, one of the remaining sons of Tharawadi, who commanded the King's troops, was slain in the scuffle.

It must not be supposed that the Mendoon-men or his brother were leading their victorious troops. That is not "Burman custom." When Rabbah is taken then Joab sends for David. The elder Prince was still, and for long afterwards, at Mout-shobo. His brother came to Sagain about the beginning of January, and continued there till the city was in possession of his troops. He then entered, and the Mendoon-men was proclaimed

King.* Of his character we have already spoken. His conscientious efforts to do justice have been rewarded by complete tranquillity, not only in the Burmese provinces, but among those Shan states which in the days of his brother and father were in a state of chronic insurrection.

His coronation, or solemn consecration as King, took place at the end of the year.† His brother, the ex-King, lives, guarded but contemned, in a corner of the fortified city.

Soon after his accession the new King, according to the custom of his fabled ancestors, the Sakya Princes of Kapilavastu, married his half-sister. The lady who thus became the Nan-ma-dau-Phra, or Principal Queen, was Tharawadi's eldest daughter, by a cousin-german of his own, and bore the title of Tsoophra-gyi. She is a year or two younger than her husband, being now (1856) forty-one years of age. By an ancient Burmese prescription, as the eldest daughter of the royal house she had remained unmarried.‡ She is the only one of the numerous ladies of the Palace who has been married to the King by the ceremony called "*Let-htat*," or joining of hands. She has no children.§

* The King probably kept out of the way in some degree to save his character for humanity. Executions were not nearly so numerous as in former revolutions at Ava, or even as at peaceful accessions of new sovereigns. At that of Phagyi-dau in 1819, for instance, though there was no disputed succession, nearly two hundred public officers were put to death. Still there were executions in 1853, and among the victims were the three sons of the deceased Prince of Pakhán. The Crown Prince gave out that they had run away.

† At this ceremony, the ministers, princes, grandees, and men of wealth, assemble round the King, whilst the Court Brahmins, after prayers or chaunts, take Ganges water in a *chank* shell, and pour it in the palm of the King's hand and upon the knot of hair on his head. As this is being done the assembled courtiers cry aloud, "O Lord, protect and cherish us your slaves, the inhabitants of this country, and all living creatures." (Burney's *Journal.*) This is one of those ancient Indian customs of the court to which I have before alluded, and is also maintained at the court of Siam (see Bowring, vol. i.). Thus in Wilson's *Hindu Theatre* (i. 270), in the play of *Vicrama and Urvasi*, when their son Ayus is consecrated as Yuva-raja (young King, or Cæsar, a title also, perhaps, preserved in the Burmese Upa-raja, and probably the original of the second King of the Siamese), the nymphs bring water of the heavenly Ganges, which is poured over his head on the throne of inauguration.

‡ One popular reason assigned for this is, that she is kept, in case of a successful invasion of the kingdom, to bestow as a bride upon the conquering Prince. Like the other practices just alluded to, it may, perhaps, be found to have its origin in some ancient Indian custom recorded in the Buddhist books. In Siam all the Royal daughters appear to be condemned to celibacy. (*Bowring*, i. 435.)

§ Major Phayre.

CHAPTER X.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGION OF THE BURMESE.

Religion of Burma—Theoretical Atheism—Origin of Buddhism—History of Sakya—The Doctrine—The Dewas—The Cosmography—The Embryo Buddha—The Ascetic Life—Pagoda Worship—Ethics—Reflected Influence of Burmese Buddhism in Ceylon—Heretical Sectarians.

"ALL cultivated Chinese are—intellectually at least—strict and conscientious atheists. But however consistent in their views, as taken by the bare understanding, it is impossible for them practically to repress the action of their naturally inherent religious faculties. Argue with them, and you find them unmistakably atheist. Let them talk themselves about the vicissitudes of human affairs, and about their own lot in life, and you will find them influenced by a belief in Teen as a supreme, intelligent, rewarding and punishing power, with more or less of will and personality. Theoretically, they are atheists; practically, they are pantheists, or even deists."*

Nearly this I have heard Major Phayre give as his experience of the Burmese. Dogmatically their religion, or philosophy, admits no recognition of an eternal God. But their conscience, or religious instinct, leads them frequently to speak in a way consistent only with such recognition; just as the polytheist Hindoo, in his spontaneous talk, acknowledges the one Bhagwan, apparently with no reference to any member of his Pantheon.

It seems to me necessary, if it be but for ready reference, that this work should contain some account of a subject so prominent as the religion of the country. I asked Major Phayre to favour me with a short paper on the subject, but he had no leisure for the task; and this must be my apology for undertaking it with so little qualification. My principal authorities are named below.†

From the valley of the middle Ganges, through which our railway contractors are now driving their lines of embankment, and from the beginning of the sixth century

* *The Chinese and their Rebellions*, by T. T. Meadows, Esq., 1856.

† Major A. Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes;* R. S. Hardy's *Eastern Monachism;* the same author's *Manual of Buddhism*; Hodgson's *Sketches of Buddhism;* Sangermano's *Burman Empire; Travels of Fa-hian* (Calcutta, 1848); *Essay* by Dr. Judson, appended to Wayland's *Life* of him (vol. ii.); Turnour's *Papers* in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.*, &c.

I have made free use of Mr. Hardy's books, which throw great light on Burmese Buddhism, from the identity of its books and rites with those of Ceylon, where he gathered his knowledge. Several valuable articles on Buddhism have appeared since this chapter was written. I may mention two admirable papers in *The Times*, in March or April of this year (1857), in the form of *Essays on the Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims to India. A Lecture on Buddha and Buddhism*, by Professor Wilson, has also been printed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

before Christ, when the kings were yet reigning in Rome and Nebuchadnezzar was overrunning Western Asia, this religion, which still, after nearly five-and-twenty centuries, claims between two hundred and three hundred millions of votaries, has its origin.*

There can be no longer a doubt that Gautama was a veritable historical personage; and whatever may have been his real participation in the superhuman pretensions that are ascribed to him by his followers, there is strong reason to believe that he was a great and patriotic social reformer, denouncing, as he did, caste and priestly mediation, and inculcating a purer code of morals than the Brahmins, whom his doctrine so extensively supplanted.†

Sakya Muni, Sakya Sinha, or Gautama, originally called Siddhartha, the founder of this doctrine, at least in the shapes that it has worn since his time,‡ was the son of Suddhodana, the Kshetriya sovereign of Kapilawastu, a small principality north of the Ganges between Gorakhpoor and Oudh, and was descended from the Suryavansa, or line of the Sun. He was born in the year 623 B. C., and spent his youth in the pursuit of pleasure. In his twenty-ninth year certain incidents awakened him to reflection on the transitoriness and delusiveness of human life and enjoyments. He had his palaces and pavilions, his gardens and orchards and pools of water, his princesses and handmaidens, his men-singers and women-singers; but, like another prince some centuries before his time, he found that all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and he abandoned his wife and child, his palaces and pleasures, to adopt the life of an ascetic mendicant. For six years he went through various courses of discipline; and then, after many weeks spent in intense meditation at the place still called Buddha-Gaya, he became invested with those high attributes which constituted him a Buddha.§ The rest of his long life was spent in travelling over India, and residing at its various cities, explaining the immutable laws of existence, persuading to meritorious actions, exhorting to the attainment of that final emancipation which is called *nirwána* (Burm. *nigban*), and aiding candidates for that crowning prize. At the age of eighty years he died between two sál trees in a grove at Kusinára,‖ B. C. 543. The death of Sakya is related to have been occasioned by dysentery, brought on or aggravated by eating pork; a circumstance which, however ingeniously

* Hardy quotes a German estimate of the Buddhists of our day at 369 millions. Major Cunningham has 222 millions, and is probably nearly right. He has omitted Tibet and Mongolia, unless including them in his estimate for China, which is 170 millions.

† See Cunningham, p. 51.

‡ Some have supposed that Buddhism, and claimants of the character of Buddha, actually existed before Sakya. Major Cunningham seems in a degree to take this view, or at least to consider that the personages whom Sakya adopted into his system as the three preceding Buddhas of the present world-period, were previously the subjects of hero-worship in India.

§ "Kapilawatthu is my native city. The Raja Suddhodana is my father; and the mother who bore me is called Máya. Until my twenty-ninth year I led the life of a layman, having three palaces called Rammo, Surammo, and Sabho. I had an establishment of forty thousand accomplished women. Buddhakachana (Yasodara) was my consort, and Rahulo was my son. On witnessing the four predictive indications, I departed on horseback. During the six years I was undergoing my probation, I endured severe trials. I am Gotomo Buddho, the Saviour of living men."—The words of Sakya in the *Buddhavanso*. Turnour, in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vii. 817.

‖ An extravagant variation exists in the localities assigned to this place. Major Cunningham identifies it with *Kusia* on the little Gunduk (p. 29).

in the narrative adapted to the supernatural character of the sage, seems hardly likely to have been invented.

After solemn cremation his bones were divided into eight parts. These were eagerly claimed by eight princes or states of the territories of Maithila and Magadha, which we should now define as the provinces of North and South Bahar; and *sthupas* (topes, tumuli, or pagodas) were erected over them. Legends of various Buddhist countries, to which the doctrine was unknown for centuries after the death of its founder, bring Gautama as a personal visitor to those countries. But the history of the distribution of his relics probably marks pretty nearly at once the limits of his peregrinations, and the great influence which he had acquired within those limits.

Without attempting to speak of the various phases of Buddhism, its lower and higher doctrines;* the shades of theism, pantheism, and atheism, with which it incorporated itself in the metaphysical speculations of its Indian doctors,† it may be said that its characteristics everywhere were the inculcation of ascetic discipline and abstraction from the things of sense, as the means through which man can, by his own efforts, not only attain the final emancipation of nirwâna, but may even, whilst still a mortal abiding upon earth, develope his own moral and intellectual faculties to a divine supremacy.

Whether Sakya and the early Buddhist apostles did or did not admit a supreme and eternal Being, they certainly did not recognise his providence or interference with the affairs of men. And Buddhism as it is among the Burmese, and among the Singhalese, from whom the Burman faith was immediately derived, appears to be quite ignorant of the Adi-Buddha, or Supreme, of the Nepalese and ancient Indian theistic Buddhists.

Reward and punishment, indeed, in an infinite succession of existences, each varying from the spans of animal or insect life to incalculable periods, are the key-notes of the system. And yet there is no judge or moral Governor. An unerring and inexorable fate, or call it the instinctive operation of a power in nature, deals out to every living thing its ascending or descending destiny, according to the predominance of merit or demerit in the infinity of past existences.‡ Even they who have attained for countless ages felicity among the gods § come at last to the period of their enjoyment, and again have to go through

* See in Hodgson (pp. 39, 77, &c.) the various senses in which the "three precious ones," or sacred triad of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, was understood. In a transcendental sense, Buddha was *mind*, Dharma *matter*, Sangha the *concretion of the two* in the phenomenal world. In a practical and religious sense, Buddha is *Sakya*, Dharma his *doctrine*, Sangha *the congregation of the faithful.*

† For these, see Hodgson, pp. 36, 37.

‡ It is impossible, without excessive circumlocution, to speak of the doctrine otherwise than as one of transmigration; and in this the popular view concurs. But the inference of students of the system is different. No such thing as an immaterial or immortal spirit is recognised. At the death of any one being the *Karma*, or influencing fate of that being, is transferred to another then produced; and, in fact, caused by that *Karma*. And till *nirwâna* or extinction is attained, there is this repeated transfer of the "merit and demerit accumulated during an unknown period by an almost endless succession of similar beings, all distinct from each other, never contemporaneous, but all bound by this singular law of production to every individual in the preceding link of the chain, so as to be liable to suffer for their crimes and to be rewarded for their virtues." (*Eastern Monachism*, pp. 5, 340.)

§ The Buddhistic books recognise some, if not many, of the Hindoo gods as *Brahmas* and *Dewas*, beings of superior endowments and felicity, inhabiting the heavenly regions. They are, however, imper-

the vast vicissitudes of transmigration. ANITYA, DUKHA, ANATTA, Transience, Pain, and Unreality (so the devout Buddhist mutters as he tells his beads), these are the characters of all existence, and the only true good is exemption from these in the attainment of nirwâna; whether that be, as in the view of the Brahmin or the theistic Buddhist, absorption into the supreme essence; or whether it be, as many have thought, absolute nothingness; or whether it be, as Mr. Hodgson quaintly phrases it, the *ubi* and the *modus* in which the infinitely attenuated elements of all things exist, in their last and highest state of abstraction from all particular modifications such as our senses and understandings are cognisant of.

This great boon of nirwâna is attainable only by a Buddha, and by those who live within the period of his ministrations, or before his doctrine fades from the earth. And of all the infinity of mundane systems, it is in this alone; and in all the regions of this system among the civilised nations of Jambudwipa alone ;* and in all the dark abyss of ages only at vast intervals, that a Buddha and the light of his doctrine appears, so that to be born of the privileged race within the period of such illumination is an inestimable boon. And the chances of obtaining such a birth, say the Burmese doctors, are as the chances that a needle,

fect, limited alike in power and in duration. It is possible not merely for men to be reborn among them by the practice of virtue, but even to surpass them by the attainment of emancipation from the vicissitudes of existence. The number of Brahmas and Dewas is prodigious, but most prominent are Maha Brahma, and Indra or Sakra, Emperor of the Náts, as the Burmese call him. Gautama Buddha is said to have been born, in the vast series of his pre-existences, four times as Maha Brahma and twenty times as Indra. As the life of Indra is thirty-six millions of years, and the life of Maha Brahma is four *asankhyas* (the asankhya being a unit followed by 140 ciphers), this will give some notion of the numbers which the Buddhist books handle like small change.

The place of these gods in the Buddhist system is thus entirely different from that which they occupy in the Brahminical. The position of the minor gods is, perhaps, in some respects analogous to that of the fairies and jinns of Europe and Western Asia. They were all the servants and guardians of the Buddha whilst upon earth; they are no proper objects of worship to his followers; and little honour is paid them by the Buddhists who best understand their own principles. But it is different with the multitude. In Nepaul, it appears from Mr. Hodgson's papers, a large part of the Hindoo Olympus has been bodily annexed by the degenerate Buddhists; in Ceylon there are temples of the Dewas in every Singhalese village, and constantly within the same enclosure as the Buddhist shrines; in Burma we have noticed an instance of this at the popular pagoda of Shwé-Zeegoong at Pagán.

In Burma the Dewas are called *Náts*, an indigenous term, believed to have been applied to the spirits of the forest, the mountains and the elements, who were probably the objects of worship before Buddhism was known. The existence of these *Náts* is still believed in, and they are inevitably still the objects of popular dread and superstition. But this, though it does undoubtedly sometimes take the form of worship, perhaps more usually takes that of exorcism and propitiation merely. Colonel Burney, in his Journal, mentions a festival lasting fifteen days, during which the whole population engaged in this propitiation. The voice of a Nát had lately been heard in the city, and the King had gravely issued a public order, telling the Nát that he was not wanted. Sangermano tells us that the running about in the air of the frolicsome Náts was believed to produce rain; and that, when rain was sorely wanted, the people used to gather in the streets, and pull a long rope from side to side, loudly inviting the Náts to come forth and play. But these things belong to Folk-Lore, not to Religion.

It is not likely that the gods had any place in the teaching of the philosophic Sakya; but we know from sacred and profane history the tendency of human nature to bring in the old idolatries. We see in our own day how the Sikhs have lapsed into the worship of the Hindoo gods. (See on the subject of this note Hardy's *Manual*, pp. 40–42; Laidlay's *Travels of Fa-hian*, pp. 133, 134; Hodgson, p. 79, &c.)

* *Eastern Monachism*, p. 449.

tossed from the summit of the great mundane centre mount Myenmo, should strike with its point the point of some particular needle planted in Jambudwipa.*

* Judson's *Life*, ii. p. 344. Jambudwipa is the οἰκουμένη of the Indian nations. The Buddhist cosmogony appears to have been fundamentally that of the Hindoos, but the imaginations of its teachers have developed its immensities with variations.

Perhaps the possession of the Indian or Arabic system of numerals suggested to these Oriental cosmogonists a fatal facility in aggregating ciphers, to which the cumbrous arithmetical notations of Greece and Rome would have lent no aid, had such extravagances been congenial to the taste and imagination of the poets and sages of the Mediterranean. The Buddhists tell us, that if a stone were to be projected from the summit of Mount Meru it would be four months and fifteen days in falling to the earth. They tell us also, that if a wall reaching to the highest heavens were to be built round the space occupied by 1,000,000,000,000 mundane systems, and the whole area were to be filled with mustard-seeds, the number of those seeds would still be less than the number of the systems existing in each of the four cardinal directions from that inconceivable stand-point. Moreover, the circumference of each mundane system is 3,610,350 yojanas. And were a Rishi (a sage whose austerities have endowed him with miraculous power) to make a drum as large in circumference as a Sakwala, or mundane system, and to beat it with a drum-stick as big as Mount Meru, the sound would be heard distinctly in only one other system.

Indeed, the manner in which they strain the capacities of numeration, in striving to convey their idea of the infinities of space and past duration, seems to leave behind the vastest calculations of modern astronomers and geologists.

The mundane systems, we have seen, are numberless. They are all circular, and spread out in the same infinite plane in groups of three, the three circles of each group being in contact. Every mundane system is "self-contained." It has its own sun, moon, planets, and stars, its own heavens and hells, its own Maha Brahma and Indra, and all orders of sentient being, its own Maha Meru and concentric barriers. But this one system only is privileged to give birth to a Buddha. Hence it is called *Mágul*, or joyous.

In the middle of the system is mount Maha Meru, surrounded by seven concentric ranges of mountains, gradually diminishing in height from the centre outwards. Round these focal ranges the sun, moon, and stars revolve. Between the last and lowest of these ranges, and an eighth external range which rises nearly to the height of Maha Meru itself, extends a vast ocean, in which are situated the great islands (or continents rather) of earth. These continents are four in number, in the direction of the four cardinal points from Mount Meru, and are in form respectively square, half-moon, round, and three-sided (or lozenge-shaped, as it is elsewhere stated.) They have each also five hundred small dependent islands of similar form to the large. The last or great southern continent is that called Jambudwipa, and is inhabited, with its dependent isles, by ordinary mortals. Perhaps the angular shape assigned to it is an indication of a knowledge of the true form of the great Triquetra of the Indian Peninsula. There is no communication between Jambudwipa and the other three great world-islands. The inhabitants of these latter, indeed, stand in much the same relation to normal humanity as the inhabitants of the wonderful countries discovered by the celebrated Captain Lemuel Gulliver, or the Glumms and Gawries of Peter Wilkins, Mariner. The northern part of Jambudwipa is all occupied by the great forest of Himála or Hemawánta, the theatre of all wonderful legends, the locality of the most wonderful natural objects, and the seat of all sorts of wonderful beings, dewas, dragons, demons, Rishis, lions, and other animals. All the localities in the system have an elaborate Indian nomenclature, and the Burmese names are generally mere corruptions of the Pali. The central mountain, Maha Meru, is, however, by the Burmese called Myen-mo Toung (Mount Myenmo), a form taken, I believe, directly from the Ceylonese. F. Buchanan says, however, (*As. Researches*, vi. 175) that Myen-mo Toung signifies the "Mount of Vision." There is a remarkable conical mountain in the Aracan Yoma, close to the starting-point of the boundary between British Burma and Ava, and conspicuous by its shape and altitude to a great distance along the coast, which bears the name of *Myen-ma-teng*, usually interpreted, I know not how accurately, the "Ever Visible." I have often thought that the real name of this mountain (which I ascended in 1853) must be Myen-mo Toung (*Mount Meru*). It is under five thousand feet in height, but has a character of gran-

The difference between one sentient being and another, be they Brahmas or Dewas, goblins or men, brutes or insects, is but temporary, and dependent on the Karma, or action of accumulated merit and demerit. With the exception of those who have entered on the paths leading to nirwána, they continue subject to interchange between the highest and the lowest. The highest of the celestial dominations may yet sink into the abyss, and the worm may yet, in the vast revolution of cycles, become supreme Buddha. To those only who have entered *the paths*, there is the certainty that at a limited period, more or less remote according to their proficiency, existence will determine.*

The Buddha is a being who, in vastly remote ages,† conceived the desire to attain such eminence, that he might thereby be in a position to free other beings from the miseries of continued existence. In this state of designation to the Buddhahood he is called *Bodhisát.* He might himself have attained emancipation myriads of ages since, but of his own free will he deferred the privilege, threw himself into the stream of successive existence, and through numberless births endured privations and afflictions, and underwent toils which are compared to the effort to overthrow Maha Meru, for the benefit of others. But in every birth he exercises the desire towards his great end. Attaining his last birth, of the human family, and amid numerous signs denoting his high destiny, he in due time adopts the ascetic life, and at last reaches his great aim, and is invested with the power and wisdom of a Buddha. The innumerable worlds of space, the vast vistas of the past, with all pre-

deur quite disproportioned to this altitude, and is just the mountain that would be fixed on by indigenous worshippers as realising Maha Meru.

The chronology of the vicissitudes of the universe is quite congenial to the cosmography. The first inhabitants of Jambudwipa lived an *asankhya* [*a* privative, and *sankhya* number], a period which has been defined above. As wickedness prevailed in successive generations, life was gradually shortened till its duration was no more than ten years. Virtue reviving, life extends gradually till it again reaches the great maximum. And so this alternate progression of waning and waxing length of life is repeated sixty-four times. Then comes the universal destruction by fire. After a vast period the world revives and is re-peopled, and man goes through the sixty-four alternations of longevity as before. After seven destructions by fire there is always a destruction by water, and the sixty-fourth destruction is by wind. This fills up the great cycle of renovation and destruction, and then all recommences again.

A Buddha is never born during any period in which men's lives are more than 100,000 years in duration, because it is then impossible to impress them with a sense of the impermanence of existence. Nor is he born when (the maximum of) human life is less than 100 years, because vice is then so predominant, that the admonitions have not time to take effect. (Turnour's *Extracts, Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vii. 799. For full particulars of the cosmography, &c., see *Manual of Buddhism*, ch. i.; Sangermano's *Burmese Empire*, &c.)

* *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 36; *Eastern Monachism*, p. 5. So Pythagoras taught:—

"Omnia mutantur: nihil interit; errat et illinc
Huc venit, hinc illuc, et quoslibet occupat artus
Spiritus; eque feris humana in corpora transit,
Inque feras noster; nec tempore deperit ullo.
Utque novis fragilis signatur cera figuris
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem;
Sed tamen ipsa eadem est; animam sic semper eandem
Esse sed in varias doceo migrare figuras."

† An asankhya of grand cycles (Judson's *Life*, ii. 342). He existed through four such asankhyas and 100,000 kalpas (Turnour's *Extracts* in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.*, vii. 797).

existences of himself and others,* and the thoughts of men, are open to his vision. He is no longer liable to human passions and emotions. He has unerring wisdom to direct men in the paths that lead to nirwána; the influences of nature, and the celestial beings minister to him. But he is liable to pain, disease, and, when his time comes, to death; and even after he has entered on the Buddhaship, Karma follows him, and he still suffers at times the temporary penalties of former demerit.†

Those who die before they attain the Buddhahood, even the most meritorious, and those who have welcomed the signs which marked his birth, fall short of the final deliverance. They will be rewarded probably with re-birth among high and happy beings, but still they must "dree their weird" through a further long succession of existence, till the fifth bud of the symbolic lotus shall open, and the future Buddha Maitreya (*Burm.* Ari-ma-teya) shall again open the gates of nirwána.

During the lifetime of Gautama, and under his guidance and the influence of his exhortations, hundreds of thousands reached the degree of *Rahat* (Sansc. *Arhat*), which is the passport to nirwána; and subsequent to his death the influence of his doctrine is to continue, though with gradually decreasing efficacy, till after 5000 years it will have faded from the world, and a period of darkness will succeed, enduring till the maturation of the future Buddha.

For these 5000 years Buddha lives only in his doctrine. When from between the sál trees at Kusinára he passed into nirwána, he ceased, as the extinguished fire ceases. "He is therefore in no sense an object of personal trust and confidence; the affections cannot be placed on him; his guidance cannot be sought, nor his sympathy received; and when his name is invoked, it is under the supposition that, by some latent process which cannot be explained, the prayer addressed to him will be answered without the intervention of an intelligent cause." ‡

The ascetic and mendicant life is the normal life of all true disciples. Its main conditions, as in the West, are continence, poverty, humility; with abstraction from the world, tenderness to all living things, and the obligation of certain moral precepts, and numerous ritual observances. As members of the holy Sangha, one of the precious triad, the ascetics are approached with tokens of worship by the laity. They are constantly called *priests* in English books, but *monks* would seem to come nearer the right term. They have, indeed, assumed something of the priestly character in performing ceremonies which are supposed to confer merit on those in whose names they are accomplished; and certain of their duties, such as reading the sacred books to the people and instructing youth, partake of a pastoral

* So again Ovid's Pythagoras,—

"Ipse ego (NAM MEMINI) Trojani tempore belli
Panthoides Euphorbus eram."—Ov. *Met.* xv.

† These were called the nine tribulations of Buddha. In one case he was accused of murder, in another of incontinence. These were the consequences of such crimes, which he had committed in remote existences, and for which he had undergone punishment through myriads of ages. (*Fa-Hian's Travels*, p. 175–6.)

‡ *Eastern Monachism*, p. 339.

character. But still their main business is, and their sole business was originally, to work out their own deliverance.

There is but one order, but there are grades in sanctity and approximation to the final release. The Rahats or Rahans are those in whom evil desire has been entirely destroyed, and who have no more births to look forward to. This *name* (Rahan) was commonly applied to all the religious in Burma in Symes's time, as it would appear from his narrative. But the *thing* is unknown. In no Buddhist country now does any one pretend to look forward to immediate entrance into nirwána.

I do not apprehend clearly the doctrine about the laity, or secular community. They are, however, the necessary complement of the system. On them the ascetic depends for his daily sustenance; they are addressed in the preaching of the doctrine, and they are recognised as capable thereby of attaining merit and of rising in the scale of future felicity. But to gain the final passport, it would appear that the monastic life must be adopted. At least, it is said that the laic who becomes a Rahat must at once either enter the order or nirwána; must become a monk or die. To continue his lay life would be too perilous.*

The continence honoured by the Buddhist is not an intact virginity through life, but strict adherence to professed renunciation. The monk has taken no irrevocable vows. He is punishable by the civil power, in Burma at least, for breach of chastity whilst he remains professed. But he can be permitted by a chapter of his brethren to fall back into secular life, and to throw off the yellow robe, as was the case with one of the present Woongyis. Many have worn the yellow robes as novices; a large proportion of the youths do so whilst under instruction. But most, I believe, in Burma, who actually go through the ceremonies of ordination† adhere to the rule which they have chosen.

The worship of the pagodas is a matter that it is difficult to grasp. It originated undoubtedly in the reverence paid to relics concealed in the pagoda; but the actual form of the building, with the merest figment or hypothesis of a relic, would now seem to be the object of religious regard. They who offer to the pagodas flowers, or tapers, or gold leaf, and perform acts of worship before them, acquire merit which will work out its reward, as surely as if the Buddha were present in the sacred symbols. Many lame figures and analogies do the Buddhist Doctors bring forward to illustrate the accumulation of merit through worship, although there be no conscious object of that worship.‡

But the question constantly recurs; recognising no living deity, to whom is their worship addressed? It would seem to be a mere *opus operatum*, and scarcely to partake of the nature of prayer. It consists rather in optative meditation, in the exercise and utterance of benevolent desires, and in reflections on the decaying nature of the body, and on the unreality and transience of existence.

The ethics of Buddhism, with many puerilities, free as they are from the warp of caste,

* *Eastern Monachism*, p. 283.

† Lest the application of the word require an apology, let me quote Father Sangermano. "The ceremonies which are observed upon the admission of candidates to the order of Pazen, resemble very much the ordinations of deacons and priests in our church." (*Burmese Empire*, p. 97.)

‡ See *Eastern Monachism*, p. 231.

appear to be much purer than those of Brahminism, and here and there among them maxims are seen of a startling thoroughness that reminds one of the penetrating precepts of Holy Writ. The reputation of the monks in Burma too maintains, I believe, a respectable level. Yet the moral system has had little effect on the character of the people. No point, at least, is more prominent in that system than tenderness of life. Yet in no country, probably (unless in semi-Buddhist China), has human life been more recklessly and cruelly sacrificed, whether in punishment of crime, or in judicial and private murder.

It appears to be generally allowed that Buddhist worship and the monastic discipline are preserved in Burma with greater purity than in any other country; the former less mixed with the service of intruding divinities, and the latter less stained with the habitual breach of obligations, either of poverty or continence.

In the teeth of fundamental principles the privilege of admission to the order was, in Ceylon, long confined to the highest caste (in that island the *gowi*, or agriculturists). In the end of the last century, a bold candidate of low caste, with several like-minded companions, visited Amarapoora in search of ordination. They were well received by the king and priests, were admitted to the order, and on their return to Ceylon in 1802, accompanied by several Burman priests, brought a missive from the Thathana Bain, or patriarch at Amarapoora, to the corresponding dignitary at Kandy. Their community is known in Ceylon as the Amarapoora society, and they denounce the heterodox practices of the established body there; such as the invocation of Hindoo deities, the practice of secular arts, like physic and astrology, by the monks, and what some of my friends in Scotland would call Erastianism, or the acknowledgment of the royal edicts in matters of religion.*

During the reign of Mentaragyi, in the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, a latitudinarian or heretical doctrine had considerable diffusion in Burma, among the intelligent of both sexes. It is repeatedly mentioned by Judson in his Journals and letters.† He calls its followers sometimes semi-deists, sometimes semi-atheists, but it is difficult, from the slight notices alluded to, to get any accurate idea of their doctrine; indeed, it appears to have varied with the individuals. One held the fundamental doctrine that Divine wisdom, not concentrated in any existing spirit or embodied in any form, but diffused throughout the universe, and partaken in different degrees by various intelligences, and in a very high degree by the Buddhas, is the true and only God. This seems very nearly Mr. Hodgson's *Prajnika* doctrine, and not inconsistent with Buddhist tenets. In other cases the sectarian tenets took the shape of a mere universal scepticism; and in others of a nearer approach to deism, with entire rejection of Gautama. This sect of Judson's is probably the same with that of the *Zodi*, of whom Padre Sangermano says (undoubtedly giving too exact a definition to their creed): "They began by making a great stir throughout the whole kingdom, and thereby excited the zeal of the Emperor against them. It is believed that great numbers of them still exist in divers parts of the empire, but they are obliged to keep themselves concealed. They are of Burmese origin, but their religion is totally different

* *Eastern Monachism*, p. 329. Sir J. E. Tennent's *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 224–5.

† See *Life*, vol. i. pp. 182, 214, 216, 219, 236.

from that of Godama. They reject metempsychosis, and believe that each one will receive the reward or punishment of his actions immediately after death, and that this state of punishment and reward will last for eternity. Instead of attributing everything to fate, as the Burmese do, they acknowledge an omnipotent and omniscient Nát, the creator of the world; they despise the Pagodas, the Baos or convents of Talapoins, and the statues of Godama. The present Emperor, a most zealous defender of his religion,* resolved with one blow to annihilate this sect, and accordingly gave orders for their being searched for in every place, and compelled to adore Godama. Fourteen of them were put to a cruel death; but many submitted, or feigned to submit, to the orders of the Emperor, till at length he was persuaded that they all had obeyed. From that time they have remained concealed." †

I have been told that this deistical sect is still numerous, but I have not been able to obtain any information regarding them.

* This was in the early and pagoda-building days of Mentárágyi; see note at p. 184.

† *Burmese Empire*, p. 86.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MINISTERS OF STATE; MILITARY AFFAIRS; REVENUE; AND CURRENCY.

The Woongyis—Tsaré-dau-gyis and Thandau-zens—The Atwen-woons—List of Present Woongyis and their Characteristics—The Woondouks—The King's Ordnance and Arsenal—Gunpowder—Saltpetre and Sulphur—Artillery *Personnel*—The real Military Strength of the Burmese—The Importation of Muskets—Levy of Militia—Examples from Different Districts—Jobbing Colonels—The Officers—The Quasi-Regulars—Burman Review—Few Wants of Burmese Soldiers—Character of the Burmese—Troops Mustered for our Reception—The *Elite* of Burmese Troops—Superior Character of the Present Ruler—His Hankering after his Lost Provinces—Probable Disadvantages of a Treaty—Revenue System—Great Variations—Theoretical Division of the Country—The Cardinal Tax—The House-Tax—Its Varying Rate and Exemptions—Mentaragyi's Domesday Book—Tax on Agriculture—Rudeness of Measurements—Royal Domains—Miscellaneous Taxes—Minor Imposts—Revenue Records—Assignation of District Revenues—Emoluments of Local Officials—Misappropriations—Reduction of Taxes by the Present King—His Monopolies—Estimated Proceeds—Payment by Salaries—Customs—Whole Revenue from Sources named—The King's Reforms and Edicts—Burman Currency—Mentaragyi's Coinage—Our Rupees Mistrusted—Assay of Bullion—The *Pwézas*—Loss by System of Currency—The Weights—Gold—The Ganza of Old Travellers—Lead Used in Small Change—The Different Qualities of Silver Recognised—Process of Alloy as Practised.

THE Woongyis are the principal ministers of state, and constitute the Hlwot-dau, or high court and council of the monarchy. Four appears to be the normal number of Woongyis, and is the number at present; but there sometimes have been six. Before the loss of Pegu there was very often an extra Woongyi, on "deputation" at Rangoon, as Lord-Lieutenant of Pegu, with peculiar powers. When there is an Einshé-Men, I believe he always is *ex-officio* president of the Hlwot-dau. When there is no designated Crown-Prince, some other Prince is the president. Thus, in the time of Phagyi-dau, Menthagyi was president of the Hlwot-dau; and in the beginning of the deposed King's reign, the Mekhara Prince, well known from his addiction to European science.

The Woongyis do not appear to have any distribution of *departments* of business among them, but deliberate together at the Hlwot-dau on whatever is brought before the body. And in absence of a member from the meeting, orders intended for issue appear to be "circulated" for approval, as in certain other governments.*

The decisions of the Hlwot-dau are recorded by some of the numerous *Tsaré-dau-gyis* ("great royal writers"), or clerks of the council, or by the Thandau-zens ("receivers of the

* Burney's *Journal*.

royal voice"), who are, I believe, the writers attached to the Royal Household, and delivered to the Atwen-woons for submission to the King.

The Atwen-woons, Interior or Household Ministers, are also four in number at present, though they, like the Woongyis, have sometimes been as many as six. They relieve each other in close attendance on the King, and are the immediate recipients of all orders from his Majesty. There is no question of their inferiority in precedence to the Woongyi, but sometimes their influence over the King is much dreaded by the latter. It may be considered an unconstitutional state of things when their influence predominates. It was very much the case in the reign of Phagyi-dau, before he sank into imbecility. The Atwen-woons have no seat in the Hlwot-dau, but the Woongyis may call for their presence, or even for that of the King himself, if they see cause.

In the days of Tharawadi and his elder brother, the Woongyis rarely ventured to press disagreeable advice upon the King; but, when it was absolutely necessary, they used to pledge themselves to stand by one another. One then commenced the dangerous communication; if the King looked displeased, another took up the discourse; and the third and fourth followed close after.* Thus the King did not know whom to punish; though Phagyi-dau sometimes solved the difficulty by sending all to the pillory.

The Woongyis are generally designated either by the title of some office which they have held, or by a sort of Peerage-title derived from the township or district which they "eat," or hold in *jaghir*. *Mengyi*, or "great prince," seems to be their appropriate title of address. But their formal designation in Burmanised Pali is, "Egga Maha Thina-padi," or Thinadi-padi.† The Woongyis are also styled *Pwen*, or *Outer* Thina-Padi, and Household Ministers Atwen, or *Inner* Thina-Padi. The Atwen-woons are often called by their own proper names, which is not usually the case with the Woongyis.

By the Atwen-woons is transacted, nominally at least, the extensive business arising in the present reign from the royal monopolies, at their office in the Palace called the Bya-deit.

Wherever the King may go, even for the most temporary sojourn, a Hlwot-dau is established in its proper relative position to the King's residence.

Orders from the King are brought to the Hlwot-dau by the Thandau-zens. When such a messenger enters the Hlwot-dau, all turn towards the throne, or seat appropriated to the King when he may visit the Council, whilst the Thandau-zen kneels before it, and all perform the *Shikho*. The Thandau-zen then reads out his Majesty's commands in the usual sing-song.‡

Besides the cases adjudged by the Hlwot-dau collectively,§ it has always been the custom for many suits to be referred to individual ministers at their own houses; and this used to be one of the chief sources of their revenue, as costs to the amount of ten per cent on the litigated property belonged of right to the judge.

* Burney.

† This is a corruption of the Sanscrit *Eka*, chief; *Maha*, great; *Senadhipati* or *Senapati*, general; but used also as an honorific title, without necessary reference to *Sena*, an Army. *Adhipati*, or *Pati*, means the same—Master or Lord.—(*From a note kindly furnished by Professor H. H. Wilson.*)

‡ Burney.

§ See page 137.

From sketches by Capt. Yule & Mr. C. Grant.

NAKEEKE. TARA THOOGYEE or Chief Judge of AMARAPOORA. THE WOON DOUK. CHIEF MINISTER, COURT OF AMARAPOORA. GOVERNOR OF MELLOON. THE NAN-MA-SAU WOON.

Day & Son Lith^rs to The Queen.

HEADS OF BURMESE NOTABLES.

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The present Woongyis are as follows:—

1*st.*—Moung Gya-oo, the Magwé Mengyi.

2*nd.*—Moung Mho, the Myadoung Myotsa, generally called the Pabé (or *Smith*) Woon, from having been formerly a sort of master-general of the ordnance. His appanage of Myadoung is a town on the upper Irawadi towards Bamó.

3*rd.*—Moung Tsho, the Mein-loung Woongyi.

4*th.*—Moung Yan-wé, the Pakhán Woongyi.

Moung Gya-oo is a man of about fifty-eight years of age. He has a good character among his countrymen, and appears to be moderate and fair. When discussing business-questions, he at once accedes to what is asked, if he can, and eschews the usual Burmese tactics of granting nothing except under compulsion. He is undoubtedly desirous of keeping on good terms with the British Government, and Major Phayre thought he was anxious that the treaty should be concluded. His mother is said to have been a Munnipoori. It is unusual for a person not of pure Burmese blood to be raised to the rank of Woongyi. Under the King Phagyi-dau he was an officer in the Palace guards. He was appointed a Woongyi by King Tharawadi. When the present King fled from the capital, in December 1852, Moung Gya-oo did not follow him, but maintained a correspondence with him, and eventually made a diversion in his favour which led to the Prince's obtaining possession of the city.

Although there is no one Woongyi superior to others in rank, yet Moung Gya-oo takes the lead in the Hlwot-dau, and conducts all correspondence relating to affairs with the British Government. On this account he has the title of Ayé-baing, in addition to his other titles, implying diplomatic authority.

Moung Mho still to a certain extent looks after the King's cannon and muskets. He also superintends the casting of bells, making pagoda umbrellas, &c., when the King requires them; and, being supposed to have a genius where metal is concerned, was required to produce a man who should acquire the use of the daguerreotype apparatus which had been presented to the King. Under the ex-King Moung Mho was an Atwen-woon. When the present King fled he remained at court, but managed to escape blame after the revolution. He formerly had the reputation of being violently prejudiced against the English, but we found him very friendly in his behaviour. He is a man of about fifty-three or fifty-four.

Moung Tsho was formerly a military officer. At the revolution he joined the present King from Tsaloon-myo with some followers. Hence the King, out of gratitude, raised him to his present position. Moung Yanwé is about forty-one or forty-two years of age. He was formerly a monk in a Kyoung at Amarapoora, and was then the spiritual guide of the Prince who is now on the throne. When the latter fled, the priest threw off his monastic robe and followed his master. He has now married a lady who was formerly one of Tharawadi's inferior queens. After that King's death she remained a widow till 1853, when she was united to the ex-priest. Moung Yanwé is a man of learning, having been more than twenty years in the monastic order. He does not appear to have much influence in public affairs.

The Woondouks form the third order of ministers, and may be termed the assistants of the Woongyis, with whom they sit in the Hlwot-dau, though in an inferior position. The best known to us of the Woondouks was Moung Mhon, so often mentioned in the preceding narrative. Under the ex-King he was a Thandau-zen, and was made a Woondouk, but lost the appointment by the revolution. He was, however, selected to go on the mission to the Governor-general in 1854. The Dalla-woon (now the old Nan-ma-dau Phra-woon) was nominally chief of the Embassy; but the court mainly depended on Moung Mhon. After his return, he was re-appointed a Woondouk, and received the district of Paopa, adjoining the great mountain of that name, to *eat*. He is a man of undoubted ability, and will probably rise to the highest office.

The King of Ava has no magazines or munitions of war, properly so called. He has a large number of heavy and field-guns, nearly all of which would be pronounced unserviceable by us, and for these there is a small supply of indifferent ammunition. But he has neither trained gunners to fight his artillery nor equipage to transport them.

The royal arsenal, if such a pompous designation may be used, is situated within the Palace walls. It is there that the powder is stored and the artillery material collected, and thence issues are made to the provincial Governors.

The ordnance stored in the Palace, as far as could be ascertained, consisted of about 270 brass guns of all sorts and sizes, 200 iron guns, and 40 mortars, with 560 *jinjals*. Fifty-three of these were mounted on carriages. The rest were laid on the ground in one long line, on either side of the inner eastern gate of the Palace, and nearly the whole of them may be said to be honeycombed and unserviceable. Twenty-one of the most showy mounted pieces were ranged in front of the Hall of Audience, as mentioned in the description of the city.

In front of the Heir-apparent's house we also observed two iron field-guns, old, but sufficiently well mounted. In visiting the Myadoung Woongyi, also, a large smithy was observed in the courtyard, where they had just turned out seven new field-gun carriages. These seemed to have been carefully made, and were complete, with elevating screws, &c., and with limbers after the English model.

But out of their whole arsenal, it is doubtful whether the Burmese could bring into use more than thirty serviceable field-guns.

In addition to the guns at the capital, there are a few pieces at some provincial towns of importance, as at Toung-dwen-gyi, and at Moné and Thein-ni, in the Shan country. But the aggregate number of these could not be ascertained.

Gunpowder is made in the outskirts of the city by Burmese workmen, under the superintendence of an Armenian. The quality is said to be good at first, but, from defective granulation or carelessness in storing, it imbibes moisture, and deteriorates much more rapidly than it ought to do.

Saltpetre is abundant in the country,* insomuch that its exportation was an object for

* See page 58.

which the E. I. Company's agents in the seventeenth century attempted to negotiate with the King of Ava. It is not so with sulphur. A small quantity of this is said to be procured from the district of Silleh Myo,* and the Chinese also import a little. But the Burmese, though ready to assert the contrary, are dependent upon foreign supply for this article. The bulk of what is used is smuggled up the Irawadi, or over the Aeng pass; and so successfully, that the price at Amarapoora† is not materially higher than it used to be before the war. Burmese are usually the smugglers, Mogul merchants being afraid to undertake the risk.

The principal magazine, a brick building, continues to be maintained in the S. W. corner of the outer yard of the Palace, in spite of the warning given by the explosion of a former one during the reign of the present King's father. The Burmese, with their usual carelessness, persist in storing within the same walls powder, muskets, and other munitions of war, rendering a second such accident highly probable.

The artillery force in *personnel* amounts to 500 men. About eighty of these are natives of India who have settled in Amarapoora. The rest are Burmese, Munnipooris, and *Pathis*, or native Mahomedans. The Munnipooris and people from India‡ receive monthly two baskets of rice; the Burmese have land free of rent; and the *Pathis*, who were enrolled in the corps by the present King, have exemption from certain occasional payments.

For a year and upwards preceding our visit, the artillery, by order of the Crown-Prince, had been practised in ball-firing two or three times a month. During our stay at the capital the practice was discontinued. When it does take place, no system of instruction is followed, and no regularity is observed in telling off the men, so that all may be taught in turn. There are headmen over the several classes included in the corps, and with these it rests to name the individuals to attend practice.

No one takes much interest in it. Cannon has not that mysterious influence over the Burman that it possesses over the mind of the Golundáz of India. The country is unfavourable to its transport, had they even the requisite equipages, which they have not. And in estimating the military resources of the Burmans, both their cavalry and artillery may be safely left out of the calculation.

Artillery to a Burman army would prove rather an encumbrance than an auxiliary. The energy which might otherwise be employed against an enemy would be expended in attending to the safety of their guns.

It is only with a musket behind a breastwork, thrown up in dense jungle, where he thinks he cannot be turned, that the Burman becomes really dangerous; and whatever may be the amount of opposition, whatever the damage inflicted by the Burmese in any future war with us, that amount will depend upon the number of muskets in their possession; and

* We saw efflorescent sulphur in the ravines near the petroleum wells.

† In 1855, one rupee per viss.

‡ It is a curious fact that we have no one word which can be accurately used as an appellation for the people of India. *Hindoos*, *Hindustanees*, and *Indians*, are all misleading or equivocal.

this number must chiefly depend on whether the present prohibition against the import of fire-arms through our territories is continued or withdrawn. "If continued," writes Major Allan, "and it is to be hoped that it always may be, whatever be the relations existing between the two Governments, twenty years hence, of the 25,000 or 30,000 muskets now supposed to be in the country, not one-third will be, even in Burmese estimation, serviceable; and thus, not only their means, but their hopes, of doing mischief will be diminished in the same ratio."

Though the life of every subject is at the disposal of the King, and though every male is liable to serve as a soldier whenever he is called upon, the strength of a Burmese force must depend, not on the amount of the population, but on the number of men the King can feed in a collected state, or the amount the occupied districts can be made to support; and the efficiency of this force, of course, on the number of muskets.

When soldiers are required for war, the Hlwot-dau issues, under precept from the King, orders to the Governors of Provinces to collect the contingent that each province or district is bound by custom to provide. These orders are conveyed by the provincial rulers to the Myo-thoogyis and Taik-thoogyis (heads of townships, and circles of villages), and by them communicated to the village Thoogyis. The mode of raising and paying these levies differs in detail in almost every district; but the systems which used to be followed in some of the districts now within our jurisdiction may be cited as examples.

The district of Meaday was prescriptively rated at 500 soldiers only, though during the late war the contingent was raised by order of the Kyouk Pa-doung Woongyi, who came down from Ava to command in chief, to 2000 men. On the levy being called out, sixteen families were formed into what was named "one house," and were required to furnish two soldiers when the district assessment was for 500 men; but more on extraordinary occasions, such as that just mentioned. The selection of the conscripts rested with the Thoogyis, though those selected were at liberty to provide a substitute, obtained either by paying a sum of money, or by cancelling a debt.* Generally, however, the men fixed on were those unable to pay their share of the contribution raised from the people for the support of the contingent. The sixteen families had to provide their own soldiers with arms and ammunition, and on leaving for service with one basket of rice (56 lbs.) and money at the rate of 5 Rs. a month, for the number of months the duty was expected to last. When the ammunition became expended, the officer commanding the contingent collected money from the soldiery, and purchased a supply where he could. Ammunition is sometimes also issued from the Royal magazine at the capital.

The Prome contingent amounted to 1500 men, and was formed by men who voluntarily enrolled themselves as soldiers. They were provided with arms by the head of the district,

* Colonel Hannay, in his voyage to Mogoung with the Woon of that place, got some insight into the practices of Burmese jobbing Colonels. Men designated for the quotas of the villages sometimes paid as much as 100 or 150 tikáls to get off; and this money, which ought to have provided a substitute, went into the pockets of the Myo-woon.

and received each yearly from the public granary (to which the people contributed for that purpose) a liberal allowance of rice, on the understanding that their services were available when required.

The practice in Padoung was different from both of these just detailed. The levy numbered five hundred men. Each had two families told off as the sources of his maintenance. To one family was assigned, free of tax, about five acres of land, of which half the produce had to be made over to the soldier. The other family had to pay him ten tikals a year, and to furnish him with fire-wood and other minor articles. The *Thwé-thouk-gyis*, or captains of fifty, had seven families designed for their maintenance. Six of these paid ten rupees yearly, and the seventh contributed a moiety of the produce from ten acres of tax-free land. Similarly the *Bo*, or centurion, had fifty-two families assigned him. The Bo-gyi, or commandant of the contingent of five hundred, was paid by a tax levied on his subordinate officers and men.*

Some townships on the river, instead of furnishing any contingent of troops, were bound to provide and man a certain number of war-boats. Thus Shwédoung, just below Prome, had to fit out, when required, twelve war-boats, with crews of fifty to seventy men each.

Besides these provincial levies, there is a force of a somewhat more permanent character, from which the soldiers on duty at the capital are drawn, and believed to amount to about ten thousand men. These are supposed to be always prepared for service, and the villages or districts from which they are drawn are generally exempted from taxation. Several of the corps of these troops are dressed in uniform, but we saw little indication of anything like training or discipline. Their officers also are often most unfit—petty traders or village accountants. These officers are as follows:—The *Bo-gyi*, or commandant, under whom, in a corps of five hundred men, are two or three *Bos;* the *Thwé-thouk-gyis*, or captains of fifty; and the *Akyats*, or officers of ten. The *Bos* and *Bo-gyis* only seem to hold a place analogous to that of our commissioned officers. The Woongyis and other ministers take the position of general officers on occasion.†

* These taxes the Bos often, when on distant duty, levy unmercifully, besides taking douceurs to allow men to return home, or for similar indulgences. The Myo-woon of Mogoung, when Colonel Hannay was with him at Hookhong, established gambling-shops, from which he derived a large profit; and when quarrels fell out he added to his gains by fining the soldiers for gambling, and their officers for permitting it.—(*MS. Journal.*)

† According to Burney, the quasi-regulars are, or used to be, divided into regiments bearing some sounding Pali name, and each formed of two battalions of 500 men, distinguished as *North* and *South*, like our right and left wings. As we had no opportunity of seeing a Burman Review, I borrow the description of one from Colonel Burney's *Journal* (January 2d, 1831). The King Phagyi-dau was present, mounted on the neck of the white elephant, which he guided without assistance, and attended by all the ladies of his Palace.

"The business of the day commenced by a party, consisting of some of the Woongyis and Atwenwoons and first officers of Government, dressed in their military helmets and uniform, appearing at one end of the open space, mounted on small Burman ponies. They ambled one after another past the King towards a target elevated on a pole about twenty-five feet high, at which they threw a small light lance, five feet long, as they turned their horses round to return to the spot whence they started, and to take another lance from one of their attendants, and amble again towards the target as before. They each threw about a dozen lances, and the target was not struck more than ten or eleven times. . . . When

When a service lasts longer than is expected, and the levies are at a distance from their own homes, contributions are levied from time to time on the people of the districts for the support of their own contingents; but, as very little of this exaction ever reaches its destination, the soldiers are thrown on the resources of the inhabitants, to live at free quarters, and, unchecked by their chiefs, they plunder and harry at will. The advent of troops to any district is looked on with great horror by the villagers, and soldier and robber are considered nearly equivalent terms.*

With all the deficiencies of the Burmese soldier, he has one great advantage over our disciplined troops; he requires no commissariat; at one end of his musket he carries his mat to sleep on, at the other his cooking-pot; round his loins is bound a wallet of the rice,† which, with a few chilies, composes his simple fare.‡ These, and the *dhá* with which he entrenches or huts himself, complete in his idea every requisite for a campaign.

From a paper by Major Allan, who has supplied nearly the whole of the facts now

their stock of lances was exhausted they dismounted, and the most successful of them came and kneeled down before the King, whilst the Queen sent to them a piece of red muslin and some flowers. . . . The next display consisted of the cavalry marching past the King, and afterwards trying, two at a time, to pick up an orange with their lances whilst in full gallop. Only two oranges were so picked up, one by a Mahomedan who commanded a portion of his Majesty's cavalry, and who is said formerly to have served in Skinner's horse.

"The cavalry consisted of three bodies, of about eighty or ninety men each. One party had curious high head-dresses, said to be the old uniform of the Cassay horse. Most of them appeared to be Munnipoorians or their descendants. They were armed only with lances, having neither swords, nor carbines, nor pistols. I should have taken them to be very bad riders, but the manner in which they struck down upon the oranges whilst in full gallop, and recovered their lances, proved them to be good horsemen. The Burmese always ride without shoes, and can insert only two or three of their toes in the stirrup-iron. The large gilt flaps of the saddle prevent the use of spurs, but the noise of these flaps, with which they urge their horses, can never, of course, prove so effective as a good pair of spurs. In riding they bend their bodies far back, and seem to hold on by the bridle, which must be the cause of all Burman ponies having such hard mouths. The legs of the rider, also, with the knees much raised, are in constant motion, and do not appear to belong to him. Yet, from the Burmese saddle having a high peak both behind and before, it is difficult to be thrown out of it. . . . Some of the troops countermarched, and went through the manual and platoon exercise, with a few Burmese variations. They fired very fair volleys, the regiment being first very carefully faced towards the crowd of spectators, and not towards the King," &c.

* Colonel Hannay, who accompanied a party of Burmese troops nearly to the Assam frontier in 1836, spoke strongly of the alarm and horror excited by their approach in all the villages.

† Sometimes, however, when obliged to carry a larger commissariat, the soldiers are encumbered with bangy loads, lashing their muskets to the bangy-stick, or carry a basket strapped over the forehead.—(Hannay's *Journal.*)

‡ Dr. Bayfield thus speaks of the way in which Burmese soldiers managed to exist in the valley of Payendwen. "By far the greater part have no rice to eat, and subsist upon young leaves gathered in the neighbouring spot or forest, and boiled with some rotten fish and salt, dignified with the name of *Gnapi.*" (*MS. Journal.*) In like manner speaks old Cæsar Frederick, three centuries ago:—"I have seen with mine eyes that those people and soldiers have eaten of all sorts of wild beasts that are on the earth; whether it be very filthy or otherwise, all serveth for their mouths. Yea, I have seen them eat scorpions or serpents; also they feed on all kinds of herbes and grasses. So that, if such a great Armie want not water and salt, they will maintayne themselves a long time with rootes, flowers, and leaves of trees. They carry Rice with them for their voyage, and that serveth them instead of comfits, it is so daintie unto them."—*Purchas,* ii. 1755.

detailed, I may not inappropriately here introduce a sketch of the character of the Burmese, especially as bearing on their qualities as soldiers:—

"Unlike the generality of Asiatics, the Burmese are not a fawning race. They are cheerful, and singularly alive to the ridiculous; buoyant, elastic, soon recovering from personal or domestic disaster. With little feeling of patriotism, they are still attached to their homes, greatly so to their families. Free from prejudices of caste or creed, they readily fraternise with strangers, and at all times frankly yield to the superiority of the European. Though ignorant, they are, where no mental exertion is required, inquisitive, and to a certain extent eager for information; indifferent to the shedding of blood on the part of their rulers, yet not individually cruel; temperate, abstemious, and hardy, but idle, with neither fixedness of purpose nor perseverance. Discipline, or any continued employment, becomes most irksome to them, yet they are not devoid of a certain degree of enterprise. Great dabblers in small mercantile ventures, they may be called (the women especially) a race of hucksters; not treacherous or habitual perverters of the truth, yet credulous and given to monstrous exaggerations; where vested with authority, arrogant and boastful; if unchecked, corrupt, oppressive, and arbitrary; not distinguished for bravery, whilst their chiefs are notorious for cowardice, for with the latter cunning in war ranks far before courage. Inexpert in the use, and careless in the preservation of, their arms, they are indifferent shots, and though living in a country covered with forest, are not bold followers of field-sports. Notwithstanding that, in the late war, when opposed to our troops, they failed much in determination, they would nevertheless prove a most unrelenting foe to an enemy taken at a disadvantage; their activity on such an occasion making them the more hurtful, and their previous fear the more cruel."*

On the occasion of the reception of the British Envoy on the 13th of September, 9230 foot soldiers, and 1286 cavalry mounted on indifferent ponies, lined the streets of the city and the avenues of the Palace enclosures. There were, besides, 500 men under arms at Tsagain, and 500 more at the old city of Ava, making a total of 11,516 men in and about the capital on that day. Many of these, evidently, had never had muskets in their hands before. Others, permanently on duty at the Palace, were comparatively well and uniformly dressed, had better arms, and seemed more accustomed to handle them.

This large force had been collected with the twofold object of re-assuring the minds of the inhabitants of the capital, who had been alarmed by rumours of the sinister designs of the Mission, and of making as imposing a display as possible before our party, whilst paying us at the same time a compliment in keeping with European usages.† On the day following our audience, the majority of the troops were dismissed to their homes, from which they had been kept at great inconvenience to themselves and expense to the King, who fed them on this occasion. Judging from the data collected by Major Allan, it does not seem probable that the King of Ava, at the present time, could assemble a larger force than

* *Report on the Northern Frontier of Pegu*, dated 18th July, 1854. (In the Foreign Office, Calcutta.)

† It is, however, an old Burman usage also to line the streets with soldiers.

18,000 musketeers. Spearmen and dhá-men, who always form a great proportion of a Burmese army, however efficient against Shans and Khyens, need scarcely be taken into account by us.

The inhabitants of certain districts are especially considered the hereditary soldiers of the Alompra dynasty, holding their lands in tenure by military service. Mout-shobo, Madeyá, Aloung-myo, Dibayen, and Kuñni-myo, are the most important of these districts. Though in reality their fighting-men are an undisciplined levy, they are looked upon by the Burmese themselves as among their best and bravest soldiers. They have always been noted for their attachment to the present race of kings, and from these they have met in return with every indulgence and consideration.* The fortune of these kings, in the event of invasion, they would follow faithfully. Nor would this fidelity be confined to the Alompra districts alone. The Burman inhabitants of Amarapoora, Ava, and Tsagain, would prove equally loyal. For, in addition to the attractions and sympathies for the Court of one of their own race, the people of the capital and neighbouring villages have always been fostered at the expense of the provinces. They pay no taxes, and are seldom called on for any public service. Numerous families live in comparative comfort, supported by relations attached to the court and by officials in many grades, from the Woongyi to the petty writer.

In another Chapter has been noticed the great superiority of the present King to the ordinary run of Burman rulers. He is naturally benevolent and humane. This disposition, confirmed probably by his intercourse with Europeans, by the murders and oppressions he witnessed, but could not prevent, during his brother's reign, and by the state of fear for his own life in which he lived for a long time, seems to have created in him a sincere dislike to shed blood, remarkable in one of his race. His conciliatory conduct towards the Shan dependencies also, in recognising their native princes, or *Tsaubwas*, instead of forcing upon them Burmese rulers, whose extortions used to give rise to constant outbreaks, gives him a fair prospect of a peaceable and quiet reign.

Still the King, as may have been seen from his conduct during Major Phayre's attempt to negotiate a treaty, is far from giving up all hope of recovering the lost province of Pegu. On the contrary, the most constant bent of his mind would appear to be towards the attainment of this object. He is too sagacious not to know that, even were his resources quadrupled, he would be unable to wrest Pegu from us. He may connive at discontent and welcome revolt, but neither he nor his brother will attempt open force. This does not hinder both from living in the hope, encouraged by people about the court, that some great calamity may yet befall the Anglo-Indian Empire, necessitating the abandonment of Pegu, which would then fall an easy prey into his hands. And hence, in order to be ready for such a contingency, the great anxiety evinced to cast guns, and to collect fire-arms and other military stores. Hence, also, no Talain or inhabitant of Pegu is ever allowed to

* The loyalty of these districts would seem to have been directed rather to the family than to the reigning King. For in the not unfrequent event of the younger Princes of the house levying war against the Sovereign, the standard of revolt has generally been raised at Mout-shobo.

return home without receiving, in the name of the King, some present, however trifling; and no opportunity is lost of encouraging strangers to resort to the capital.*

In present circumstances, Amarapoora will probably become, like Rangoon when under the Burmese, a refuge for adventurous or outlawed British subjects—men with little money and not much principle. And it may be worthy of thought whether, in consideration of this circumstance, the conclusion of a treaty might not, in fact, have tended to open sources of disagreement. Under a treaty, some of the adventurers to whom we have alluded would probably before long be emboldened to irritate the Burmese into acts of violence. In their ignorance or anger, the latter might confound the respectable with the disreputable, and cases might occur where it would be difficult to deny protection or to refuse redress. On the other hand, where there is no clause to infringe, no agreement to be broken, Government may feel at liberty to exercise a larger discretion in taking notice of, or passing over, such occurrences.†

On the revenue system of the Burmese Government I am not competent to speak with any fulness or authority. Enough to give a general idea of the subject I have endeavoured to collect from papers submitted to Government by the civil officers in Pegu, and from other incidental information, whilst Major Phayre has furnished me with a brief note on the present Royal monopolies.

I may refer, however, to Mr. Crawfurd's XVth chapter for a far more able account of the Burmese Revenue and provincial administration than I am able to give.

The variations in prescriptive system in different parts of the country appear to have been infinite. To be sure this is, or has been, the case in India. But these variations are more surprising in a country containing from two to three millions of people than in a continent containing one hundred and fifty millions. One important element, however, that of the standard of weight, appears to have been substantially the same all over the country.

The theoretical division of the country would be into *Myos*, or districts, named after the chief town, which is the proper *Myo*. Myos again are divided into *Taiks*, or circles, and these into Yuwas (ruwas), or village tracts. But this is not carried out. There are multitudes of *Taiks* and otherwise named small divisions which are not aggregated into any larger district.

In the larger districts there is a Myo-woon, Governor or Lord-Lieutenant,‡ generally

* Sometime before we went up, five Hindustani grass-cutters, who had deserted from the 8th Irregular Cavalry at Thayet-Myo, were enrolled as artillery men. On their arrival at Amarapoora, each man was presented with 150 rupees and a Burmese wife, who was made responsible for her husband's appearance when wanted. A second payment of money is seldom made in such cases. One of the five, finding the monthly allowance of two baskets of rice insufficient to live upon, ran away and rejoined his regiment.

† These remarks are from a paper by Major Allan.

‡ The authority of a Myo-woon sometimes extends over several districts, which may then be supposed to form a province. Thus, all the districts at the foot of the Aracan mountains up to Tsalen were under the Governor of Mendoon. The Governor of Rangoon generally held peculiar powers over the whole of Pegu, as a sort of Viceroy. He was usually, if not always, a Woongyi or Woondouk.

connected with the capital, and often resident there. Under him there is a Myo-thoogyi; whilst each Taik has its Taik-thoogyi, or Taik-ok, each village its Yuwa-thoogyi, with subordinate Goungs (or tithing-men) over small clusters of houses. The Thoogyis are frequently hereditary, but not usually so in the chief towns. When the Thoogyiship is hereditary it may descend in the female line, and if there is no child, it may even pass to the man who marries the widow.

The cardinal tax over most parts of the country is the house-tax, or family-tax. This seems to be assessed differently in different years, and then not by a fixed levy on each house. A sum is assessed on each circle of villages at an average rate per house; but the individual assessments are above or below this average according to the supposed capabilities of the householder, so that it acts as a sort of rude property-tax. The average amount seems to vary in different districts to an extent scarcely intelligible. Thus, in some of the Prome circles it was six tikals per annum, whilst in Toungoo the average was as high as twenty-seven tikals, and the payment from some wealthy traders rose to sixty and seventy, and even to one hundred. Where the house-tax was so high, probably there was an exemption from exactions known in the other districts. But this does not seem sufficient to account for so great a difference. In Mendoon, where there were scarcely any other taxes, the rate was eleven and a half tikals. And in some other districts it was only three or four, though only levied on those who did not pay the produce-tax.

Exemptions from the house-tax are numerous. Some were exempted on the ground of military service; others, as mechanics and the like, bound to give their services to the local authorities when required; others on account of more frequent liability, from their location on the banks of the river or other great thoroughfares, to meet various calls for personal service, in forwarding despatches and so forth; others as tillers of royal domains, and in a manner the King's bondsmen.

The house-tax is said to be assessed on a census, or "Domesday-book," compiled under the orders of Mentaragyi in 1783, soon after he came to the throne.

Next in importance is the tax on agriculture. In some districts there was no money-tax on the rice crop, but a certain amount, sometimes five per cent, was taken in kind for the use of the government officials; and the same is the case generally with crops of pepper, and of onions or other vegetables.

In other districts a regular paddy-tax is levied, sometimes amounting to forty per cent in kind, but generally not more than twelve or fifteen per cent. In some places it was so many baskets from a certain area of land supposed to produce 100 baskets. This measure, called a *pé*, a *gyo*, and by other names, varied infinitely in different quarters. In some it coincided very nearly with an English acre. The measurement is very rude. The lineal standard is a rod of a certain number of cubits, both cubit and number having their local variations. And to crown the accuracy of the process, the measurer probably begins operations by establishing his standard *ab initio*, measuring his cubit with his own nand-breadths! Then a different measure is used for tobacco from that used for paddy, and so on.

More frequently, perhaps, the rate is levied on the pair of buffaloes used in ploughing.

In one case I find fifty tikals per pair of buffaloes; in another twenty-five to thirty baskets in kind.

Some townships are royal domains. In these the produce belongs to the King, and practically a large percentage, probably half, is taken in kind. The Lédaugyi, or Royal rice-fields, near the capital, are an example of this.

Tobacco land is generally taxed in silver. In Prome it paid thirty tikals on a measure of nearly 70,000 square feet.

Palmyra trees yielding juice for sugar are usually taxed. In the same district the rate was one quarter of a tikal for each tree. Areca trees usually pay in kind.

Fisheries, both on the Irawadi and its branches, and on the swampy lakes which abound in the Delta, were an important source of revenue in Pegu. The lakes and ponds were generally farmed out at a fixed rent; on the big rivers and on the sea the larger nets were assessed. In Bassein the fisheries produced a third of the whole revenue of the district. Sometimes the fishery rent was paid in kind, in dried fish or ngapi. The Roman emperor could not have said of this tax "*non olet*," as all who have been in Burma will testify.

Salt also paid an excise in Rangoon and Bassein. It is evaporated in kilns or furnaces of earthen-pots built up into a dome. Each pot paid so much a season, besides a transit duty on the salt.

Minor sources of revenue were from timber and forest produce, from the licenses to persons who had a monopoly of brokerage on all wholesale dealings, from octroi on articles brought to the town markets, &c.

The district revenue records do not appear to be preserved with any care. They are usually inscribed on the *parabeik*, or black book, with a steatite pencil (which is very much like writing them on a slate), and the government officials at the head-quarters of a district do not seem to know much about the details of taxation. A certain circle of villages is expected to produce a certain amount of revenue; that is all.

The revenues are generally in every variety of share assigned during pleasure to court dignitaries and officials, from the Crown Prince down to the Royal nurse or the King's slipper-bearer, the "eater" of the district, circle, or village; and this personage receives the lion's share of the revenue, varying from fifty to eighty per cent, or more. The remainder goes to local officials, for whom the produce of certain items is set apart. The actual exactions of these authorities are, however, only limited by their fears of consequences, and the collections are thus generally a good deal in excess of what is accounted for to the Myo-tsa, or "eater." The seasons usually selected for assessment are just after the rice-crop has been sown, in May or June, and just when it is ready for harvest, in December or January. At other seasons the people would be liable to decamp into the jungles or to migrate to other parts of the country.*

A large portion of official gains, from those of the Myo-Woon downwards, is always derived from perquisites on the administration of justice, in which even the village Thoogyis participate, extracting such fees as they can for settling petty quarrels, cases of divorce, &c.

* Burney.

Sometimes a tract of paddy-land is set apart for the support of the Myo-Woon and his subordinates. In some districts the "eating" system is carried very low in the scale; village heads, town writers, and other petty officials, having a certain number of houses set aside for their maintenance. From these they draw the family-tax that would otherwise be paid to Government.

There is so little system in the whole matter of Burmese revenue, that it is difficult to say what is ordinary and what is extraordinary. War or other such contingencies are met by a levy of unusual amount assessed on the average of the houses, and these levies are greatly aggravated by the peculation which they give scope for among the officials. Of the money exacted between 1826 and 1831 to meet the British demand for indemnity, it was generally said that one-fourth went into the pockets of the collectors, and a large share of the remainder to the Queen's coffers.*

The present King has very much lowered the family and other taxes which used to be taken throughout the country. Major Phayre was not able to learn with precision all the sources on which he depends for his general revenue. But he depends for the expenses of his Palace, which must be very large, on the monopoly of the principal articles of foreign traffic. These he buys from the people at a fixed rate, and then either sells them at a profit to merchants at the capital, or sends them to Rangoon for sale there. The principal articles he thus deals in are cotton, cutch, teak, timber, lead, and rubies.†

For the cotton, his customers are the Chinese merchants resident in Amarapoora, who purchase for the Yunan market. The cutch, timber, and lead, go to Rangoon. The cotton, it is understood, he causes to be collected in the districts where it is produced, the growers being paid at the rate of twenty tikals the hundred viss for the cleaned article. It is delivered to the Chinese merchants at Amarapoora at fifty tikals the hundred viss, or sometimes taken by them on the river bank in the districts. The quantity thus sold to the Chinese merchants last year was four millions of viss. Cutch and timber are collected in the same manner. Lead is brought from the country about Thein-ni, in the Shan states, some seventy or eighty miles east of Amarapoora. The mines, it is believed, are worked for the silver contained in the lead, which pays the expense of the smelting, and gives a profit. The King last year purchased 800,000 viss of lead, at five tikals for 100 viss, and sold it at twenty tikals. Teak timber is sold for the Rangoon market; rubies are brought in rough, and sold at the Palace to purchasers wholesale. On the whole of these transactions, it appears that the profit of the King is as follows:—

Cotton	12,00,000	tikals.
Cutch	2,00,000	„
Lead	1,20,000	„
Timber (about)	2,00,000	„
Rubies (say)	1,00,000	„

* Burney's *Journals.*

† Petroleum, which has acquired a great additional value in consequence of the demand for the English market, has very recently been added to the royal monopolies. This system of mercantile monoply in the King's hands appears to have been anciently practised in Siam.—(*Bowring*, i. 244, &c.)

Or say, 1,820,000 tikals of silver, at 2*s.* 6*d.* the tikal; this will amount to 227,500*l.*, which may be looked upon as the amount of the King's personal revenue at present.

Certain districts are still given out to the principal Queens and the high officers of Government to eat. Although it has been said that the King has introduced the payment of salaries, Major Phayre could not find that this was the case as regards the Woongyis, Woondouks, and other high officers at the capital; and the only officer in the Provinces whom he heard of as having a fixed salary, is Mr. Makertich, the Collector of Customs and Governor at Menhla. All the other officers are, as formerly, supported by their districts.

The only other direct means of raising a revenue is by customs' duties.

At Menhla, where Mr. Makertich is collector of customs, a duty of six per cent is levied on all produce going down. I believe no exemption is made, except for the King's goods.

The amount collected is said to be about 5000 rupees a-month.

At Kyouk-taloung, sixteen miles below Amarapoora, where customs' duties used formerly to be levied, only a toll is now taken on boats passing.

At Amarapoora a duty of ten per cent is levied on all foreign goods arriving from below, and two-and-a-half per cent additional for the pay of establishments. The latter, however, is an unauthorised exaction. The amount collected is said to be about 12,000 tikals a-month.

Goods coming from China are taxed at Bamó, and do not pay anything additional on entering the capital. It is believed that the amount collected may be put down at 150,000 tikals a-year.*

There are no taxes on articles of food entering the city, and the inhabitants appear to be altogether exempt from taxation.

It appears, then, that the King receives the following annual revenue, from the sources indicated:—

Profit on merchandise	227,500
Customs' duties, 354,000 tikals, or	44,250
Total	£271,750 †

As the troops and the greater portion of the boatmen are supported by the provinces, nearly the whole of the above amount may be regarded as available for the personal expenses of the King.

Although there is no doubt that the amount drawn from the country by direct taxation is very much less than has been extracted in previous reigns, yet it must be most injurious to the interests of the great body of the people to be obliged to sell their staple articles of produce at a fixed price to the Sovereign. We heard no complaints of this; simply because no one would dare to complain. In other respects the King has endeavoured to introduce many reforms into his kingdom, and the mildness of his disposition, and the suavity of his

* See page 149.

† There must be added to this estimate of Major Phayre's, I should think, some contribution to the King's expenses by the Eaters or Assignees of the district revenue, as well as the produce of those lands which are held as royal domains. But the whole Royal Revenue can scarcely now exceed 350,000*l.* or 400,000*l.*

manner, must undoubtedly make him popular with all classes. In Appendix I. will be found copies of some of his edicts. Several of these show an evident desire to reform the administration of the Government, and to give his people the benefit of as good a government as possible.

The direct receipts into the royal treasury from the Shan principalities which retain their Tsaubwas are believed to be trifling; but a number of hungry Burman officials fatten upon the Shans in those states which are most completely under subjection. And a considerable strip of Shan country, along the eastern boundary of Burma Proper, called the "Myelat Nghé-goon," or *middle land silver-taxed,* is directly under the King.*

It is well known that the Burmese have no coinage. Silver bullion is, according to a system at once rude and complicated, the medium of their transactions.

There was a coinage in Aracan, and a peculiar kind of coinage in Tenasserim, but never, it is believed, in Pegu or Burma. King Mentaragyi expressed to Col. Symes a desire to have minting implements, and Capt. Cox accordingly carried with him the necessary apparatus. A coinage was struck and issued. The metal was pure, but there was a little drawback to the success of the scheme, in the fact that the King fixed the current value of his coins at two-thirds above their real value for the silver, and at more than 400 per cent on their real value for the copper, prohibiting all other currency, and charging the difference between the intrinsic and arbitrary value as his own seignorage for coining. The usual results of such pranks followed. All trade was suspended for several weeks, till the ministers persuaded the King, not to put his coinage on a rational footing, but to give it up altogether, and since then the experiment has not been renewed.

Curiously enough our rupees were not merely not current as coin at Amarapoora, but the people were often unwilling to take them at all, except at a greatly depreciated value.† So I have known a Scotch shopkeeper to decline "that small thing," a *sovereign,* preferring the well-thumbed, indigenous one-pound note.

In any case of shop-purchase, before arriving at a price, one is always asked to show the money. Thus a new element of bargaining comes into every purchase; the value of the money has to be ascertained, as well as the value of the goods; and in all mercantile transactions or other affairs involving considerable payment, an assayer or *pwéza* is employed, who receives one per cent upon all sales.‡ He is supposed, on this understanding, to be responsible for the quality of all gold and silver received in payment. These *pwézas* profess to judge by inspection merely, and to appraise in this way within half per cent of the real value. Col. Symes says (p. 327), that in no instance did he hear of a breach of trust committed by one of these *pwézas*; but Col. Burney, with longer and more accurate expe-

* Richardson's *MS. Journal.*

† In 1567 Cæsar Frederick says,—"If hee [the merchant] bring money, he shall lose by it."—*Purchas,* ii. 1761.

‡ Besides these pwézas there is another class so called. They are brokers appointed by Government, who conduct all purchases made by foreigners of produce for exportation, apparently with some notion of keeping a check on the exportation of precious metals. They receive a half per cent from the purchaser, and a half per cent from the seller, in all wholesale transactions.

rience of them, calls them a sad, nefarious set, quite unworthy of this high character. Their power of appraising is also much less than they profess. Burney found the valuations of some of those esteemed most skilful to differ as much as ten per cent among themselves.

Adding this percentage or brokerage to the loss by frequent melting, including, doubtless, some considerable embezzlement by the operations, which is estimated at from one to two per cent on each process; and considering that all the silver current in the country is believed to go through the melting-pot on the average twice a-year,* some idea may be formed of the great cost and wastefulness of this system of currency.†

The lowest weight in the Burmese scale is the little red and black pea (*abrus precatorius*), of which a packet is sometimes sent home from India for the amusement of children. It is called by the Burmese, *Yowé*,‡ and 160 *yowés* are reckoned to a *Kyat*, or tikal. The tenth of a tikal is a *moo*.—Gold, in reference to its purity, is divided into tenths, or *moos;* pure gold being of ten *moos*, and the best current among the merchants nine-and-a-half. Deep-coloured or red gold is admired by the Burmese, and, I believe, they heighten the colour artificially. The best gold commonly fetches nearly twenty times its weight in silver.

The old travellers of the sixteenth century talk often of *Gansa* as a mixture of copper and lead, apparently stamped, which was the current money of Pegu in that age.§ Copper is not in any part of Burma used as currency now, but lead is commonly passed in all the bazars for small purchases, and baskets of it for exchange are always a prominent object in the markets. It is used in rude lumps, varying from half an ounce to a pound or so in weight. The price, when we were at Amarapoora, was 100 viss of lead for six-and-a-half tikals of the best silver.

Cowries are never used for small currency in Burma. But rice is often used in petty transactions among villagers.

The purest silver current in Burma is called *Bau*. It contains three or four per cent of alloy, but not more. This degree of purity cannot be given by the pwézas to small pieces of

* Every Burmese seems to have a passion for turning (and diminishing) his money in this fashion. —(*Major Phayre.*)

† Mr. Crawfurd (p. 433) estimates the loss in melting at one per cent. My informant, Mr. Spears, estimated it at two per cent.

Mr. Crawfurd, estimating the whole cost of assay at two-and-a-half per cent, says, that the process repeated forty times would absorb the original amount. This is a mistake however, it seems to me, originating in his treating the cost of each operation as two-and-a-half per cent of the *original*, and not of the constantly-diminishing, amount.

‡ "It is a popular belief that they almost uniformly weigh exactly one grain troy; but I have weighed many, and found them to vary from one to two grains."—Mason's *Nat. Prod. of Burma*, p. 196.

§ Thus Cæsar Frederick:—"The current money that is in this Citie, and throughout all this kingdom, is called *Gansa*, or *Ganza*, which is made of copper and lead. It is not the money of the King, but every man may stampe it that will, because it hath his [its] just partition or value; but they make many of them false by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not pass, neither will any take them. With this money *Ganza* you may buy gold or silver, rubies and muske, and other things. For there is no other money current amongst them. And gold, silver, and other merchandise are at one time dearer than another, as all other things bee."—*Purchas*, ii. 1717–18. A little more than a century later Captain Alexander Hamilton speaks of "Ganse or *lead*, which passeth all over the Pegu dominions for money." —*New Account of the East Indies*, 1727, ii. 41.

metal, according to Col. Burney. I believe it is the money in which the foreign merchants at Amarapoora usually demand to be paid by the shopkeepers. The King again receives no payments in *bau;* because, as I was told, the value of the lower alloy, called *Dain,* is more easily tested.

The variety next in purity to *bau* is *Khayobat,* so called from *Khayo,* a univalve shell, and *pat,* circle or winding, in consequence of the spiral lines or efflorescence on the surface. It is said to consist of nineteen-and-a-half parts *bau* to half a part of copper. An expert pwéza, however, it is said, can make it; that is to say, can produce the necessary marks, with three-fourths instead of one-half of copper.* Supposing the *bau* to contain four per cent of alloy, *khayobat* will, according to the former proportions, contain 6.4 per cent.

Next comes *dain,* the purest kind of which is formed of nineteen parts *bau* to one of copper, or contains about 9.6 of absolute alloy. This used to be the money most extensively current in commerce with foreigners. All the China trade is carried on with *dain.*

Dain and *khayobat* are cast in large disks, weighing twenty tikals and upwards.

Yowet-ni (*red-leaf*), or flowered silver, so called from certain stars or radiating lines on the surface, is the standard currency in which accounts are kept, the "current money with the merchant," † and which is understood to be the medium of payment when no stipulation as to the kind of money is made. It is that in which revenue is assessed. It is cast in pieces of five to seven tikals in weight. Even about this standard there seems to be uncertainty, for the best *yowet-ni* is stated to have only ten per cent copper to ninety of *bau,* whilst Burney states the composition of *yowet-ni* at fifteen per cent copper to eighty-five of *bau.* This last appears to be the standard.‡ The different qualities of *dain* are distinguished by their

* Burney. † Gen. xxiii.

‡ Colonel Burney thus describes the process of making *Yowet-ni,* which he caused to be performed in his presence by the Pwézas. "They first purified the silver and converted it into *Bau,* in which process they contrived to remove some of the metal with the scoriæ by the rough tools with which they cleared the top and sides of the boiling silver. The crucible consisted only of a small saucer or mould, which was covered up with charcoal, and occasionally exposed to view, when a piece of plank, one-and-a-half foot long and four inches broad, was used to clean the surface of the silver and prevent the metal from cooling. After the silver was purified, the requisite portion of copper was added, and when the whole was in fusion the saucer was removed from the fire; and whilst the plank above-mentioned, which was blazing, was held a little above the metal, so as to allow the flame to play upon it, a little lead was melted in, by being rubbed on the edge of the saucer, and the Pwéza then blew through a small bamboo upon the metal, gently and regularly, until he observed the surface cool a little, and show the first lines of the stars or flowers, like milk beginning to cream. If these were not of the form required, he put the crucible into the fire again; if they were, he immediately covered up the metal with three or four folds of cloth, wetted and cut round, so as to fit the top of the crucible. The object of the blazing piece of plank seemed to be to make the silver cool more gradually, and that of the wet cloth to fix the particular star or flower required, the moment the first lines of it appeared, and to prevent any after alteration." The Burmese said the flowers could not be produced without the lead. Some *Khayobat* was made in like manner. Whilst one Pwéza was blowing on the silver the rest held up their putsos around him, to keep the external air from the metal. They fused the silver four times before it showed a good *Yowet-ni* flower, and they managed to convert fifteen tikals of ten per cent *Dain* (after adding to it nearly two-and-a-quarter tikals of copper) into a piece of *Yowet-ni* of precisely the same weight!—(*MS. Notes on Burmese Currency;* in Foreign Office, Calcutta.) See also Prinsep's useful Tables, on coins, weights, and measures, where the assay value of these different kinds of silver, forming part of the Burman indemnity, as given is determined in the Calcutta mint.

relation to *yowet-ni*. Thus the best *dain* is called ten per cent above *yowet-ni*, or simply "ten per cent *dain*." Five per cent *dain* is the lowest bullion properly entitled to that name.

There are also many degrees in the scale of current bullion recognised below *yowet-ni*, down at least to what is called eighty per cent silver; such, that is to say, that 180 tikals of it are equal to 100 of *yowet-ni*. But all below fifty per cent is by the King's order liable to confiscation. These inferior currencies are common in the provinces, but not in the capital. Before the war of 1824 the currency of Rangoon used to be twenty-five per cent silver. After that war it was ten per cent silver. Since the annexation of Pegu, it is needless to say that the Anglo-Indian coinage has been established as the currency.

CHAPTER XII.

ON THE MAP OF BURMA; DESCRIPTIVE GEOGRAPHY; AND POPULATION.

D'Anville's Errors—Old Surveys of the Irawadi—Rennell—Symes's Mission first gave Shape to the Geography, through his Companions, Wood and F. Buchanan—Knowledge gained during and after the First War—Dr. Richardson's Journeys—Captain Macleod's, Pemberton's—Hannay, Bayfield, and Griffith—Interruption to Geographical Acquirements—Our Later Acquisitions—Pemberton's Large Map—Map accompanying this Report—Chief Steps in its Construction—Best Way of representing Unsurveyed Mountains—Long-existing Error in Assigned Comparative Longitudes—Illustrations of this—What the Kings of Ava consider their Legitimate Dominion—The Acme of Burmese Power—The Tributary Shan States—The Myamma Races—The strange River-system of Buchanan's Map—Convenient Division of the Burmese Territory as it was in 1852—Northern Burma—Burma Proper—Pegu—Eastern Shan States—Sketch of the Mountain-systems of Burma and its Frontiers—The Burman Lowlands not a continuous Plain like that of Upper India—Suicidal Folly of the Government—Description of Burma—The Sources of the Irawadi—The Khamtis, Singphos, and Kakhyens—Mogoung and its River—The Valley of Hookhong, Payen-dwen, or the Amber-mines—The Lapai Singphos—The Pat-koi passes into Assam—Singpho Villages—The Upper Kyen-dwen—Revert to Description of the Irawadi—The Upper *Kyoukdwen*, or Defile—The Pwons and Kakhyen Caterans—Great Depth of the River—The Bamó River—Bamó—Great Flexure of the River—Second Defile—Kakhyens and Paloungs—Chinese Frontier—Boundary between Northern Shans and Burma Proper—The Shwéli—Mauroya—The Kadós—Teak Forests—Tagoung and Old Pagán—The Third Defile—Shwe-oo-doung—The Ruby-mines—Kyouk Myoung—The Valley of Ava—Great Deflection of the River—Mouths of the Kyen-dwen—The Middle Course of the Kyen-dwen—The Ooroo Valley and Mines of Noble Serpentine—The Valley of Kabo—The Lower Kyen-dwen—The Khyens, Kookis, and Nagas—Country between Irawadi and Kyen-dwen—The Moo River—Mout-shobo—The Yau Country—Tsalen District—The Aeng Pass—Pass to Talak in Aracan—Other Passes—Toungoo Road—Alegyo Pass—General Character of the Passes—Strange Denudation of Foliage on Burmese Side—The Khyens—Mendoon District—Country East of the Irawadi—The Peguan Yoma—Shan Mountains—Wheat—Pegu Described—The Peguan Yoma—Shwe Dagon—Talain Names—Valley of the Irawadi—The Delta—The Sitang—Ethnography of Pegu—The Talains—The Karens—The Toungthoos—Population of Burma—Former Estimates—Data and Deductions.

THE Mission of Colonel Symes, in 1795, first gave shape to the geography of Burma.

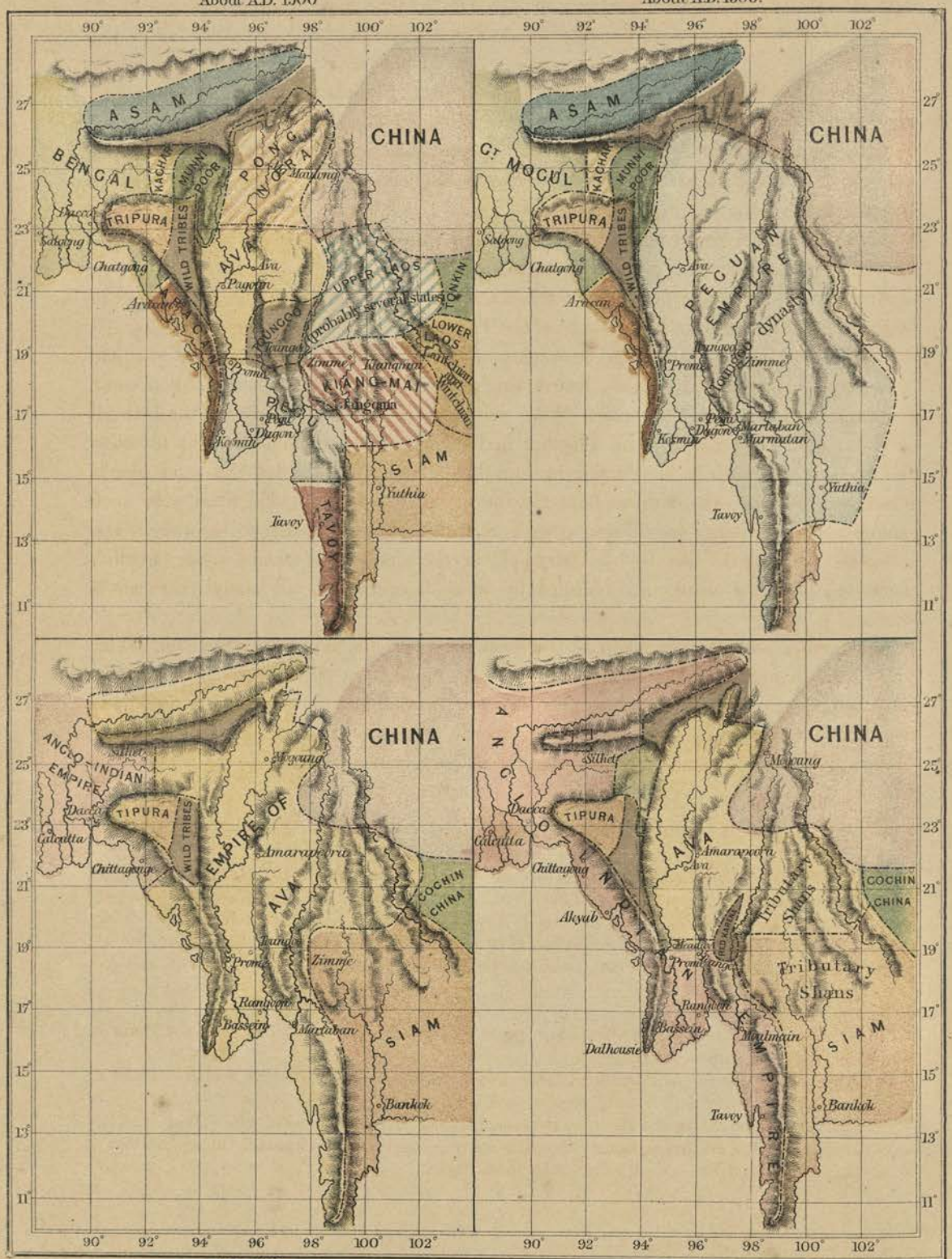
The celebrated geographer, D'Anville, had so little real acquaintance with these regions, as to consider it probable that the Aracan river, and other tidal channels of that coast, were branches thrown off by the Irawadi; ignorant, it would appear, of the intervention of the great Yoma range, which must have been well known to European mariners for two centuries. A greater geographer than D'Anville might have taught him better, had he consulted Ptolemy.* He made the old confusion, too, which seems somehow to

* See Chapter viii., near the beginning.

An attempt to represent the

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BURMESE COUNTRIES

AT SEVERAL EPOCHS.



be inherent in the nature of things, between the Pegu river, the Sitang, and the Salwen.* And misled by, or misapprehending, an old Dutch MS. chart of the Irawadi which he greatly prized, he carried the city of Ava more than three degrees too far to the north.†

A survey of the general course of the Irawadi from Negrais to Kyouk Myoung was made by Capt. George Baker, of whose accuracy Rennell expresses a high opinion, when he went ambassador to Alompra, in 1756. A copy of this, and of another more detailed chart from a Dutch source, supplied by Major Rennell, will be found in Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory.

Rennell himself, however, fell into errors in regard to the geography of these countries. He supposed the Lookiang of China to be the upper course of the Irawadi,‡ and the river of Aracan, which is in reality a mountain-stream of no great length, he conjectured to be the debouchment of the Kenpoo, one of the Tibetan rivers in the maps of Duhalde.§

Symes had the good fortune to be accompanied on his Mission by an excellent practical surveyor, Colonel Wood of the Bengal Engineers (then an Ensign), and by a great geographer, Dr. Francis Buchanan. Wood produced the first good survey of the Irawadi to Ava; and Buchanan, by the diligence and sagacity with which he taught travelled Burmese to record their information in rude but valuable maps, filled the utter blanks which had hitherto existed throughout the interior of the country; and fixed even such remote places as Bamó and Mogoung with no contemptible approach to accuracy. His materials were made use of by Dalrymple in the small map accompanying Symes's narrative, but they were not published by himself, or in full, till many years afterwards.‖

No further advance was made in Burmese geography till the war of 1824-26. This added little to our knowledge of Burma Proper, so much were operations confined to the river banks. But two of the passes between the Irawadi and the sea were traversed and mapped, and an army of surveyors was thrown upon the northern frontier; Bedford, Wilcox, Bedingfield, and others, on Assam and its borders; Grant and Pemberton in

* A confusion which even Mrs. Somerville does not seem wholly to have escaped.—See *Physical Geography*, ed. 1849, i. 394.

† See *D'Anville's Eclaircissemens Géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 144. The map itself I cannot find in Calcutta. There is a map of Southern Asia, however, in the large *Universal Atlas*, published in 1795, which seems to be taken from D'Anville in this part. The Dutch chart was evidently not far wrong in the form of the river, but has been by some blunder shoved bodily up from 3° to 4°; Digan (Rangoon) being placed in 19° 30′, instead of 16° 47′, Prome in 22° 30′, instead of 18° 48′, and Ava as mentioned in the text.

‡ *Memoir of Map of Hind.* p. 296.

§ *Ed. Phil. Journal*, iii. 38. The Kenpoo is probably the eastern branch which joins the T'sanpoo, before issuing into Assam as the Dihong.

‖ Under his changed name of Hamilton, in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, vols. ii.–vii. and x., and in Brewster's *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, vols. i.–iv.

Buchanan's *Journal* during the Mission has never, I believe, been published in full. There were two copies of it in Calcutta, one in the Home Office, the other in the Surveyor-General's Office. Neither of them can now be found, but it must exist in the India House.

Munnipoor. The western sources of the Irawadi were reached by Wilcox; much information was obtained concerning the course of the Kyen-dwen, and its lower valley was surveyed by Lieut. Montmorency, in 1828.

In the succeeding years, after our establishment at Maulmain, during Mr. Blundell's tenure of the Commissionership there, and Col. Burney's residence at Ava, knowledge continued to accumulate. Dr. Richardson commenced a series of arduous journeys to the Shan states, with a view of encouraging trade to Maulmain. In 1829 he reach Laboung, in the immediate vicinity of Zimmé. In 1834, and again in 1835, he repeated his journey by different routes, and reached that town, the Jangomai of the old writers, unvisited by any European traveller for two centuries.* In 1837 he, for the third time, visited Zimmé, and proceeded northward through the Shan Tsaubwaships of Mokmé, Moné, and Nyoung-yuwé, to Ava.† In the same year Capt. Macleod penetrated through Zimmé to the remote Shan state of Kiang Hung, on the Cambodia river, and nearly on the borders of China.‡ In 1830 Capt. Pemberton was allowed to proceed by the Kyen-dwen and Irawadi from the Munnipoor frontier to Ava, and from Ava to Aracan by the Aeng pass. In 1831 Dr. Richardson, then at Ava with Col. Burney, had the opportunity of visiting part of Burma Proper, previously unexplored, being permitted to travel from Ava through the districts of Mout-shobo and Dibayen, to Kendat, on the Munnipoor frontier.§ In 1833 Capt. Macleod also proceeded to Kendat, but the journey was made by water. He produced a revised survey of the lower course and mouths of the Kyen-dwen.‖ In the end of 1835 Singpho outrages on the Assam frontier induced the Government to call for the interference of the Burmese, and Col. Burney was enabled to depute the commandant of his escort, Capt. Hannay, to accompany the Burmese Governor of Mogoung to the north. Capt. Hannay, first in modern times, ascended to Bamó, and thence to Mogoung, and the Amber-mines of Hookhong, bringing back much interesting information.¶ Again, in the next year, Dr. Bayfield, the Resident's assistant, was sent on a somewhat similar Mission. He reached the summit of the Assam boundary chain, and was met there by Dr. Griffith, the able botanist, who returned with him to Ava.** The revolution, which ended in Tharawadi's successful usurpation, broke out in their absence; but they reached the capital in safety, and just in time to quit it with Col. Burney. Our intercourse with Burma ceased, and an end was put for many years to the accumulation of geographical knowledge in this direction.

The annexation of Pegu and Martaban, and the surveys which have ensued, enable us to establish a firmer nucleus for the exacter aggregation of materials; but it must be said

* *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* v. 601, 688.

† Abstract in *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vi. 1005. *MS. Journal* in Foreign Office, Calcutta.

‡ Ditto, vi. 989. *MS. Journal* in Foreign Office, Calcutta.

§ *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* ii. 59.

‖ *MS. Journal* in Foreign Office, Calcutta. Map in Pemberton's Lithographed Route-maps, Calcutta, 1836.

¶ *MS. Journal* in Foreign Office, Calcutta, and abstract thereof in *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vi. 245.

** Bayfield's *MS. Journal* in Surveyor-General's Office, Calcutta; and Griffith's *Posthumous Papers* Calcutta, 1847.

that little addition to our knowledge beyond our own provinces has yet been made. Of large tracts we have still no accurate description. Such are the eastern part of Burma Proper from the Irawadi to the Shan states, though on this Major Allan has collected a good deal of native information; the Yau country, west of the mouth of the Kyen-dwen; the interior of the Doab, between the Irawadi and Kyen-dwen, from Mout-shobo upwards; and the whole of the hill country east and north-east of the capital, towards the Ruby-mines, the upper course of the Myit-ngé, and the Chinese frontier.*

The map published at Calcutta by Capt. Pemberton, in 1838, was a great advance upon any that had preceded it. It added an extraordinary amount of new matter to the public stock of geographical knowledge, combining, as it did, all the information collected by himself and the other officers mentioned above, during the ten years succeeding the first war. But to have executed such a work thoroughly well on the scale adopted, and over so vast a field, would have required greatly more labour than could be afforded by an Indian official with other duties.

The following have been the chief steps in the construction of the map which accompanies this book:—

The British province of Pegu is taken from a large map by Lieut. Williams, of the Bengal Engineers, which has just been submitted to Government. The map is a provisional one, the survey being incomplete as yet.

Martaban is from a map by Mr. Hobday, lately published at the Government Lithographic Press, at Calcutta.

The course of the Irawadi from the British frontier to Amarapoora is from a large chart constructed from the survey of Capt. Rennie and Lieut. Heathcote during our voyage.

The country, from Ava upwards to Mogoung, the Yú mines, and valley of Hookhong, is from the route surveys of Col. Hannay and Dr. Bayfield; the former being taken from a reduction on the scale of thirty-two miles to the inch, given in the sixth volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; and the latter from a map on a scale of eight miles to an inch, in the Surveyor-General's Office. The lower part of this section, from Ava to Malé and Tsampenago, is chiefly from Mr. Oldham's sketch, which is given on a reduced scale in this work. There is a large discrepancy in the latitude of Malé, Mr. Oldham's

* A good deal of jealousy was excited among the Chinese authorities by Captain Hannay's visit to the upper Irawadi, and it was made the subject of remonstrance at the end of a letter received in 1836 from the royal elder brother Taukwang, Emperor of China, "who, assisted by the Sagya Nat (Indra, the Burmese version of the Chinese Teen), rules over a multitude of Umbrella-wearing chiefs in the great Eastern Empire," by "his royal younger brother, sun-descended king, lord of the golden palace, who rules over a multitude of Umbrella-wearing chiefs in the great Western Empire." The letter (of which Colonel Burney obtained a translation) concluded thus:—

"Everything that occurs in elder brother's empire shall be made known to younger brother. With respect to younger brother's empire, it is not proper to allow the English, after they have made war and peace has been settled, to remain in the city. *They are accustomed to act like the Peepul tree,* [i.e. to spread and take such hold that they can't be eradicated]. Let not younger brother therefore allow the English to remain in his country, and if anything happens, elder brother will attack, take, and give."

Colonel Burney considered that this paragraph was undoubtedly an interpolation by the authorities in Yunan.—*In a Letter to Pol. Department,* 16th September, 1836.

farthest point, as assigned by him and by the two preceding surveyors. As far as Kyouk-myoung, Mr. Oldham's sketch is undoubtedly to be preferred. Kyouk-myoung is well known to be the port of Mout-shobo, on the Irawadi, and to be only fourteen miles distant from that place. Again, the position of Mout-shobo, and its distance from Ava, are pretty nearly fixed. Now, so inconsistent with these data was the position of Kyouk-myoung assigned in the surveys of the two older travellers, that Pemberton in his map has actually introduced a second Kyouk-myoung, which has no real existence, in the proper relation to Mout-shobo.* On this, as well as on personal grounds, I should have altogether preferred Mr. Oldham's authority, as far as it carried me. But, on the other hand, the latitudes assigned by Hannay and Bayfield (who both used the sextant) are in very tolerable agreement, not only at Malé, but all the way up to Mogoung, and I have not, therefore, felt at liberty to throw over their authority; so I have given the latitude of Malé somewhat lower than theirs, indeed, but considerably higher than Mr. Oldham's.

In Burma Proper, below Ava, the interior towns and districts have been filled up from a very valuable map, compiled by Major Allan from the collation of numerous native routes, and from other information.

The divisions of districts above Ava I have, to a small extent, laid down from information given in Bayfield's MS. Journal. A few other particulars of mountain chains, &c., in upper Burma, have been deduced from the same Journal, and from that of Col. Hannay.

The part of China which appears in the map is from D'Anville's map of Yunan after the Jesuits. I have, however, been compelled to shift the longitude of the whole 0° 7′ to the west, as, after establishing Bamó as far east as was admissible from the authorities, the distance from Bamó to Long-chuen, or Mowun, the first town in the Chinese territories, was greater than could be allowed, on consideration of two independent Burmese routes between those two places, given by Burney in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI. And I have also advanced the Burmese frontier nearer to Long-chuen, for reasons founded on the same itineraries. The frontier of China has also been thrown back, so as to exclude the states of Kaing-ma, Mainleng-gyi, and Kiang-Hung, all of which are embraced within the Yunan frontier in D'Anville's map. From a map by Klaproth, in his Essay on the Burrampooter and Irawadi, and from routes given by Bayfield, a few additional names of interest in this part of Yunan have been obtained. I have also had before me Berghaus's map of *Hinter-Indien*, published in 1832, a careful and beautiful work, but destroyed by the wholesale adoption of Klaproth's preposterous deduction of all the rivers of Burma from the remote mountains of Tibet.

For the eastern Shan states, the following course has been adopted:—

Kiang-Hung is laid down in the Jesuit map under the name of Tcheli-chuen-fou-se.†

* There are several of these duplicates in Pemberton.

† I was led to this identification by Captain Macleod's incidental mention in his *MS. Journal* that the Chinese name of the city was Cheli. Since this Memoir was written I have been informed by Captain (now Colonel) Macleod, whom I had the pleasure of meeting on my way from India, that he had, about the year 1840, taken much pains in compiling a map of these regions, which was submitted to Government. Of this I had not found any trace in Calcutta.

The longitude, therefore, I have taken from that map, with alteration to the westward mentioned above. The latitude was determined by Macleod to be 21° 58′. This location fixes Kiang-Hung 0° 19′ farther east than Macleod's estimate, according to which it was laid down in the map of the Shan country compiled under the superintendence of Dr. Richardson, from Macleod's routes and his own, and which was embodied in Pemberton's map. In that map, however, the Salwen river, say at its confluence with the Thaungyin, on our Tenasserim frontier, was 0° 7′ farther to the west than it ought to have been, according to Hobday's surveys. To obtain the skeleton of the Shan country, I therefore took as a base a line drawn from Kiang-Hung (determined in the manner just explained) as the eastern extremity, to the confluence of the Salwen, and the Thoungyin (determined by Mr. Hobday) as the western extremity; and to this base, as compared with the line joining the same points in Richardson's map, I have adjusted the positions of Zimmé, Kiang-Hai, Kiang-Tung, Laboung, Lagong, Moné, &c., but preserving the latitudes in all cases, as I believe that Richardson, as well as Macleod, took observations for latitude. The position of Kiang-Tsen, on the Mekhong, I have thrown considerably higher than that laid down from information by Macleod. This was necessary for the sake of agreement with the route of Duhalde's Chinese travellers,* which is in all other respects so accurate as to be entitled to rule this point. The positions of Mainleng-gyi, of Kaing-ma, of Maing-maing, and of Muang-la, the frontier town of Kiang-Hung, beyond the Mekhong, have been taken from D'Anville, where these towns appear under the names of Monglien, Kemma, Moung-Moung, and Mongla, applying the general correction of longitude.

The true position of the towns east of Ava, Thoung-zé, Theebo, Thein-ni, Toungbain, Momeit, is very uncertain. In laying them down approximately, I have considered Richardson's information, as recorded in his Journal; his (presumed) additional information, as embodied in his map; a detailed route of the road to China, through Thoung-zé, Theebo, Thein-ni, and Kaing-ma, given by Col. Burney;† and Buchanan's native maps in the early volumes of the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal. The course of the Myit-ngé is from Mr. Oldham's sketch, as far as it goes; and the rest from Richardson. But the latter part is, I fancy, on very little authority.

The Kyen-dwen, from Kendat to its confluence with the Irawadi, is laid down from Capt. Macleod's survey; the latitude and longitude of Sunyachil Ghat, opposite Kendat, being taken from Pemberton, in his report on the eastern frontier, and those of the confluence, from our Mission Survey. This gives the river a good deal more of easting in its southerly course than previous maps exhibited, owing to a circumstance to be presently mentioned.

The Aracan mountains, &c., between latitude 19° and 20° 12′, are taken from a map of the Aracan frontier, which I compiled in 1853, embracing my own route-surveys through the Yoma-doung passes, in February and March of that year.

So much of Siam as is introduced in the map has been compiled from a map by

* See next Chapter.

† *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vi. 424.

Dr. Richardson, in Vol. IX. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and from Mr. Consul Parkes's sketch, published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXVI.

The remainder of the map has been taken from public sources; the coast-line from the Admiralty charts; Tenasserim chiefly from a map compiled by Capt. Macleod, for the Bengal and Agra Gazetteer; the mountain frontier, between Burma and Bengal, with Assam and its mountains, the line of the Himalayas, the Burrampooter, and other features of Bengal geography, have been reduced partly from Pemberton, and partly from Tassin's map of Bengal.

It must be understood that scarcely any of the mountain masses represented in this map are known in any detail; and some of them are only known in a general way to exist, with a strong probability that their direction is so and so.* In such circumstances, might not some of the old ways of representing mountains, perhaps, be preferable to our modern methods; either by a simple broad brown shade, as in the copies of ancient maps printed with the oldest editions of Ptolemy, or by a mass of little pictorial papillæ, as in the maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

In the graduation of the map, the longitude of Calcutta has been assumed as 88° 19′. A correction has been applied to Pemberton, Williams, &c., to adapt them to this basis.

I have alluded above to the transfer eastward of the line of the Irawadi. This I believe to be an important advance in the truth of our delineation, and its necessity I pointed out some years ago. In a memorandum, dated July 1853, attached to the Aracan frontier map referred to above, it was stated that great difficulty had been experienced in combining the materials. This difficulty, it was observed, had principally arisen from what, I had no doubt, was an error in the relative longitudes assigned in existing maps to the Aracan coast, and to the line of the Irawadi, by which the intermediate space was unduly narrowed. I showed that there was not nearly room enough to introduce in their proper proportions the various surveys that had been made of the transverse passes from the Irawadi to the sea, and that the adaptation of these surveys to the limits of the published maps involved an amount of mutilation sufficient to scare Procrustes himself. The memorandum proceeded:—

"The maps of the Aeng road afford us an example of the mutilation that has been practised. From Maphé Myo, at the eastern base of the mountains, to Memboo on the Irawadi, a pretty straight and level road, Captain Pemberton's route-table gives three marches, amounting in all to thirty-eight miles; and the distance on a straight line measured on his accompanying route-map is thirty miles. Yet the same Captain Pemberton, at the same time, published an elaborate map of the whole eastern frontier, and there we find this same distance from Maphé to Memboo laid down as *ten* miles instead of thirty, because the assigned longitude could not afford more. And so it remains on the latest published maps.

* In the map of the Aracan frontier above referred to, I tried to indicate the difference between the observed and the probable, by a decided difference in shade. But in the copies of the map I find this difference has almost evaporated.

"That is what has happened when an attempt has been made to construct a combined map of the two regions, the sea-coast and the Irawadi valley. Quite as curious an indication of something wrong may be seen in the maps in which no such combination is attempted. Take Wood's survey of the Irawadi. There you will see the mountains carried parallel to the river at what appeared to that officer a proper distance westward; and the consequence is, that the southern part of Aracan is suppressed altogether, hustled into the sea, in fact. On the other hand, look at Fytch's drawing of the Sandoway Province. He carries the ridge of the Yoma boldly up to the ninety-fifth meridian, or nearly so, that he may have a proper quantity of room for his own district, leaving, in consequence, no space at all between the ridge and the Burmese river.

"I believe, then, it will be found that the whole line of the Irawadi requires shifting eastward," &c.

All that has since been done has tended to prove the justice of this anticipation.

Prome was found to be laid down in existing maps with a longitude varying from 95° to 95° 5½′; and the highest figure that I could anywhere find assigned to it* was 95° 10′ 38″. By Lieutenant Williams's survey, the longitude now assigned to Prome is 95° 18′ 15″.

Again, in Pemberton's table, the longitude assigned to Pagán is 94° 34′ 10″, whilst Rennie and Heathcote's survey now gives it 94° 56′ 26″.

In neither case has the survey yet been completed with sufficient accuracy to put these new assignments, especially the latter, beyond question. But they are undoubtedly much nearer the truth than anything that we possessed before; and, as an example of the result, it will be found that in the present map the distance of Memboo from Maphé is twenty-five miles, instead of being compressed to ten, as in Pemberton.

The Kings of Ava are said to consider as territory, properly belonging to the empire, whatever was subjected to the authority of five of their most renowned predecessors. These five are Nauratha-menzau, the forty-second King of Pagán, and the founder of the Shwé-zeegoong pagoda there, in the eleventh century; Mengyi-tsauké, the second King of Ava; Tshen-byoo-myayen, the great King of Pegu, and conqueror of Ava in 1554; Nyoungyan-mentárá, the restorer of Ava on the fall of the Peguan empire in 1601; and Alompra.† The limits of the Pagán monarchy, in the reign of the first monarch, are said to be indicated on a stone inscription at Shwé-zeegoong. In its largest development it appears temporarily to have ruled over Pegu, Martaban, and Tavoy;‡ and towards China it extended over that western part of Yunan still chiefly occupied by Shans, and including the town of Momyen, or Tengyechoo.§ The northern part of the Irawadi basin, embracing the Shan states of Monyeen and Mogoung, does not appear to have been permanently subject

* Table appended to Pemberton's Report in Appendix XIX. In the Index to Black's *Atlas*, indeed, Prome is put down as 95° 19′; but this is evidently an accident.

† MS. Letter to Government from the Resident at Ava, dated 5th July, 1832.

‡ Mason's *Nat. Productions of Burma*, pp. 433, 454.

§ Burney, in *Jour. Asiatic Society*, vi. 122, 124. These places were lost to the Pagán empire about A.D. 1300. They were conquered again by Tshenbyoo-myayen in 1562, but apparently fell to China on the decline of the empire under his son.

to Pagán. Mogoung, or rather a more ancient city called Moung Maulong, some miles farther up the Mogoung river than the present town, was then the seat of a Shan principality of considerable extent and power,* which Captain Pemberton has commemorated under the Kathé appellation of the "kingdom of Pong."† And this state remained independent till 1442, according to the Burmese account, but up to 1512, according to the Shan chronicle quoted by Pemberton. This subjugation, however, was but temporary; for, in 1526, the Shans of Mogoung had not only shaken off the Burmese yoke, but had conquered Ava, which they held for thirty years. The succeeding subjugation by the Toungoo conquerors of Pegu, and the rise of an offshoot of that dynasty in Ava on the ruins of the southern empire, have already been several times referred to. But the modern kingdom of Ava did not attain its greatest expansion till 1822. At that period, though its wealth was probably inferior to that of the Peguan empire in the sixteenth century, its limits were considerably greater, embracing within the conquered circle the whole valley of Assam, Cachar, Munnipoor, and Aracan, regions which had never been subject to Pegu.‡

Respecting the date at which the Burmese obtained supremacy over the Eastern Shan states, I can find no information. But it appears from the itinerary of Chinese travellers from Siam to China, given in Duhalde,§ that some of the states near the Cambodia river were, at the date of the journey (probably before the end of the seventeenth century), in the habit of sending to Ava the tributary symbols of gold and silver flowers, which are still customary.‖

Seven races are recognised by the Burmese as of the Myamma stock; viz. the Rakain, or people of Aracan; the proper Burma; the Talain; the Khyen of the Aracan mountains; the Karen of the forests of lower Burma, Pegu, and Tenasserim; the Yau; and the Tavoyer.¶ There are traces, however, in the Burmese history, of even the proper Burma having been amalgamated from various races.** The country of the proper Burma is the middle region of the Irawadi and its tributaries, from about lat. 23½° to lat. 18½°. To this definition must be added the upper valley of the Poun-loung, or Sitang; a river which many of our maps since Buchanan's time have represented as communicating with the Irawadi, and even with the Salwen, far from the sea, by strange anastomoses. These are undoubtedly imaginary. High mountains form a barrier between the Salwen and the Sitang, and hills of less altitude but equal impermeability between the Sitang and the Irawadi. The two latter do send out inosculating branches in the lower part of their

* Letter from Colonel Burney in Foreign Office, dated 18th July, 1836. But, according to one tradition recorded by Colonel Hannay, Maulong was on the Shwé-li, east of the Irawadi.

† Pemberton's *Report on the Eastern Frontier*, p. 108. *MS. Despatch* by Colonel Burney, of 18th July, 1836.

‡ See Diagrams of Historical Geography in Plate XXVI.

§ Duhalde's *China*. English folio translation, i. 63.

‖ Dr. Richardson fell in with the Envoys of Kiang-Tung carrying these gold and silver flowers in 1837. (*Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vi. 1020.)

¶ Judson's *Dictionary*.

** See ante, p. 29, note.

From a drawing by Mr C. Grant

Day & Son, Lithrs. to the Queen

PORTRAITS OF TWO TALAIN YOUNG LADIES DAUGHTERS OF THE NATIVE JUDGE OF PROME.

London Smith Elder & Co. 65 Cornhill

course; or, at least, the expansive Delta of the greater river with its intersecting channels spreads to the shores of the wide funnel up which drives the furious bore of the Sitang.*

The Burman territories, as they were in 1852, might be divided conveniently, but not with any great precision, into four parts. 1st, *Northern Burma*, including a variety of sparse and alien population, Singphos, Shans, and what not, under more or less imperfect subjection. 2nd, *Burma Proper*, inhabited by pure Burmans only, or by the descendants of foreign captives. 3rd, *Pegu*, whether taken as the Delta of the Irawadi, or as the Burman vice-royalty of Henzawadi, or as the original Talain kingdom. Taken as the British Province now bearing the name, it extends to lat. 19° 27′, and considerably beyond the largest of the former definitions. 4th, the *Eastern Shan tributary states*, extending in longitude from the mountains of the Red Karens to the Cambodia river.

The last possess a certain independence of jurisdiction, having more and more of the reality as they recede from the shadow of the Golden Palace.

The gorge, through which the waters of the sacred Brahmaputra burst out from the Brahmakoond into the valley of Assam, is formed by the convergence of two great mountain chains, which fence that valley from west to east.

The northern chain, the Himalaya, stretching far beyond Assam, bounds that valley, but as it bounds all India with its awful barrier of unchanging snow. The southern, a chain of far less altitude and celebrity, and of no one name, is co-extensive with the valley which it limits and defines, and may conveniently be termed the Assam chain, as it has been, I believe, in some Atlases.

Rising suddenly from the plains of Eastern Bengal, as from a sea, about 220 miles N. E. of Calcutta, it stretches eastward in a broadening chaos of woody spurs and ridges, and grassy undulating table-lands, taking successively the names of the races which inhabit it, Garos, Kasias, and Nagas of many tribes; ever increasing in the elevation of its highest points, from 3000 and 4000 feet among the Garos, to 6000 among the Kasias, 8000 and 9000 in the region north of Munnipoor, till, sweeping north-eastward in a wide mass of mountain of which the general direction only is known, it emerges to knowledge again as the Pat-koi, traversed by the Burman armies in their Assamese inroads; farther on abreast of the Brahmakoond rises to a height of 12,000 and 14,000 feet, and then, coming in contact with the spurs of the waning Himalayas, lifts itself into the region of eternal snow, and stretching still eastward embraces its northern rival, and forms that amphitheatre of snowy peaks, glorious, doubtless, but unseen as yet by European eye, in which the Brahmaputra has its earliest springs.

This lofty prolongation of the southern chain, known now as the Langtang, sends down from the snows of its southern face the head-waters of the Irawadi. Beyond the eastern sources of the river it strikes southward a great meridian chain, snow-capt in places like the parent ridge, and from old time the bounding wall of China to the westward. It is called by the Singpho tribes, which cluster round the roots of all these mountains of

* This great disproportionate funnel-mouth probably led to the old confusion of the Sitang with the Salwen. It was thought the big mouth must belong to a big river.

northern Burma, the Goolansigoung, and its offshoots stretch with a variety of breaks and ramifications, of which we know nothing precisely, but ever tending southward, between the Irawadi and the Salwen, till one of its great spurs almost reaches the sea near Martaban, where it parts the Salwen from the big-mouthed Sitang. Nearly abreast of Toungoo, and 170 miles north of Martaban, this chain is known to attain an elevation of 8000 feet.

The snowy range of Langtang projects its shorter spurs between the branches of the Irawadi, and this side the westerly branch it sends down an offshoot called the Shwé-doung-gyi, separating the Irawadi from the springs of the Kyen-dwen.

Still farther westward in the Naga country, between longitude 93° and 95°, a great multiple mass of mountains starts southwards from the Assam chain. Enclosing first the level alluvial valley of Munnipoor, at a height of 2500 feet above the sea,* it then spreads out westward to Tipura and the coast of Chittagong and northern Aracan a broad succession of unexplored and forest-covered spurs, inhabited by a vast variety of wild tribes of Indo-Chinese kindred, known as Kookis, Nagas, Khyens, and by many more specific names. Contracting to a more defined chain, or to us more defined because we know it better, this meridian range still passes southward under the name of the Aracan Yuma-doung, till 700 miles from its origin in the Naga wilds it sinks in the sea hard by Negrais, its last bluff crowned by the golden Pagoda of Modain, gleaming far to seaward, a Burmese Sunium. Fancy might trace the submarine prolongation of the range in the dotted line of

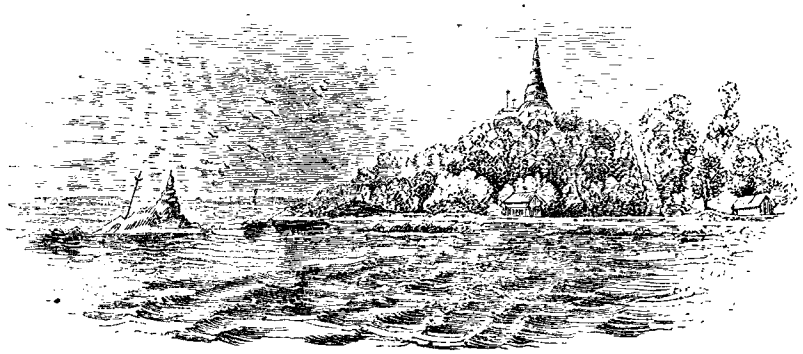


Fig. 37.

the Preparis, the Cocos, the Andamans, the Nicobars, till it emerges again to traverse Sumatra and the vast chain of the Javanic isles.

Between these two great meridian ranges that have been indicated, the one eastward of the Irawadi and the Sitang, the other westward of the Kyen-dwen and the Irawadi, lie what have been characterised above as the first three divisions of the Burman territory, and these before the detachment of Pegu might have been considered as forming the kingdom of Burma. The divisions are, however, too undefined to be closely maintained in a general geographical description.

* It is curious that the watershed between Kachar and Burma, between the tributaries of the Burrampooter and of the Irawadi (eventually), appears to lie in the plain of Munnipoor.

The tract enclosed by these ranges is not to be conceived of as a plain like the vast levels that stretch from the base of the Himalayas. It is rather a varied surface of rolling upland, interspersed with alluvial basins and sudden ridges of hill.

The Burman is himself nowhere a dweller in the mountains, though thus girt round with a noble mountain barrier.

With such a frontier, with neighbours who only wished to be let alone, with such a trunk line from end to end of his dominions as the Irawadi, with his teak forests, and his mineral riches and his fisheries, his wheat, cotton, and rice lands, a world of eager traders to the eastward, and the sea open in front, the King of Ava's dominion was a choice one, had not incurable folly and arrogance deprived him of his best advantages, cast down the barriers of his kingdom, and brought British cantonments and custom-houses within his borders.

The river recognised throughout its course by the Burmans as the Irawadi* comes, we may assume, from the snowy peaks which separate the valleys inhabited by the Shan race of Khamtis, from the head-waters of the sacred Brahmaputra, in latitude 28°.† For nearly 200 miles below this the Burmese know little of it. In their forays into the Khamti country they never took the river line, and they care not to meddle much with Singphos and savage Kakhyens, who line the mountain ranges on both banks. It receives a branch of size equal to its own from the eastward, about latitude 26°, emerges into the familiar acquaintance of the Burmese at the mouth of the Mogoung river (in 24° 56′), where they turn off in their route to the so-called city of that name, once the head of a flourishing Shan principality, of which MS. histories exist professing to commence from the eightieth year of our era,‡ now a poor village in the centre of a damp, unhealthy, and dreary plain, scantily cultivated by the remnants of the Shan population. Mogoung gives name to a Woon-ship, or province, which nominally includes the whole breadth of Burma to the Assam hills, and is the residence of the Governor of these northern tracts when he comes from court to express such revenue as they will yield.

The Mogoung river is tortuous and subdivided, with occasional rapids; but boats of some considerable size ascend it, and several of its branches above Mogoung are navigable by canoes. One of its most considerable tributaries, the Endau-Khyong,§ has its source in the Endaugyi, a lake among the hills, to which the traditions of the people assign a volcanic origin.

Of the mineral traffic of the province in serpentine and amber we have already spoken.

* See Appendix G, on the Irawadi.

† The Khamtis have no communication with the Lamas to the north, but the Khunoongs, who occupy the hills at the very sources of the Irawadi, have intercourse with both. (Wilcox in *As. Res.* xvii.) The Burmese have no knowledge even of the existence of their Tibetan co-religionists, though there are such within fifty miles of their nominal boundary. But so effectual is the separation of a high mountain frontier, with its accessory of savage denizens.

‡ *Pemberton*, p. 108. This author had very erroneous ideas of Mogoung, which he calls "a wealthy city." It had not been visited by any European when his Report was published.

§ Khyong, or Hkyong, a river or water-course.

The greater part of the region is a howling wilderness, exhibiting levels of winter swamp and low jungle intermingled with low hills, and sometimes with belts of noble trees; the higher mountain range of the Shwe-doung-gyi (4000 feet) running down on the eastward, and screening off the Irawadi from the head-waters of the Kyen-dwen. In the seclusion of its valleys Kakhyen villages are said to be numerous, but few or no habitations are seen in the open country north of Mogoung, till you reach the comparatively peopled valley of Hookhong or Payendwen, the site of the Amber-mines, seventy miles north of Mogoung.* Even this plain does not show a population of more than ten to the square mile. It is the most northerly locality in which the Burmans venture to exercise authority. With the Singphos they rarely or never meddle, but they have sometimes enforced their claims on the remote Shans of Khamti. Passes lead from the Hookhong plain into Khamti, over the shoulders of the Shwe-doung-gyi, a distance of sixteen days' journey, and also direct towards China through the district east of the Irawadi, called Kakhyo-Wainmo. By this route the Lapai Singphos come to purchase amber. These, living on the Chinese frontier, have adopted a good deal of the Chinese dress and habits, and are by far the most numerous and civilised tribe of their nation. From this valley, also, the path traversed by Dr. Griffith in 1837 leads over the Pat-koi range to Suddiya, in Upper Assam. The distance from Mainkhwon to the summit of the range, which is crossed at a height of 5600 feet, is eleven stiff marches (130 to 140 miles), the greater part of which are through dense jungle or up the bouldery beds of rivers. Eleven more, but somewhat shorter stages (121 miles), bring the traveller to Suddiya. The path does not appear to be practicable for elephants. Other passes are said to cross the range a little farther to the westward.

Hookhong or Payendwen produces salt, gold, and ivory, in addition to amber. It was formerly occupied by the Shans, but they fled from Burman oppression, and the inhabitants are now chiefly Singphos, with their Assamese slaves. The villages generally consist of ten or twelve of the long barrack-like houses of the Singphos, crowded together without order, and almost without interval, within a bamboo stockade; the exterior of which, for further defence, is surrounded with small bamboo spikes stuck obliquely in the ground; a favourite defensive device among all these nations.

The Kyen-dwen rises in the Shwe-doung-gyi north of Mogoung, and thence passes northward, northwestward, and westward, through the plain of Payendwen, already a broad and navigable stream. After leaving the plain, it curves round to the south, and keeps its southern course till terminating in the Irawadi.

Descending from the mouth of the Mogoung Khyoung, the Irawadi, already a majestic river several hundred yards wide, soon contracts suddenly to one hundred yards, and squeezes itself for thirty miles through the rocky defile of the Kyouk-dwen, sometimes narrowing to thirty yards, and deepening as it narrows: in the floods a boiling cataract throughout the gorge. Sparse and small villages are here and there in the defile, where Shans and another peaceful race, called Pwons, cultivate their vegetables, sugar-cane, and

* But said to be extended to upwards of 100 by the windings of the road.

tobacco. These also have their tradition of extinct principalities and Burman despoilment. Kakhyens, a name given to the wilder tribes of Singphos* by the Burmese, keep the hills, whence they swoop down on their natural prey, the Shan villagers, in their ferocious raids respecting neither age nor sex; but they spare the Pwons, with whom they live on friendly terms.†

At one point in the Kyouk-dwen, where the river contracts to the utmost, the scene is described by Hannay as very striking. The rocks are brilliantly coloured, green, yellow, brown, and shining jet black, and the strata are in an extraordinary degree twisted and inconformable, having exactly the appearance of having been poured out half melted from a furnace. In places the banks descend precipitously into the water, and the depth is immense. Dr. Bayfield states that at several places he found no bottom with a twenty-five-fathom line.‡ In these narrows the river rises at least fifty feet, probably more.

Emerging from the defile, the Irawadi expands again to its half mile or more, casts up sandy shoals and encircles peopled islands; takes in from the eastward, some 150 yards wide and navigable for canoes, the Taping river, into which Klaproth strove by dint of Chinese learning to cram all the waters of the Tsanpoo; then straggles among the sands in front of Bamó, thronged with cotton bales and bundles of silk, with pale Chinamen and black-jacketed Shans, and all the trafficking tribes of those obscure regions.

The trade of Bamó has been spoken of elsewhere. At the old Shan city of Man-mo, or Bamó, on the banks of the Taping river, in 1837 there were said to be the remains of an old brick go-down, of which the people did not know the history.§ It is possible that this may be a relic of the old British factory which Dalrymple conjectured to have been at Bamó.‖

A few miles below we pass Koun-toung-myo, where the last invading Chinese army was discomfited (1769); and so, whilst commencing to curve westward and northwestward in a great double flexure, repeated in a less pronounced form below Amarapoora, the river is drawn again between two rocky and precipitous fences, constituting the second Kyouk-dwen.

Away to the eastward from Bamó and Koungtoun hills are visible, peopled by cateran Kakhyens, and by breeches-wearing Paloungs, peaceably growing tea for pickling. Beyond these hills are other and other ranges, amid which the Chinese Emperor has his chokies and his guards, and the country is all mapped as part of Yunan. But the towns are chiefly occupied by Shans, and their native Tsaubwas are maintained with some show of rule under the Chinese government. Five days' journey eastward from Bamó

* Singpho is merely the word for *man* in the language of these tribes. The great nursery of the Singphos, Kakhyens, or Kakoos (as the wilder tribes are called by their congeners, Kakhyen being the Burmese appellation), is along the Sgin-mai Kha, or great eastern branch of the Irawadi.—(*Col. Hannay.*)

† Dr. Bayfield describes the Kakhyens of the hills west of Mogoung as wearing a blue cotton dress with red stripes, and thick straight hair cut clean off level with the eyebrows; very dirty and drunken.

‡ And in one place (so he told Dr. Griffith, but has not mentioned it in his Journal) with a forty-fathom line.

§ Bayfield's *MS. Journal.*

‖ See Chapter viii.

is the Chinese frontier line, and one day farther the frontier city of Mowun, or Long-chuen-foo.

As the river recovers from its great contortion, and turns again southward, we pass Kathá, once the boundary between Ava and the Shan states to the north.* What villages there are lie on the west; on the other side is an unhealthy tract of swamp and jungle, till you reach the Shwé-li, a tributary of considerable length flowing in from near Momien, or Teng-ye-choo. Some thirty or forty miles up from the Irawadi the Shwé-li receives a stream draining the valley of Momeit, within the jurisdiction of which are the Ruby-mines of Kyat-pen and Mo-gout.† Nearer, on the northern bank, stands Mweyen, once Mauroya, said to have been the earliest seat of those Kings of the Indian Sakya race from whom the monarchs of Tagoung and Pagán claimed descent.‡

The Shwé-li is variously described as from 300 to 600 yards wide at the mouth, but full of shoals, and not discharging a great amount of water.

A little below the Shwé-li, each side of the Irawadi, at Myadoung on the east and at Thigyain on the west, there are the remains of old stone forts. That at Thigyain is said to have been in ancient times the capital of the Kadós, a tribe now scattered over the interior of the Monyeen district and that of Pyenzala, west of the river.§ Teak abounds in the hills (of no great height) west of the river, all along this tract.

Not much farther down are the ancient ramparts of Tagoung, and of the upper and more ancient Pagán (see page 30). Thirty miles farther bring us to Malé and Tsanpenago.‖ Here the river once more contracts into a defile, constituting the third and last Kyouk-dwen, and continuing for more than twenty miles. The strait is, however, not nearly so marked or decided as those higher up the river. Nearly opposite the head of the defile draws in from the eastward, commencing with the bold peak of Shwé-oo-doung,¶ that great mass of mountains which runs parallel to the river as far as Amarapoora, and then continues its course to the south, marking the separation between Burma and the Shan states. And not far above the lower limit of the defile is Kyouk-myoung, visited a century ago by Captain Baker, when he went Envoy to the fierce conqueror at Mout-shobo, and where King Tharawadi attempted to establish his capital after his brother's deposition in 1837.

Below the defile the valley of Ava may be considered to commence. It lies entirely on the east side of the Irawadi, the range of hills which terminates at Sagain, opposite Ava,

* Burney. Sometimes, however, this boundary was as low as Tsanpenago.

† The Kyatpen mountains are doubtless the *Capelan* mountains, mentioned as the locality of the ruby, in Phillip's *Mineralogy*—"sixty miles from *Pegue, a city in Ceylon!*" Though it well might have puzzled a geographer to have identified them without the clue of their mineral riches.—*Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* ii. 75.

‡ Burney, in *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* v. 162.

§ A private note from Colonel Hannay speaks of the Kadós as being the most interesting of the northern tribes, "like the Yos, one of the old Burmese races, and similar in type to what we see of the Bhurs and Rauje Bhurs of the present day, a race known by tradition as the oldest of Indian races."

‖ The limit of Mr. Oldham's tour, described in Chapter vi.

¶ Six thousand feet high, according to Mr. Oldham's estimate. See fig. 44 in his paper in Appendix.

hemming the river closely in on the west. The length of the valley from Tseengoo to the high land south of Ava is about sixty miles, and the greatest breadth of plain is about sixteen miles, just abreast of Amarapoora. All this basin is, I should think, richly capable of cultivation. It is not, however, all cultivated; nor is the population, except within two or three miles round the capital, what one would expect in a fertile soil and the heart of an empire.

At the lower end of the valley, and immediately under the walls of Ava, comes in the fine stream of the Myit-ngé, from the unvisited regions of the northern Shans. Just above this the great river contracts from a mile and more in width to about 800 yards, in passing between the rocky roots of the Sagain hills and an isolated temple-crowned eminence on the left bank, and then deflects with a grand sweep suddenly to the westward, washing on either hand the walls of Ava and Tsagain. This westward course is continued for forty miles, through a richly wooded and cultivated alluvial plain of no great width, bounded by more barren rolling ground of little elevation, till the river draws near the Kyen-dwen, when it bends again to the south, taking in that chief tributary at as fine an angle as that of a railway junction. The extreme outlets of the Kyen-dwen are twenty-two miles apart, the interval forming a succession of long, low, and partially-populated islands.

The lowest and largest mouth of the Kyen-dwen is traditionally said to have been an artificial cut made by one of the Kings of Pagán, and which had been choked up for many centuries, till a flood opened it out in 1824. It does not certainly appear to be represented in Wood's survey.

Of the middle course of the Kyen-dwen, between the valley of the Amber-mines, in latitude 26° 30′, and the Burmese post of Kendat, which had several times been visited by our officers, both from Munnipoor and Ava, little is known. The Burmese, I believe, scarcely exercise any jurisdiction over the inhabitants, who are chiefly Shans along the river, the Kakhyens and other wild tribes keeping to the hills. The navigation is interrupted at several places by falls or transverse reefs, a series of which is known to exist some sixteen miles below the plain of Hookhong, and another, which first bars the traffic upwards, at Kaksa, or Kat-tha, four days north of the head of the Kabó valley, in latitude 24° 47′. Not far below this last it receives a large tributary in the Ooroo, near the sources of which, in a long narrow valley, are the Yu stone-mines, which bring the Chinese trafficking to Mogoung. The lower part of the Ooroo valley is said to be peopled and well cultivated. The serpentine trade all travels eastward; but salt also is produced from brine-springs in the valley; and timber is floated down for sale along the Kyen-dwen. Below the Ooroo the narrow alluvial valley of the Kyen-dwen is also tolerably peopled, and affords occasional rice-grounds fertilised by annual inundation.

West of the river, between the parallels of 22° 30′ and 24° 30′, stretches from north to south the valley of Kabó.* This valley, the northern part of which was long a bone of contention between Ava and Munnipoor, was in 1833 made over to the former by the authority of the British Government, at the instance of Colonel Burney, compensation being

* Kabó is the name applied to the Shans in the Munnipoori language.

made to Munnipoor. It is a long strip, not more than ten to fifteen miles in greatest width, separated from the Kyen-dwen by a range of uninhabited and forest-covered hills, called Ungoching. The valley itself is, with the exception of sparse clearances for cultivation, a mass of forest abounding in varnish and wood-oil trees, and in valuable timber, saul and teak, which, however, is not available for want of water-carriage; and though its inhabitants are remarkably hardy, it is notorious for jungle-fever, most fatal to strangers. The northern portion of the valley, called by the Burmese Thoungthwot, by the Kathés, or Munnipooris, Samjok; and the southern, called Kalé, are still under the rule of the native Shan Tsaubwas tributary to Ava; the only such who have maintained their position under the Burmese Government on this side of the Irawadi. The central portion, Khumbat, is under a Burmese Governor. Kalé is much the most populous part of the valley, and it has an exit for its teak by the Narenjara, or Munnipoor river, which passes through it into the Kyen-dwen. It also produces rice and cotton, with wax and ivory. Kalé is one of the sites to which Burman history or legend attaches the dynasty of ancient Hindoo immigrants. And the classic name of the Kabó valley is *Maureeya*. The hills on the west of Kalé are occupied by the Khyens, a race extending southward throughout the long range of the Yoma-doung to the latitude of Prome.*

The Kyen-dwen is navigable for the largest boats of the Irawadi up to Kendat, and the trade is very considerable in grain from the lower part of the river, as well as to some extent from the valley of the Ooroo. Teak also abounds in many places along the course of the Kyen-dwen, and numerous rafts are floated down. The last miles of its course are through a broad, populous, and fertile champaign, and presented to us in passing up the great river an almost continuous horizon of palmyra groves, always in Burma a sign of population and culture. From these there is a considerable manufacture of palm-sugar. Strange to say, the sugar-cane appears to be generally used by the Burmese only in the same way that it is used by elephants. A little sugar is, however, made from the cane near Ava. Most of the Kyen-dwen's tributaries from the east are auriferous; and hence, perhaps, the name of *Sonaparanta*, applied anciently to the country between the two rivers and near their junction; not improbably the Aurea Regio of Ptolemy, which is, I believe, almost a translation of the Sanscrit name.

This Doab is nearly bisected from north to south, for a distance of probably two degrees, by the Moo, a river entering the Irawadi, among thick foliage and numerous villages, a little below Kyouk-taloung. The lands on its banks are well peopled and cultivated, at least for some miles beyond Dibayen, which gives its name to the district. Near the Moo, it may be remembered, are the villages of the native Christians.† The Moo above this has never been visited, but there are several *Myos*, or towns, known to

* Colonel Hannay identifies the Khyens with the Nagas of the Assam mountains. They must also be closely allied to the Kookis. In Trant's account of the Khyens, on the Aeng pass, he mentions their worship of a divinity called *Passine;* and Lieutenant Stewart, in his notice of the "new Kookis" of northern Kachar, says that they recognise one all-powerful God as the author of the universe, whom they term "Puthen."—(Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, and *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* 1855, p. 628.)

† See Chap. v.

exist near it. The true Burman population probably does not extend much beyond Myedú. Of the surface, we only know that it is traversed by several belts of hill; the general direction of which is from north to south. East of Dibayen, and fourteen miles from the Irawadi, is the city of Mout-shobo. It has not, I believe, been described by any European since Dr. Richardson was there in 1831. It then exhibited a walled area which he calls two miles square, with a shrunken town of 1000 houses. Myedú, north of this, is said to be the chief seat of the *Ekabats*, or Ḳachárees, who furnish a select part of the Burman cavalry.

The general characteristics of the Irawadi downwards from the Kyen-dwen's mouth have been sketched in the earlier part of this work.* It is navigated to the capital by boats drawing three feet of water at all seasons; and it is believed that a channel of four feet six inches could always be obtained, though not without examination.

Of the Yo or Yau country, lying along the river of that name, between the barren Tangyi hills that line the Irawadi, opposite Pagán and the base of the Aracan Yoma-doung, nothing more is known, I am sorry to say, than was recorded long ago by Dr. Buchanan. The people are believed to be of the same race with the Burmese, but, from their secluded position, speak the language in a peculiar dialect. There are paths from the Yau country into the Kaladán valley in Aracan, which King Tharawadi made some talk of rendering passable for troops, when he was breathing war in 1839. They must traverse the country of some of the wildest tribes of the Yuma, and nothing of them is known. The Yaus are great traders, and are the chief pedlers and carriers of northern Burma.

South of the Yaus comes the district of Tsalen, a rich alluvial between the skirts of the Yuma-doung and the river, and considered one of the most productive districts of the empire. Through this leads the road which crosses the celebrated Aeng pass over the Yuma-doung, at a maximum height of about 4600 feet, the merits of which, as a military route, have been grievously over-estimated. On the Burmese side it winds for many miles in the channel of a torrent, the Mán Khyong; on the Aracan side its excessive steepness and want of drainage have, in many places, cut it into the semblance of a rugged ravine. Yet it does in more favourable parts preserve the aspect of a made road, which it really was, having been executed by the Burmese about the year 1816, to facilitate communication with their then subject province of Aracan. No skill or judgment, however, had been originally employed in laying it out. It was in all probability only the immemorial track widened out.

Another road, also partly artificial, leads from P'haing, a town in the Burmese plain some twenty miles north of Map'hé-myo, where the Aeng road enters the hills, across one of the highest parts of the Yuma-doung, to the Aracanese village of Talak. It is now much disused, and always was difficult. An unsuccessful attempt was made to ascend it by a part of General Morison's force in 1825. Other paths south of the Aeng pass lead from the Burmese stations of Padeng and Myo-theit to Aeng, from Taindah, near our frontier, and from Men-doon, which is within our territory, to Aeng, and to Mai, on one of the tidal channels opposite Ramri. Farther south still are several passes, more or less frequented, to the coast, and over the general course of that of Toungoop, which debouches on the Irawadi at Thalédain, below Prome, a military road is under construction by Lieutenant

* Pp. 8, 9, &c.

Forlong. Another pass leads from near the rocky promontory of Akouktoung, twenty-five miles below Prome, direct to Sandoway by the large hill village of Alegyo, and several more still farther south as the ridge of the Yuma sinks to its termination in the sea, in front of the projected city of Dalhousie.

The height of the main ridge crossed by these passes, at least from that of Talak on the north to that of Alegyo on the south, varies from 4600 down to about 3200 feet; and the route distance from plain to plain is generally from fifty to sixty miles. There are two descriptions of path among these passes; and each in some part of its course partakes of either character. In the one the road adopts the bed of a stream as its guide and axis, winding along its margin, constantly crossing and recrossing, or blundering up the boulders of its channel. In the other the road attaches itself to the ridge of one of the long spurs, rising and falling as the ridge does, and sometimes with enormous vicissitudes of height, until the main ridge is attained and crossed, generally at one of its highest points. The supply of water is sometimes seriously defective in those passes, especially on the Burmese side, where in the hot months the aridity is excessive, and the whole forest casts its foliage.* From the ridge-paths on either side of the hills the traveller has frequently to go a long way down the hill-side to fill the bamboo that serves him as a pitcher. Generally on the ridge above the spring there is a grassy spot denuded of forest by the frequentation of ages, where travellers rest and cook their meals, almost the only such grassy spaces existing in the mountains. Such halting-places are termed *Tsá-kán* (Eat-Rest).†

Fig. 38.

* "A singular contrast is presented by the appearance of the two sides of the mountains during the season of my journey (March and April). On the Aracan side verdure still prevails; the forests are thickly clothed, and hide the soil. Towards Burma, all is desiccation and death; the hills are like hills of ashes, and the forest a collection of dry dead sticks; scarcely a leaf is visible in this scene of 'torrid winter.'"—(*Report on Aracan Passes*, 1853.)

† The cut is from a sketch of a party of Burmese emigrants reposing at one of these *Tsá-káns* on their journey over the mountains into Aracan.

Tribes under a great variety of names, and in every stage from semi-civilisation to deep barbarism, inhabit the broadest part of this great western mountain boundary of Burma. The most extensively-diffused of these tribes, extending from lat. 28°, perhaps, to the Assam frontier, is the race of the Khyens; noted for the singular manner in which their women cover their faces with tattooed lines. Their houses, raised on long bamboo stilts, are clustered on the steep slopes of secluded valleys. They follow the practice called *jhoom* cultivation in eastern Bengal, clearing the hills of forest or bamboo, burning the clearance, and then dibbling in, even on slopes where footing is hard to find, their crops of hill-rice, with a little cotton and oilseed. When the neighbouring ground has all been laid under crop they move in search of new seats and new cultivation.

South of the Tsalén district, the country west of the Irawadi becomes more hilly and wild. In fact, the Yoma-doung, from the point crossed by the Padeng road, sixteen miles south of the Aeng pass, throws out a great parallel spur to the southward, known in the districts as the *Ashé Yo*, or Eastern Ridge. The valley between these two ridges is the source of the fine river Matoong, which flows past the town of Mendoon, and enters the Irawadi in our territory, just above the town of Kama. The valleys are cultivated with rice, tobacco, onions, and pepper; for the three last of which the district has some celebrity among the Burmans, and are irrigated from the deep-bedded streams by large bamboo wheels of nearly forty feet in diameter, which the running water, slightly dammed for the purpose, both drives and feeds. This practice is found also on the Kyen-dwen, and among the Eastern Shan states.

Of the country east of the Irawadi, from Ava to Meaday, I have before said that little is known except the names and general positions of the district towns, and the routes which Major Allan has compiled. The country, apart from the march of our little army in 1826, which hugged the river bank, has never been traversed by any intelligent European. The impression of voyagers ascending the river, from what they see in the ascent of such heights as are within reach, is (and it is an irresistible impression), that the whole interior of the country is a regular *despoblado* of dry rolling hills, dotted with thorn-bushes and euphorbias. This may be true, in considerable measure, of the districts of Magwé, Yenangyoung, and Pagán; but that it is erroneous, as a general description, there can be no manner of doubt. The tributaries which enter the Irawadi on this side are not many of them perennial, at least, in the lower part of their course; but in the rains they carry large bodies of water, which are diverted and utilised in raising crops of rice and cotton over the valleys, which are sometimes extensive. Of such a productive character is the country round Toung-dwen, watered by the Karen Khyoung and the Yen-khyoung, two of the largest tributaries from this side, and to which cart-roads lead from Patnago, Magwé, and Yenangyoung. Villages are numerous in the plain around Toung-dwen (ninety-nine in number, according to the favourite Burmese formula), and of these one is said to contain 700 houses, and four others from 300 to 450. Toung-dwen itself is surrounded by a brick wall, and boasts a few old cannon.*

* *MS. Report* by Major Allan.

Between the district of Toung-dwen and that of Yéméthen east of it, extends from north to south the watershed range of hills which separates the Sitang valley and the Irawadi from near Pegu upwards. These hills are called "*Yoma*" by Major Allan. The name, signifying "Great Bone," spinal ridge or chief watershed, in fact, is one admitting of general application, but it having become extensively known (even among continental geographers) as a proper name applied to the far more prominent Aracan range, it is only confusing to apply it absolutely to these hills. The ranges might, perhaps, be termed respectively the Aracan Yoma and the Pegu Yoma.* The latter appears to die away nearly abreast of Yéméthen; at least the hills are not of sufficient altitude to form any obstacle to the passage of cart-roads, which exist between that town and both Pagán and Yandabo on the Irawadi.

The district of Yéméthen is said to contain a considerable amount of population, and of cultivation in wheat, cotton, and rice. The town itself is considered by the Burmese a place of much importance. It is surrounded by a dilapidated wall, and does not contain more than 400 houses.

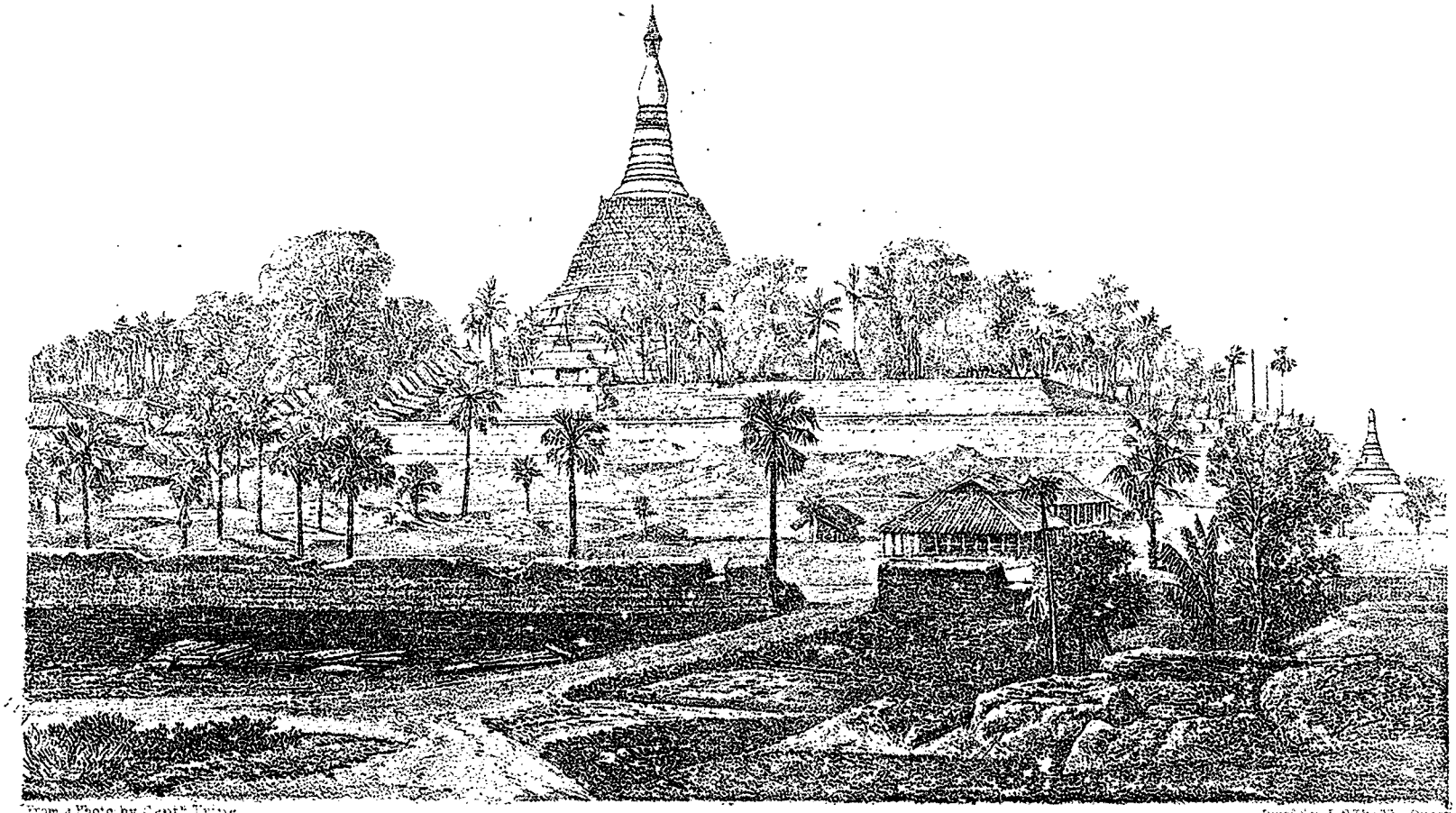
Beyond Yéméthen, eastward, come the mountainous regions inhabited by the Red Karens, tribes of whom up to about this latitude intervene between Burma Proper and the Shan states. The mountains are a part of the extensive system which has been described above as bounding Burma on the east, from the snowy sources of the Irawadi to Martaban, and the bold outline of which is seen from the capital stretching away to the southward. Forty miles south-east of Ava, Dr. Richardson descended from these mountains by the Natteik pass, which he speaks of as the longest and most laborious pass in the Burmese dominions, or that is known to exist in any of the neighbouring countries; expressions reminding us of Marco Polo's account of the long descent which led from China into Mien or Burma. Richardson does not mention the elevation of the pass, but another branch of the chain which he had passed a little to the eastward is marked in his route-sketch as 4131 feet above the sea.

The districts of Pen-the-lé and Peenzen-myo are well spoken of; and Kyouk-tsé and the other districts immediately south and south-west of Ava, stretching to the foot of the Shan mountains, are better supplied with artificial irrigation (from the small rivers which join the Myit-ngé before its discharge into the Irawadi) than any other part of Burma, and are consequently well peopled and productive.

The part of this fertile tract immediately south-west of Ava is known as Le-dwén-ko-Karain, or "The Nine Districts in the Fields." The wheat of Ava is principally grown, I believe, in this neighbourhood. It is used by the Mahomedan population for food, but its employment by the proper Burmese is almost confined to confectionary.

The Peguan Yoma, it has been said before, dies away, or becomes insignificant, a little above the latitude of Yéméthen. From this it stretches south, with a general direction in the meridian, to a parallel a little higher than that of the head of the delta. Here it attains

* The name of Galladzet Hills, given to this range in Wood's map, does not appear to be recognised, and probably arose from some mistake.



From a Photo. by Capt.n Tripe.

Day & Son Lith.rs to The Queen.

VIEW OF THE SHWÉ DAGON OR GREAT PAGODA OF RANGOON.

London, Smith Elder & Co. 65, Cornhill.

a height of 1500 feet, its highest elevation, just before forking out into several long, low terminal spurs.* Two of these spurs enclose the valley of the small river of Pegu. The extremity of another is the eminence which has been carved into the terraced base, from which the golden bulk of Shwé Dagón has for two thousand years†

"Shot upwards, like a pyramid of fire,"

athwart the dismal flats of the delta.

Considering their moderate elevation, the slopes of this range are steep and difficult, and in the central part it spreads in a wide wilderness of rugged hills covered with impenetrable jungle, and practically barring all intercourse between the two valleys of the province. The whole range to the frontier is wooded, and the remains of the chief teak forests of Pegu are found in the recesses of these hills, as well as many virgin groves of that noble timber, protected by their inaccessibility.

In the more northern part of the range, where the hills are lower and the jungle is deciduous, some of the tracks between the two valleys are said to be passable for Burmese carts. In the dry season water is scarce in all that tract, except on the banks of the Irawadi and its largest affluents, and is found only in pools dug in the bed of stony rivulets. Towards the frontier also the water, when scanty, is often brackish, sufficiently so in many cases to induce the Burmese to boil it down for salt.‡ On the banks of the streams rice is grown, and in the hill-clearings hill-rice, cotton, millet, and sesamum.

These hills, throughout their extent, constitute the watershed between the Sitang and the Irawadi.

The latter river continues to flow between bold and wooded banks to Prome; and the whole breadth of the land is, thus far, more or less rugged. Below Prome the valley expands into an alluvial plain, intersected on both sides by low ridges, covered in the rains with the densest foliage, but in the dry season exhibiting a brick-dust soil beset with leafless stems. Twenty-five miles below Prome, where the cliffs of Akouk-toung protrude into the Irawadi, this level is, on the western bank, interrupted for a brief space. On the other side it unites with the fertile plain of Poung-dé, which stretches from the isolated Prome hills to the foot of the Peguan-Yoma; and passing southward, continues to widen, till lost in the vast plains of the delta.

* *MS. Report* on Survey of Pegu by Lieutenant Williams.

† See Plate XXVII. The height of Shwé Dagón above the platform is 321 feet; above the ground level 487 feet. The height of the great Shwé Madau at Pegu is 334 feet above the platform.

Dagon is a corruption of the Talain name, Ta-kong. The old Talain names of places account for several anomalies in the appellations long given by Europeans to places in Pegu. Thus Prome, called by the Burmese Pyi, is in Talain *Praun;* Siriam is *Seyung;* Pegu (Burm. *Bagoh*) is *Pe-hgo;* Sitang is the Talain name of the Burman *Thanlyen.* Maulmain was called by the Talains Mo-hpeleyn.

For the information in this note I am indebted to my brother-officer, Lieutenant Williams. Maulmain is, however, nearer what I believe is the Burmese name, *Maulamyaing.* It is the "Castle of Murmalan" of the old travellers and Portuguese historians.

Mr. Mason, I see, derives Maulmain from the Talain words *Moot-mwoa-lem,* "the one-eyed-destroyed," from a myth of a Cyclops who founded it.—(*Nat. Prod. of Burma,* p. 441.)

‡ Major Allan.

The delta may be considered to commence at the bifurcation of the Bassein branch from the main stream, a little above Henzada. That branch, though affording the best and deepest access for ships into the heart of the delta, is now entirely cut off from the main stream during the dry season by a bank of sand, which fills the head of the channel to a height of many feet above the surface of the river. In the rains, steamers drawing ten feet water pass without difficulty. The harbour of Rangoon is connected with the Irawadi by the channel called Panlang. This is not navigable by the steam flotilla in the dry weather, and at that season the vessels are obliged to make a détour, analogous to that forced on steamers bound from Calcutta for the upper Ganges, though of much less extent. They then ascend by the channel called by seamen China Bukeer, which is the shortest outlet of the Irawadi, though another, which keeps more the direction of the unbroken stream, retains the name. There is, however, no one of the ramifications which can claim to be the primary mouth.

A vast labyrinth of creeks and channels cuts up the lower part of the delta into an infinity of islands. Within the full tidal influence these are lined with mangrove thicket; farther up with forest of a nobler kind, or more commonly with a fringe of gigantic grasses. Scattered along the channels and sheets of water, where fish are plentiful, are small clearances, where the inhabitants devote themselves to the preparation of *ngapi*, and to the manufacture of salt. But a very small part of these Soonderbuns is under cultivation. And even farther from the sea vast tracts of fertile soil remain in a state of nature or abandonment. The most cultivated and populous tracts are found along the Bassein river; north of Henzada; and in the plain of Poung-dé.

The breadth of the whole province, between the meridian chains which limit it, is, at the latitude of the frontier, about 140 miles; and of the central portion, from the Irawadi to the Sitang, seventy-three.

The Sitang river, known in the upper part of its course as the Pounloung, is shown, even in some of the latest maps, as discharging from the lake of Nyoung-yuwé, in the westernmost of the southern Shan states; from which also a radiation of other streams was represented as diverging to the Myit-ngé, near Ava, to the Irawadi, near Yénangyoung, and to the Salwen, with a great variety of junction-lines between these ramifications.* The sole real discharge of the lake of Nyoung-yuwé is through one of the Red Karen valleys into the Salwen, and the true source of the Pounloung was ascertained by Dr. Richardson to be in the hills south-east of Ava, about twenty-five miles north of Nyoung-yuwé.

The whole extent of the Sitang valley is about 350 miles, of which one half lies within the British provinces of Pegu and Martaban. The valley above the frontier has not been

* These features originated in the Burmese maps obtained by Dr. Buchanan. The divergence and inter-communication of rivers appears to be a favourite feature in Burmese notions of geography, perhaps derived from the myth of the great northern lake, the supposed source of all the great rivers of India. Buchanan himself seems to have been so far misled by these notions as to conjecture a partial communication of supply, by such an offshoot, from the Tsanpoo to the Irawadi, whilst admitting in the main Rennell's theory of the discharge of the latter river by the Burrampooter.

The natives, it appears from Richardson's *MS. Journal*, have some fancy about a *subterraneous*-communication from the lake of Nyoung-yuwé to the Sitang.

visited. Below that line the banks are high and hilly nearly to Toungoo, when the hills recede, and an alluvial tract commences, which extends with varying width to the sea, large tracts being enclosed in reuniting loops of the river. As the river descends the plains on the west side widen, but are covered with a dense thicket of jungle and thorny bamboo, giving place near the estuary to a dreary expanse of elephant-grass. The ancient royal road from Pegu to Toungoo is still to be traced over this wild plain. On the eastern side the plain is of more uniform width, but narrower, and gives place suddenly to the mountain ridges which divide the Sitang from the Salwen; the termination of the great meridian chain which limits Burma on the east.

Population and culture are very sparse and scanty over the whole valley. A secluded Burman tribe, called Yebains, have their hamlets in the wild nooks of the watershed range, where they occupy themselves in rearing the silkworm. In the upper part of the valley the forest trees are of a larger and finer character than in the corresponding latitude on the Irawadi, and they do not appear to be subject to that denudation of foliage which gives the western valley an aspect of so great desolation in the months of March and April.

The course of the Sitang is tortuous throughout the province, but especially for fifty miles north of the cantonment of Shwégyeen it writhes like a wounded snake, so that the development of the stream would nearly double the actual length of the valley.* Throughout its course it is shallow and full of shoals, over which boats of any size have to be dragged laboriously, in passing between Shwégyeen and Toungoo in the dry season. The lower part of the river presents a still greater obstacle to navigation in the remarkable bore, occasioned by the union of two portions of the tidal wave of the Indian Ocean, which drives up the narrowing funnel of the estuary with a speed, it has been stated, of nearly twelve miles an hour, and with a crest raised sometimes nine feet above the surface. Native boats do frequently make the dangerous entry, but it has never been accomplished by our steamers, though it has been attempted. The important frontier-station of Toungoo is thus, by the wild nature of the country on the one hand, and by the wilder water-access on the other, deprived of all easy and effective communication with Rangoon, the centre of government, of supply, and of reinforcement. And this has led to the project of a canal from the Pegu river to the Sitang, at a point above the dangers of the bore. A natural channel does exist, through which the spring-tides of the Sitang reach the Pegu river. But examination seems to have proved that this channel can be turned to no efficient account for the object in view.

The Burman population was considered in former days, I believe, to extend down to Taroup-mau, or Chinese point, about thirty-two miles below Prome, so called from having been the point Turn-again of the Chinese army which captured Pagán, and overran Burma in the end of the thirteenth century. But the majority of the population of Pegu have long been either Burman or Burmanized; and the genuine Talains or Móns, retaining their ancient speech, are confined to the south and east of the delta, and to the provinces of

* Lieutenant Williams.

Martaban and Tenasserim. I find very little satisfactory information regarding the Talains. My friend, Col. Durand, during his administration of Tenasserim, induced the late Capt. Latter to pay attention to the language, and to commence the compilation of a dictionary; but it is not known how far the intention was carried out.

The most interesting race in southern Burma is that of the Karens; among the Burmese, but not of them; scattered up and down through all the wildest and most secluded parts of Pegu and Martaban, as well as Tenasserim and the western parts of Siam.

There are two tribes, at least, of these known in these provinces. One tribe call themselves Shos, but are called by the other tribe *Pwos*, and by the Burmese Meet-khyeens, or Talain Karens. The other tribe call themselves Sgaus, but by the Burmese are designated Meethos, or Burman Karens.* Their tongues, though dialects of a common language, and such that a knowledge of one greatly facilitates the acquisition of the other, are sufficiently distinct to be mutually unintelligible. Remarkable fragments of Scriptural tradition have been ascribed to the Sgaus, and doubtless existed among them; but with strong respect and sympathy for the missionaries, I must say that they seem to me to have accepted these too readily as genuine primeval tradition, without a sufficient inquiry into their possible derivation. Another singular tradition among them, reminding us of that which the Spanish conqueror found amongst the Mexicans, was a longing expectation of white kinsmen from the seaward, who were to bring them deliverance from Burman serfdom, and instruction in the law of God.

The white kinsmen have, indeed, come from the seaward; but some say that the Karens have found their little finger thicker than the loins of their old masters. I made particular inquiries from the missionaries on this point; and I am glad to say that the idea was scouted by these worthy men. It may well be, indeed, that in many a corner of a country just beginning to be ruled by such a mere handful of strangers, the Burman local officers still exercise much of their old oppression. But the missionaries, who alone know the Karens, for they alone know the language of their two tribes, warmly and indignantly denied that the people looked on the change of rulers as other than a liberation and a blessing.

The most considerable population of Karens appears to be in the Bassein district, where they form the great bulk of the agricultural population,—the Burmese and Talains being principally small traders, fishermen, and mechanics.† After the cession of Aracan to us they spread largely over the hills into the district of Sandoway.

In the northern parts of Pegu, the Karens are very sparse and few; and I have not heard of them farther north in Burma than the district of Tsalen.‡

* Mason's *Nat. Prod. of Burma*, p. 477.

† Paper by Major Fytche, accompanying Major Phayre's Report of 31st January, 1855, in Foreign Office, Calcutta.

‡ I have before alluded (p. 146) to the belief propagated by Mr. Kincaid, an American missionary, that the Kakhyens of upper Burma are Karens, as put forth on insufficient and probably inaccurate grounds. There seems to be no doubt that the Kakhyens or Kakoos are Singphos; and no good reason has been stated for considering the Karens to be very closely allied to the Singphos.

The circumstance which has thrown so much of interest round all that appertains to the Karens is the extraordinary success of Christian Missions among them during the last twenty-five years, a success attended by the gratifying fact that the 134 native evangelists who minister among their countrymen are not exoticised dependants on foreign bounty, but live among their people, and are supported by them. During last year the Karen congregations of the Rangoon district alone contributed for missions among their countrymen 600 rupees; besides 2000 rupees for the High School at Kemendain, near Rangoon, and 2887 rupees towards the erection of a brick church there.* The languages of both tribes have been reduced to writing by the missionaries, and large portions of the Scriptures translated into each.

The Toung-thoos are another race, few in number, scattered over Martaban and the northern part of Tenasserim, and whose communities are found here and there to a considerable distance up the Salwen, at least as far as the latitude of Moné. According to their own traditions, their capital was once established at Thatung, under a monarch of their own. They are said to be Buddhists, and to have books and priests of their own. Both Talains and Toungthoos claim as a countryman Budhagosha, who first brought from Ceylon the Buddhist scriptures; but he was, in fact, a Brahman of Magadha. The name Toung-thoo signifies, in Burmese, either *Mountaineer* or *Southron*. The name they give themselves is *Pa-au*.† A specimen of Toung-thoo vocables, as well as of the two Karen dialects, will be found in Appendix M. Mr. Mason says that about half the Toung-thoo roots are common to the Pwo Karen. The lists of vocables show even a greater community.

It is greatly to be desired that a really good account should be obtained of these races, Talains, Toung-thoos, and Karens, by some one competent to analyse their languages, and sift their traditions. I fear there is no hope that Major Phayre will ever have leisure to take up the subject.

A few paragraphs regarding the probable population of Burma will complete this Chapter.

Symes estimated the population at seventeen millions, and supposed his estimate rather to fall short of the truth than to exceed it. The empire was then nearly at its acme; but the estimate was founded on the most worthless data.‡

Cox reduced this to about eight millions. The Rev. H. Malcolm says that the chief Woongyi, at Ava, told him the last census gave a total of 300,000 houses. The track

* *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, 1856, p. 53. When the American Society lately resolved to withdraw almost entirely their support from schools among this people (a measure very adverse to the views of the missionaries themselves), four or five of the most respected converts voluntarily went into trade in Rangoon, a thing alien and unknown to all the former habits of the race, in order to devote half their earnings to the support of schools. This they have faithfully done, and in about two years contributed something like Rs. 3000 to that object.

† Chiefly from Mason's *Natural Productions of Burma*, p. 442.

‡ Symes, p. 315.

included is not stated. The enumeration referred to is, probably, the same as that obtained by Col. Burney, which shall be noticed presently.

Mr. Crawfurd made four estimates of the population. Two, based on two estimates of the quantity of petroleum consumed in Burma, were dependent on too many hypotheses to be of much value as deductions, though the usual sagacity of that author guided the results wonderfully near what I believe to be the truth. A third was based on the population of the Bassein district, as stated in the Burmese records which fell into our hands; and a fourth on the produce of a house-tax, said to have been levied about thirty years before his visit. These estimates are respectively :—

2,147,200
3,300,000
4,416,000
2,414,000

The last included only the Burmans and Talains. Of a paper on this subject, submitted at the Asiatic Society by Col. Burney, in March 1835, I find nothing but the following notice :*—

"Translation of the official registers of the population of the Burmese Empire, made in 1783, and revised under the present King, in 1826. The whole population of Burma Proper, from these documents, exclusive of the wild tribes, only amounts to 1,831,467 souls. * * * * Col. Burney having kindly undertaken to look over these papers and prepare them for the press, they were re-delivered into his charge for the present."

Father Sangermano says, incidentally, that the population of the empire amounts to nearly two millions of souls.† This would appear, therefore, to be derived from the same return as that of Burney.

In both there is an uncertainty as to the area intended. But, most probably, the term Burma Proper, used by Burney, was intended to include Pegu and Martaban.

The area to which the census applied would, in that case, be about 171 square degrees; or, roundly calculated, 78,750 square miles, which would give, on Burney's reckoning, 23.25 persons per square mile. The whole existing Burmese empire, including those states and tribes whose dependence on Ava is almost nominal, amounts to about thirty-five square degrees, or twice the area just mentioned. So that the whole population of the present empire will, on this calculation, not exceed twice the amount of Burney's census, or 3,663,000.

If we consider how very thinly many parts of the larger area are populated, such as the large district of Mogoung, and probably the hilly tracts east of Ava, we shall be inclined to consider that this estimate may be taken as a maximum, and sufficient to cover deficiencies in the census on which Burney's calculation was based.

* *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vol. iv. p. 180. † P. 76.

Again, in a return made by Major Phayre, in July 1856, the area and population of the British province of Pegu is thus set down:—

		Area.	Population.
District of Rangoon	Square Miles	9,800	137,130
„ Bassein	„	8,900	128,189
„ Prome	„	5,500	70,000
„ Henzada	„	2,200	103,775
„ Toungoo	„	3,950	34,957
„ Tharawadi	„	1,950	66,129
	Total	32,300	540,180

The Commissioner, however, considers the assigned population much below the real amount. The only clue I have to what he would consider a proper correction to apply is in his remark on Prome, in which he observes that recent information renders it probable that the population of that district is 100,000 instead of 70,000. Applying a proportionate correction to the whole population of Pegu, we shall rate it at 771,686.

The area of Aracan appears to be, as far as I can make out, about 10,700 square miles; and its population, by the last estimate, is 362,797.

We shall have then, for Aracan and Pegu together, an area of 43,000 square miles, and a population of 1,134,483, or 26.4 per square mile.

We estimated the area of Burma Proper, with Martaban and Pegu, at 78,750 square miles.

Martaban may be taken at	3,800
Pegu is known to be	32,300
	36,100
From this we must deduct the area of the southern part of Aracan included in the present Bassein district	1,800
	34,300

Deducting this from 78,750, we have 44,450 square miles as the probable area of Burma Proper, as it is now limited, say from the British boundary to the parallel of 24°. And this area, at the joint rate of Pegu and Aracan, would give a population for Burma Proper of 1,173,480.

Again, taking Dr. Richardson's itinerary from Ava to Kendat, which extended through what he considered one of the most populous parts of inland Burma, and also through a very badly peopled part near the Kyen-dwen, we find that it gives thirty-seven villages in a line of 221 miles, or, according to the reduced distances as protracted by Col. Burney,* in 176 miles. The latter distance gives one village in 4.75 miles. The number of houses is not always stated by Richardson, but, filling up such deficiencies conjecturally

* *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vol. ii. p. 50.

from the general character ascribed to each village, I find in the thirty-seven villages 3326 houses, or ninety each on the average. And supposing the villages to be no farther apart in other directions than on the line of march, we shall have four houses per square mile, or say twenty souls.

I also find, from a similar analysis of several routes collected by Major Allan, that in 925 miles of route there are 155 villages. If the distances in these routes be reduced in the same proportion as Dr. Richardson's, we shall have in 736 miles 155 villages, or one village in 4.8 miles.

Those routes also in which the number of houses is stated, give us in ninety-seven villages (excluding the capital cities) 9164 houses, or about ninety-five houses to a village, *i.e.* to every tract of 4.8 miles square, or every twenty-three square miles. This gives 4.13 houses, or say 20.65 souls per square mile.

These calculations, I think, are rather confirmatory of the former estimates. Twenty per square mile would give for Burma Proper, as it now is, a population of only 890,000. But it is to be recollected that this estimate is deduced for the interior of the country generally, and does not apply to the metropolitan districts or to the banks of the great rivers,* which may probably raise the population to about 1,150,000, or 1,200,000.

The general conclusion at which I arrive is, that the population of Burma Proper, from latitude 24° down to our frontier, does not probably exceed 1,200,000; and that the population of the whole Burman empire, in the most liberal view of what can be included under that designation, does not exceed 3,600,000, and probably does not exceed 3,000,000.

We cannot turn from this subject without an enhanced feeling of respect for the nation which, with numbers so limited, has long stood forth to the world as one of the great empires of the East.

* Captain Macleod, in 1839, made the number of villages on the banks of the Irawadi, from our present frontier to the capital, to be 261, and the number of houses 28,979.

Major Allan's list, compiled by natives who accompanied us up the river, made the number of villages 230, but the number of houses nearly double, viz. 53,780. The mean of these estimates would be 41,389 houses, or say 206,945 souls, on a line of 496 miles.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SHAN STATES TRIBUTARY TO BURMA.*

The Shan or *Tai* Race—Their wide Diffusion, with substantial Unity of Language—Limits of the Territory occupied by the States now spoken of—Burmese Authority over them—General Character of the Country—Great Rivers—The Salwen, and the Mekhong—Koshanpri, its true Situation—Ruder Tribes occupying the Mountains—The Láwas—The Name Laos applied to the Country generally—The Kakuis and Kakuas—The Mutsa—The Lau-Laus—The Li-Lun—Other Tribes—Karens—Toungthoos—Yeins, Dumoos, and Dunós—The Paloungs—Indications of Climate more Temperate than that of Ava—The Karen-ni, or Red Karens—Character of the People and Country—Their Kidnapping Habits—The Shan Principalities—Mobyé—Mokmé—Moné—Seat of the Burman Presidency—Nyoung-yuwé—Kamboza Taing—Tavoy Colony—Traditions of Nyoung-yuwé—Its Lake and Floating Islands—Légya—Theebo—Thoung-zé—Momeit—Thein-ni—Kaingma Maingmaing—Muang Lem—Kiang-Hung—Chinese Influence and direct Authority—Importation of Tea into China—Chinese Traders—The Town of Kiang-Hung—The Tribute to Ava—Kiang-Tung—Kiang-Khen—Royal Appurtenances and Insignia of the Tsaubwas of these States—Burman Supervision—Tribute—Contingents of Troops—Feeling with which the Burmese and Chinese respectively are regarded—Domestic Administration—Primitive Habits—Nomination of Successors—Traces of greater Wealth and Population—Principalities tributary to Siam—Zimmé—Ancient State of Kyang-mai (Jangomai)—The Town of Zimmé—Curious Tradition—Cattle—Elephants—Muang-Nan and Muang Phé—Muang-Luang-Phaban, or Lantchian (Kingdom of Lao)—Chandapoori, or Wintchiang—Destruction of the Town by the Siamese—Mission of Gerard Van Wusthof—All the States have Sacred or Classical Names in Pali—Some of them given—Account of Chinese Journey through these Shan States in Duhalde—Identification of the Places named—Probable Date of their subjection to Ava.

THE Shans, or Tai, as they call themselves, are the most extensively diffused, and probably the most numerous, of the Indo-Chinese races. Lapping the Burmese round from northwest by north and east to southwest, they are found from the borders of Munnipoor (if the people of that valley have not been, indeed, themselves modified by Shan blood) to the heart of Yunan, and from the valley of Assam to Bankok and Kamboja; everywhere Buddhist, everywhere to some considerable extent civilised, and everywhere speaking the same language with little variation; a circumstance very remarkable amid the infinite variety of tongues that we find among tribes in the closest proximity of location and probable kindred throughout those regions. This substantial identity of language appears to indicate that the Shans had attained at least their present degree of civilisation, and a probability of their having been

* Much of the information in this Chapter has been derived from the Journals of Dr. Richardson and Capt. Macleod. It is therefore twenty years old, and some circumstances stated as facts then may be so no longer. Meagre abstracts of those Journals were published in the *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vol. vi., but the complete Journals have never been printed.

united in one polity, before their so wide dispersion and segregation. The traditions of the Siamese, as well as of the northern Shans, speak of an ancient and great kingdom held by this race in the north of the present Burmese empire, and of the traditions the name of "Great Tai" applied to the people of that quarter, appears to be a slight confirmation.* Some fatal want of coherence has split the race into a great number of unconnected principalities, and the kingdom of Siam is now, perhaps, the only independent Shan state in existence. All the others are subject or tributary to Ava, China, Cochin-China, or Siam.

Westward of the Irawadi all their native sovereignties have been suppressed, except in the cases of the secluded Kabo valley west of the Kyen-dwen, and of the petty chieftaincies of the Khamtis, in the still more secluded recesses of the extreme north. Of these we have already spoken.

The states of which I am now to give some fragmentary account occupy a tract of country which may be roughly comprehended between the meridians of 97° and 101°, and from the parallel of 24° to that of 20°.

This tract terminates on the west with the meridian chain which has been described as forming the eastern boundary of Burma Proper. On the east it may be said generally to be bounded by the Mekhong, or Great Cambodia River, though several of the states extend their jurisdiction a short distance beyond that limit. On the north it is bounded by that part of the vice-royalty of Yunan protuberant towards the Irawadi, and comprising the *Koshanpri*, or nine Shan states, which in former times often changed hands † between the Chinese and Burmese, but has now long been in the undisputed possession of the former. On the south the limit is for a short distance the territory of the Red Karens, and then right on to the Mekhong the Shan principalities tributary to Siam.

Over all this region the Burmese suzerainetć is acknowledged with more or less of prac-

* This Northern Shan kingdom may have been that of Pong, or Mogoung, of which Capt. Pemberton has given some history. But the Shan traditions communicated to Colonel Hannay assigned the south-west of Yunan as the seat of the empire, and affirmed that the capital, called Kai Khao Mau Long ("the great and splendid city"), was situated on the banks of the Shwé-li river, which joins the Irawadi about the parallel of 24°.—(*Notes on Singphos, and on the Shan or Tai Nation*, Cal. 1847.)

† See p. 270 and note there. The name of Koshanpri appears to be applied inaccurately by Buchanan to the existing Shan tributaries of Ava (*in Edinburgh Philos. Journal*, x. 246), and Ritter has followed him. My authorities for this location of the Koshanpri (also called Kopyidoung) are Burney, in *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vol. vi. p. 124; Hannay's *MS. Journal* and his *Sketch of the Shans* (Cal. 1847); and Macleod's *MS. Journal of Journey to Kiang-Hung*. The names of the nine Shan towns are given by Burney as Maingmo, Tsiguen, Hotha, Latha, Mona, Tsanta, Mowun, Kaingma, and Maing-Lyin, or Maing-Lyi; and by Macleod the same, with trifling differences in spelling. By Hannay they are given somewhat differently, as Moong-mau, Hotha, Latha, Santa, Moongwun, Sanla, Moong-sai, Moong-la, and Moong-tye, or Moongti, of which only the first five appear to be identical with those of Burney's list. Kaingma is the only one of these towns not included in the immediate empire of China. It is, as we shall see below, tributary to both Ava and China. Tsanta (Santa-foo) and Mowun, or Moong-wun (Long-chuen), are in D'Anville's map; and Maing-mo, Hotha, and Latha, are given (on Chinese authority probably) in a map in Klaproth's *Essay on the Brahmaputra and Irawadi*.

These little states appear to be governed immediately by their own Tsaubwas, and to be rather tributaries of China than absolute subjects. Some notice of this region, partly, as it would appear, from Chinese sources, will be found in an interesting but confused and mystified paper by Gutzlaff, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1849, part i. p. 42.

tical effect. In the states adjoining Burma Proper it is an active and oppressive reality, whilst it becomes less and less potential as we travel eastward, and on the extreme east and north-east of the tract which we have defined, though paying homage to Ava by periodical tribute, the states are in much closer relation to China.

The whole of this territory is roughened by a succession of ramifying mountain chains, whose general direction is from north to south, like that of the chief rivers, the Salwen and the Mekhong. In the country between those two rivers are also the sources of the Menam, or river of Siam.

Of the sources of the Salwen and Mekhong nothing is known with absolute certainty, though they are generally laid down as the continuations of two of the great rivers of Tibet, delineated in the Lamas' maps sent home by the Jesuits. That the Mekhong is one of these, there can be little doubt; but the inferior amount of water discharged by the Salwen seems scarcely consistent with such a vast length of course as would thus be ascribed to it. Buchanan supposed that the Tibetan river assigned as identical with the Salwen might in reality be the main source of the Irawadi. The balance of argument is against any such remote source of the Irawadi; but it seems to me quite probable that both the long-descended Tibetan rivers really join to form the Lan-tshang Kiang, or Mekhong, and that the Salwen has its independent source not far beyond the northern limits of Yunan.* The general character of the Salwen throughout its course seems to be that of a rocky and rapid stream, flowing through a narrow valley, with scarcely any alluvial basins, and few inhabitants on its immediate banks. It is said to be navigable, however, for small boats up to the ferry leading from Moné to Kiang-Tung, in latitude 20° 40′, and even in Yunan, according to Gutzlaff. The character of the Mekhong seems to be somewhat similar, allowing for a larger body of water. Within the Chinese territory it is narrow enough to be crossed at several places by iron suspension-bridges;† but at Kiang-Hung, in the month of March, Macleod found it to be about 540 feet wide, with a rocky bed, a depth exceeding fifteen feet (how much more he could not ascertain without exciting suspicion), and an average velocity of three miles an hour. The bed from bank to bank was 1620 feet, with indication of a flood-rise of fifty or sixty feet. It was said to be navigable for canoes all the way down, but not without encountering rapids, particularly between Kiang-Kheng, and Kiang-Tsen, and again near Wintchian, or Chandapoori. Even in ascending to the latter place from the

* Mr. Oldham is my very competent authority for the comparatively very small body of water in the Salwen near where it enters Tenasserim. Dr. Richardson, however, calls it 300 yards wide where he crossed it, 200 miles from the mouth, in January 1837. One of the suite of a Burmese ambassador to Pekin, who furnished Buchanan with a good deal of information, described the Salwen as a much less important river than the Mekhong, and the latter as being of a much longer course, *running round the sources* of the other. (In *Ed. Philos. Journal*, iii. 35.) The Mekhong is, indeed, crossed by a suspension-bridge on the road to Yunan from Bamó, whilst the Salwen is crossed by boat. (See Itinerary given by Burney in *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vol. vi. p. 546.) But this is because the rocky channel and violent stream of the Mekhong prevent the use of a ferry. Buchanan's informant crossed the Mekhong by a cradle slung on iron chains, but the embassy of 1833 record their passing by an iron bridge 105 cubits long and seven broad. The cubit may be taken at twenty inches, which would give a span of 175 feet.

† One is mentioned in the last note; another on the road from Kaingma to Talee-foo, in *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vi. 426.

sea, in 1641, the Dutch Envoy, Gerard Van Wusthof, met with "horrible waterfalls," or rapids, which compelled the party to unload their boats before attempting to pass up.* The Chinese travellers quoted in Duhalde say that it is navigable for large barks from Kiang-Kheng and Kiang-Tsen to the sea. Apparently there used to be a good deal of traffic on the Mekhong, in the prosperous days of the Lower Laos; but in 1837 Captain Macleod says, that trade on the river had entirely ceased since the destruction of Wintchian by the Siamese some years before. The violence and rapidity of the current† render the Mekhong dangerous to navigate in the floods.

The mountains in which this tract abounds are inhabited, as usual, by a number of more or less wild tribes, known under a variety of names. The most notable of these is, perhaps, that of the Láwas, who are scattered over the whole of this territory, and are regarded by the Shans as the uncivilised remnant of the aboriginal inhabitants. Their language is said, probably on slight grounds, to be quite different from that of the Shans. Notwithstanding the character ascribed to them, they appear to be good cultivators, growing indigo, sugar-cane, and cotton, and much of the supply of the latter article carried away by the Chinese traders from Kiang-Hung, Kiang-Tung, and the adjoining states, is grown by them. They also manufacture iron, and are good smiths, making dhás and even matchlocks. They are described by Macleod as short, ill-made, and ugly, with flat noses, low foreheads, and protuberant bellies. The name of Láwa seems to be applied by the Chinese to all the chief nations on the south-western frontier of Yunan, including the Burmese, who, according to F. Buchanan, are called Láwa Meen. Among the Shans themselves the people of the states of Wintchian and Lantchian (otherwise called Chandapoori, and Muang-Luang-Phaban), on the Mekhong, only are known as *Lau*. I do not know from which side our geographers got the appellation of Laos, which has been applied to the whole Shan country. From these circumstances, however, it seems not unlikely that the Láwas are a deteriorated type of the progenitors of the Shans as they existed before the race was modified by Buddhist civilisation, as the Kookis are supposed to represent the progenitors of the people of Munnipoor, and the forest-races of the Deccan the communities of Southern India, before they were modified by Hindoo civilisation. The largest, most savage, and most independent bodies of the Láwas are found in the country northward and westward of Muang-Lem. They admit no one into their country, and are said to lie in ambush for travellers, whom they surprise and decapitate, carrying off the heads as offerings and trophies, like the Garos, Kookis, and other savage neighbours of our Sylhet frontier.

The *Kakuis* are another race of mountaineers scattered over the Kiang-Hung and Kiang-Tung territory, as well as farther north. A large body of them exist in independence in the mountains north-west of Kiang-Hung, and are notorious caterans. They use the cross-bow with poisoned arrows, spears, and a few matchlocks. The *Kakuas* are a kindred tribe, considered to be more civilised than the last, and inhabiting the mountains on both banks of the Mekhong.

* *Valentyn, Beschryving Van Oost-Indien*, vol. iii. part 2, Tonkin and Cambodia, p. 50.

† *Relation du Royaume de Lao*, in *Histoire Nouvelle et Curieuse des Royaumes de Tunquin et de Lao du P. de Marini*. Paris, 1666.

These tribes are probably connected with the Kakoos or Kakhyens of northern Burma, but there is no proof of this beyond the obvious similarity of name. Some Chinese at Kiang-Hung, however, told Macleod that the Kakuis and Kakuas were from the hills near Talee-foo, which strengthens the probability of their being Kakhyens. Another small tribe in the neighbourhood of Kiang-Tung is called *Mutsa*. Of these we have no particulars, but the name is suggestive of the wild mountaineers of the interior of Southern China, called Myau-tse.

Lau-Laus are also mentioned by Macleod as dwelling on the east of the Mekhong, and tributary to Kiang-Hung. This name is, doubtless, the same as the Lolos of Duhalde, though the description of the Lolos given by that author * applies undoubtedly to the civilised and Buddhist Shans of Yunan.

The *Li-Lun*, another tribe under China to the northward of Kiang-Hung, are said to be the chief growers of the inferior opium, which is brought down to Ava by the Chinese merchants. Besides these, there are in the neighbourhood of the Mekhong, *Yem*, *Kali*, *Putai*, *Kapín*, *Kaláu*, *Kadams*, *Kamu*, and *Kamet*, of whom the names only are known.

A few Karens are found farther east than we should have expected, to the north-east of Zimmé, and not more than fifty or sixty miles from the Cambodia river. And small communities of the Toungthoos are met with sparsely up the Salwen, and in the territories of Nyoung-yuwé and Moné. In the same region are Yeins, Dumoos, and Dunós. Of the Yeins, who are probably the same as the Yems of the Mekhong, and are also said to be found in the northern part of Koshanpri, we know only the name. The Dumoos and Dunós are said to speak a kind of Burmese, and perhaps may be a relic of the original uncivilised Myamma. The Dunós, like the Paloungs, are said to be tea-growers.†

Towards the Chinese frontier, in the districts of Toung-bain and Thein-ni, are the tea-growing Paloungs, of whom we have spoken in a previous chapter.‡ The Paloungs (called also Paloo) are said to resemble the Shans, and to be of Shan kindred. It is, however, remarkable, considering how often the *name* of such a race is merely the word for *man* in its own or some kindred tongue,§ that *Hplón* has this meaning in one of the Karen dialects of lower Burma. Mixed with these, and stretching far to the north through Yunan and beyond our present bounds, are the numerous tribes of Kakhyens.

These various tribes occupy the hills and wilder parts of the region. The alluvial basins are occupied by the Shans, who dam the streams and carry irrigation by numerous cuts and bamboo wheels over the rice-lands. The climate indicated appears to be of a more temperate character than in the same latitude in Ava. Extensive pine-forests are met with in all the hilly parts of the region, even down to our Tenasserim and Martaban frontier, and the pine is often found in near proximity to the teak and saul, which we are accustomed to regard as the types of such a very different climate. On the Mekhong, teak of useful quality is, however, scarcely found so far north as Kiang-Hung, in lat. 22°, though some

* Vol. i. p. 30. (English translation in folio.)

† Malcolm's *Travels*, ii. p. 240.

‡ P. 149.

§ *e. g.* In the Singpho language *Singpho=Man*; in the Khyeng, *Klâng* or *Khyáng* (see Major Phayre in *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* 1853, pp. 14, 15) has the same meaning, as well as the *Kami*, *Kumi*, and *Mru* of the other tribes of Aracan Yoma so designated.

of the finest teak of the Irawadi valley grows at least two degrees farther north. The areca does not grow at all within our proper limit, at least not eastward of the Salwen, though cultivated with success at Madéya, north of Amarapoora. And elephants are not met with in a wild state north of 21° 20′, and at Kiang-Hung, when domesticated, do not thrive, though found in India roaming wild at least as far north as Dehra, in lat. 30½°.* Chinese furs are habitually worn in winter by the nobles of Kiang-Tung and Kiang-Hung. Tea is grown abundantly over the tract between the Mekhong and the Salwen, and also west of the latter river above the latitude of Ava. Cotton, too, is produced in considerable quantities by some of the hill tribes, and is purchased largely from them by the Chinese traders, who come down through all these principalities annually.

Before entering on such fragmentary details regarding these principalities as I have been able to collect, some notice must be taken of the Karen-ni, or Red Karens, as they are called by the Burmans, who have remained independent of both Burmese and Shans.

The country occupied by these people is that part of the mountain mass separating the Sitang from the Salwen, which lies between the latitude of Toungoo and that of 20° 30′.

Little is known of these people except from the Journals of Dr. Richardson, who passed through their country more than once. It is generally believed that they are not in any way closely allied to the Karens proper of Pegu and Tenasserim, but that they are rather of Shan race. I have not been able to find any further proof of the latter kindred than their being a *gens braccata*. Dr. Richardson thought that their language was a dialect of that spoken by the Karen tribes to the south of their country; and I should think it probable that some ethnographic instinct had induced the Burmese to give them the same name.† The appellation of *red* Dr. Richardson derives from their complexion, naturally rather fair, and tanned to a ruddy hue; but the red breeches which he describes them as wearing suggest as likely an origin for the name, the Shan breeches being blue.

The name which the Karen-ni give themselves is *Koya;* by the Shans they are called *Niang*. They have some myth about their being the descendants of part of a Chinese force which overslept itself, and was left behind on a retreat by the main body. It is curious that the Khyens of the Yoma-doung have almost the same tradition regarding their own origin, substituting Burmese for Chinese army.‡

* Tigers, however, appear to be very numerous over the country, especially on the desolated borderland between the Burmese and Siamese Shans.

† I can find only one Karen-ni term recorded, so that the materials for determining the kindred of the people are much on the same scale with those for determining the kindred of the Picts, which, according to the illustrious Jonathan Oldbuck, consisted of one word (*Pen-val*), of which one half was Celtic and the other half Teutonic. In the present instance, however, the one word is in favour of Karen connexion. Dr. Richardson tells us that the Red Karens call the Salwen *Kǫolo Khlo*. Now, according to one of the Pwo Karen lists of vocables, *Klo* is a word for river in that dialect. *P. S.*—I see Mr. Mason says that from Karen testimony, confirmed by knowledge of a few words, the Karen-ni have many roots common to the Pwo and Sgau dialects.—(*Nat. Prod.* p. 477.)

‡ Are not these traditions, and those others in which we find dispersed and depressed tribes in Burma, like the Toungthoos, the Pwons, and the Kadós, pointing to mouldering and jungle-grown traces of ramparts as the sites of the cities of their fathers, indications of the error of that theory that the savage was "the seed out of which in due time the civilised man was unfolded?"—(See Trench *On the Study of Words*, 2d edition, p. 14.)

The Red Karens are a people of small stature, with spindle shanks and projecting stomachs, rude and filthy in their habits. They are, however, far from absolute savagery, and many Shans at one time settled in their country, finding them as lords preferable to the Burmese. Their only religious observances consist in the propitiation of the malignant spirits who inflict disease. Sacrifices for this purpose are carried to an extravagant extent. They are civilised enough to use a coarse silver bullion for currency with the Burmese weights, and their cultivation is remarkable for its neatness.

The whole country is mountainous, and in the southern part of their district the mountains rise to a height of about 8000 feet. Their villages are generally perched on rounded knolls, or on the tops of tabular hills. The population is considerable. In one part of their country, between the Salwen and the Mepon, Dr. Richardson found the land cultivated to the tops of the hills, the valleys terraced in the Chinese manner, cross-roads in all directions, and villages so numerous that eight were visible at one time. Their largest village is called Ngwé-doung. It is planted on the top of an extensive terraced table-land on the west side of the Mepon. The inhabitants are, however, chiefly Shan fugitives.

These Red Karens are the terror of all the adjoining Burman and Burma Shan districts, on which they make their forays, carrying off the inhabitants, and selling them in exchange for buffaloes and oxen into hopeless slavery among the Siamese Shans. They are also the receivers of slaves carried off in the mutual feuds of the numerous small Karen communities along their borders on the side of Toungoo.* The nearest towns pay them blackmail to purchase immunity from their inroads. These used to extend so far that the people of Nyoung-yuwé, twenty miles from their frontier, had to keep watch and ward against them.

The Shan principalities may be conveniently divided into Cis-Salwen and Trans-Salwen.

Of the Cis-Salwen states, commencing from the Karen-ni country, which forms their southern limit, the first is Mobyé.

This little state, lying close to the Red Karens, was so harried by them, that nothing remained to the Tsaubwa beyond the walls of his town. At last, as he could get no aid from Ava, he ceased to send tribute to that court, and transferred his allegiance to his cateran neighbours. In 1837 the town was said not to contain more than fifty houses.†

II. The next state is Mokmé, or Moung-Mé, about five days' journey north-east from

* *MS. Report* from Mr. O'Riley, Assist. Commissioner at Toungoo. At one place, among the *Karen-yaings*, or Wild Karens, eastward of the Sitang, there were brought before Mr. O'Riley eight men and boys, three women and thirteen young children, the remains of ten houses that had been forayed by others of the same race, in order to meet demands for tribute by the Karen-ni. The men had lost their wives and children, the women their husbands, and all the children their parents. Fifty persons had been carried off.

† Considerably south of Mobyé, but east of the Salwen, was formerly a state very much detached from the others, but tributary to Ava, called Meinlein-gyi, or Yunsalen. It is spoken of by Buchanan, and is, perhaps, the kingdom Jacaçalon of Ferdinand Pinto, though he speaks as if it were near the Irawadi. It has long been subject to Zimmé, and the capital is represented by a hamlet of ten or twelve houses, though an extensive rampart and ditch still testify to former importance.

Mobyé, and three days from the Karen-ni frontier. This little state has also been much harassed and reduced by the forays of the Red Karens; and all the chief villages pay them blackmail. The town of Mokmé contains about 350 houses. The territory is small.

III. Two days north of Mokmé is the chief town of the state of Moné.

This is the seat of the presidency of the Burmese over the Shan principalities, and the Burmans are rather numerous. Though the limits cannot be laid down with precision, the territory is considerable, extending to some distance across the Salwen, and the town, which stands about 2000 feet above the sea, is the largest of all the little Shan capitals, and may, perhaps, contain 8000 souls. It is built along the foot of the hills bounding the fertile valley of the Nam-tween, a tributary of the Me-Pon.

IV. About five-and-thirty miles north-west of Moné (though the distance by road is much longer) is Nyoung-yuwé, called also Nyoung-shwé. This is the most westerly of the states, and was formerly one of the largest and most important, being one of the four which embraced the whole of Kamboza-Taing,* a term including the whole of the Cis-Salwenic Shans up to Bamó, if not to Mogoung. But by Karen forays, Burman oppression, and domestic contests, the Tsaubwa's dominion is sadly reduced, and probably now does not contain a thousand houses altogether.

In the town there are not more than 150 houses. It lies in a rather extensive alluvial basin, at a height of about 2500 feet above the sea. The whole of this appears to have been a lake-bed, like the somewhat similar valley of Munnipoor; and the lake still exists in the middle of the valley, extending about fourteen miles in length by about three-and-a-half in width at the broadest part. It is shallow, not in the dry season exceeding seven-and-a-half feet in depth anywhere, and it appears to be still contracting.

Though the number of houses in the Tsaubwa's territory is so small, there is in the valley a considerable population besides, which is directly tributary to the court of Ava, and the level is rather extensively cultivated with rice, sugar-cane, maize, &c.

Among the inhabitants of the valley is a colony of Tavoyers, who retain a dialect resembling that of Tavoy. They are in a low state of civilisation, and have no knowledge of the emigration of their forefathers. But the traditions of the Shans, or Burmese, say that they were brought here by the ancient Burman monarch, Narapati-tseethoo,† who

* I do not know whether this name has any relation to the Kamboja of Geographers, or whether it is a mere accidental consonance. It does not, however, sound like Burmese, and is, doubtless, one of the Pali names which attach to all the principal divisions of Burma and the Shan country. Gutzlaff says (*Jour. R. Geog. Society*, xix. p. 88), that Kambodia, or Kamboja, as applied to the delta of the Mekhong, is a name taken from the [Buddhist] sacred books. The Pali names of places in Indo-China are often transfers of the names of places in the sacred land of India. So in Burma we have Maithila and Kosambhi, in Siam we have Ayodhya, and in Kambodia Inthapat (Indraput). Kamboja was the Sanscrit name of a people on the north-west of India, who, Lassen (*Ind. Alterthum*, p. 598) says, were a tribe of degenerate Kshatriyas.

† "According to Tavoy historians Narapadi-Sœthoo came to Tavoy more, as is represented, as an apostle of religion than as a conqueror, and founded the first city that was ever built in that province, in A.D. 1208. He built the Pagoda on Tavoy point, which is the oldest of which there are any records, and he was probably the first to place Buddhism on a permanent basis in that region."—(Mason's *Nat. Prod. of Burma*, p. 453.) Many traditions of the valley of Nyoung-yuwé are connected with the same

reigned, according to Crawfurd's table, between 1157 and 1190, but according to other authorities in the following century. A similar tradition attaches to a town called Thatung, five days south-east of Nyoung-yuwé, on the border of the Karen-nis, to whom it pays tribute. The inhabitants of this place are said to have been brought from the ancient city of Thatung, in the present province of Martaban, by the great King Nauratha-men-zau, the founder of the Shwé-zeegoong Pagoda at Pagán.

The lake of Nyoung-yuwé is that which occupies in the maps derived from F. Buchanan such a curious position, radiating rivers to all points of the compass. The real outlet of the lake is by the river of Mobyé, which passes the little Shan city of that name, and discharges itself into the Mepon, and so into the Salwen. It is reported to flow underground for a mile or two before joining the Mepon.

The people also believe that there is a subterranean escape from the lake itself, at a spot where a bubbling extrication of gas takes place. Some story connected with this belief may have led to the geographical error just alluded to.

The principal feeder of the lake is the Borathat, a stream flowing down from the mountains immediately east of Ava. The surface of this lake presents the singular spectacle of a multitude of floating islands. They are composed of the interlaced roots of a coarse grass or reed, loaded with a little soil. The roots of the grass shoot down to the bottom of the lake in dry weather, but in the rains many of these entangled masses are buoyed up and separated from the ground, so as to be quite afloat. The inhabitants often occupy them as fishing stations, or even erect their cottages on them, anchoring the islands to the bottom by long bamboos. They undulate at every step, and a man's house sometimes, during a squall, changes front to every point of the compass. Some of these islands are so large as to afford space for three or four cottages.*

There is scarcely any wood in the valley of Nyoung-yuwé, and the people are obliged to purchase their boats from the Red Karens.

The nominal contingent of Nyoung-yuwé is 1565 men, but 500 is the utmost that they can raise, and these they cannot keep in the field for any length of time.

From the lake of Nyoung-yuwé to the pass of Nat-teik, descending upon the plains of Ava, extends the hilly district called Myelat, which is under no Tsaubwa, but pays revenue direct to the King, and hence is known as *Ngwégoon*, or "silver-taxed."

V. Bordering Moné towards the north, and Nyoung-yuwé towards the north-east, is the state of Légya, formerly mustering under the banner of Nyoung-yuwé, but within the present century raised to the position of a Tsaubwaship. It is one of the most prosperous of the states. The chief town is said to contain as many houses as Moné, that is to say, about 1600.

monarch. He is said to have defeated an immense Chinese army which attacked the old city of Kosambhi, formerly the capital of the valley, and the extensive traces of which exist two or three miles north of the present town. Under the waters of the lake are also seen certain rows of wooden posts, which the Shans believe to have been the pillars of his Palace.

* "A very fat old woman on one island, where we landed for breakfast, laughed heartily at some apprehension displayed by one of my people, who was about half her weight, that he might go through." —(Richardson's *MS. Journal.*)

The two Shan ladies mentioned in the histories of the first Burmese war* as being killed in action at the Naweng river, near Prome, in November 1825, were two wives of the then Tsaubwa of Légya, who, from some superstition, were brought into the field dressed in male attire.

Very lately the arbitrary conduct of the chief Burman official at Moné caused an armed rising among the people of Légya; but the good sense of the King very speedily put a stop to it without armed interference.

VI. North of Légya, and according to Richardson's sketch on the banks of the Myit-ngé, is Theebo. It appears to be a very small state. The most direct road from Amarapoora to China lies through Theebo and Thein-ni.

Thoung-zé is a Shan district betweeen Theebo and Ava, and I believe that the King has here re-established a Tsaubwa.

Momeit, a very considerable territory to the eastward of the Irawadi above the capital, was in former reigns under a Burman governor. I do not know whether the Tsaubwa here also has been restored. The town stands on a small river (the Nam-meit) running into the Shwé-li. It is the district within which lie the celebrated Ruby-mines of Mogouk and Kyat-pen. East of Momeit is the district of Toung-baing, but I do not find that there either is any Tsaubwa recognised.

VII. The last of the Tsaubwaships on this side of the Salwen is Thein-ni, called by the Shans Tsen-vi. The town is a considerable one, containing five or six hundred houses. It lies twelve marches east of Ava, on the most direct road to Yunan, and thirteen north or north-by-east from Moné, but its position cannot be laid down with any exactness. Its territory extends a short distance across the Salwen, to a river called Nam-boung.†

Thein-ni has the most extensive territory of all the principalities, though not the most populous. It furnishes, however, a contingent equal to those of all the other Cis-Salwenic states. The Tsaubwa, according to Richardson, used to pay some homage to China. The state is at present under a Burman governor, but I understand that it is the King's intention to restore the Tsaubwa here also.

All the preceding states, with the exception of Mobyé, pay tribute twice a-year to Ava.

We now cross the Salwen and begin from the north.

VIII. Beyond the Salwen, the most northerly is the state (or two confederated states) of Kaingma-Maingmaing. Kaingma, as we have seen above, is one of the nine Shan cities, or Koshanpri. This state, which has a considerable territory, pays tribute to Ava, but not annually. It is in much closer relation to China, probably much on the same footing as Kiang-Hung, and it is, indeed, like that state, embodied in the Jesuit's map of Yunan. Gutzlaff speaks of its well-irrigated soil, and dense agricultural population.‡

Within the territory of this state, I believe, should be placed the great silver-mine (Bau-dwen-gyi), the position of which has been hitherto laid down in the maps as on the west of the Salwen near Toungbaing.

* *Two Years in Ava*, p. 325. *Snodgrass*, p. 235.

† See *Itinerary, Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* vi. 425.

‡ *Jour. of Royal Geograph. Society*, xix. 43.

The accurate Chinese travellers, whose account is given in Duhalde, tell us that, besides silver, tin, copper, iron and rock-salt are worked in the territories of Maingmaing (Mohang-Meng), and also that the musk animal is found there; which seems to imply the existence of very high mountains. The mountains covered with perpetual snow of which Gutzlaff speaks, would appear, indeed, to be in this territory.*

Between Thein-ni and Kaingma there is a small state called Muang-Ting, or Maing-Tein, along the banks of the Nam-ting. I do not know whether it is considered tributary to Burma.†

IX. South of the last is Maing-leng-gyi (Muang-Lem of the Shans). Of this, as of Kaingma, scarcely anything is known. A considerable part of the territory northward and westward of Muang-Lem is occupied, as we have before noticed, by a savage race of Láwas, who prevent all passage through their country. Gold is said to be abundant in their hills, and they exchange a little with the Shans for salt, areca, cattle, and silver. They are said to be very numerous, and to cluster in large villages of 400 or 500 houses under separate chiefs. These communities are often at war among themselves.

The Ava contingent of Main-leng-gyi is nominally 3000 men. It pays tribute to Ava annually, and triennially to China.

X. South-east of Maing-leng-gyi, and extending on both sides of the Mekhong, is the state of Kiang-Hung, called by the Burmese Kaing-yung-gyi, one of the most important of the Tsaubwaships. It appears to be the Tarout-Shan (Chinese Shan) country of Dr. Buchanan.‡

This state sends tribute to Ava once in three years, but it is much more immediately under Chinese influence, and the Chinese dress, customs, and language prevail more or less among the nobles. It is called by the Chinese Cheli, and under the name of Tcheli-chuen-fou-se, it will be found in D'Anville's map of Yunan. In fact, the Chinese exercise an immediate interference, maintaining an establishment of clerks and fiscal officers, and collect a revenue assessed on the amount of seed sown, besides 65½ viss of silver from the Tsaubwa's government, and a large quantity of tea, said by Captain Macleod to amount to 560 mule-loads. Of this, twenty-five mule-loads, made from the tender shoots, were universally said to be destined for the emperor himself. This importation of tea into China is an example of "coals to Newcastle" that has been already referred to.

There are twelve petty Tsaubwas in confederacy under the Kiang-Hung chief, whose own proper title is *Tsen-wi-fua.*

Four of these feudatories lie to the west, and eight to the east of the Mekhong, and the most easterly border on territories belonging to Tonquin.

On the west of the Mekhong they are separated from China, or perhaps rather from Kaingma, by savage tribes of Kakuis. But on the east of that river the state of Kiang-Hung comes into immediate contact with what we consider to be China proper at the town of Muang-La, which is parted only by a small river from the Chinese town of Esmok.

* *Journal of Royal Geograph. Society*, xix. 43.

† Compare *Itinerary* before quoted; *Jour. Geog. Soc. U. S.*, and D'Anville's *Map of Yunan.*

‡ *Edin. Phil. Jour.* x. 59.

The latter is under the government of Shuenli, a subdivision of the great province of Yunan; Shuenli is, I believe (from the comparison of Burman routes in China given by Colonel Burney in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vi. p. 426, &c.), the city called in D'Anville Chunningfou.

By this route the caravans of Chinese traders, chiefly Mahomedans,* come down to traffic at Kiang-Hung, Kiang-Tung, and the principalities under Siam. It was chiefly with the view of inducing these caravans to extend their annual journeys to Maulmain that Captain Macleod undertook his remarkable journey to these remote states in 1837; but the jealousies and obstructions among the intervening Siamese Shans prevented the accomplishment of his object.

The city of Kiang-Hung is situated to the westward of the Mekhong, on the side of a low range of hills, near where a stream called the Me-Ha joins that river. It is not walled, nor is there any fort. The Palace is a prominent building on high ground at the northern end. It is handsome and substantial, adorned with carving and gilding in the Chinese style, and roofed with highly-glazed tiles. Much stone is also used in the substructure.

The town does not contain more than 400 houses, many of which are planted on little terraces cut in the hill side. There are a few monasteries and small pagodas, but besides the Tsaubwa's Palace there is not a good house in the place, nor a single one of timber.

The tribute to Ava is more an honorary payment than a substantial one, like that to China. It consists of a small gold cup, a gold and silver flower, with pieces of silk and tinsel, a pair of shoes, salt, tea, and gilt candles, from each of the twelve feudatory Tsaubwas. The Tsenwifua's homage to Ava is of a similar character, with the addition of two ponies. Each petty Tsaubwa offers his own lord annually the same presents that he sends triennially to Ava.

The Ava contingent from Kiang-Hung is 5000 men. The Chinese claim no military service in this way from any of the Shan states under their influence.

XI. Another important principality is Kiang-Tung, called by the Burmese Kaing-Toung-gyi.

The city giving name to this state is about midway between the Salwen and the Mekhong, but the territory itself extends nearly from the one river to the other, embracing Muang-Niong, Kiang-Tsen or Kiang-Then, and several other states once independent. Kiang-Tsen, on the banks of the Mekhong, was once a place of considerable importance.

The town of Kiang-Tung stands on long undulating hills. The ground is of a similar character, intermingled with swampy hollows on the east, south, and west. North-east, north, and north-west, level cultivation extends for several miles, beyond which high mountains rise suddenly.

* These Chinese generally claimed both Richardson and Macleod as co-religionists. They were always found very civil. They were often accompanied by dogs of large size, the same breed, doubtless, though not quite so big, as Marco Polo's dogs of *Tebeth*, which he says were the size of donkeys.

Kiang-Tung does not contain more than 600 or 700 houses, and those of a mean character and widely scattered.

It is surrounded by an extensive and irregular wall of brick and mud, about fifteen feet high, fenced on the outside either by swamps or by an artificial ditch. The ditch, where the wall passes over high ground, is cut down to the level of the swamp, and is in some places seventy feet deep.

The Palace is in the centre of the town, a building of very shabby exterior, but internally handsome and richly adorned, with a throne and other royal insignia on the Ava model.

The people of Kiang-Tung are called by the Burmese *Gong;* and the country is often called *Gong thoungzé nhit Myo,* "the thirty-two cities of the Gong."

No regular taxes are levied by the Tsaubwa on his own account. His revenue is derived from the crops of his own domains, from trade, and from presents offered annually by his Myotsas, or feudatories, and by the people generally. A part of the fines also in criminal cases goes to the Tsaubwa. In all suits for money twenty per cent on the value in dispute is the perquisite of the adjudicating officer.

The whole force of the Kiang-Tung territory, including the hill tribes, is said to amount to 30,000 men. The contingent for Ava is 5000. When the Shan contingents were called out in the first war with us, no troops from Kiang-Tung were employed; on the plea that they were required to watch the Siamese. It appears from Sir J. Bowring's book (ii. 364) that the Siamese made an unsuccessful attack on Kiang-Tung as late as 1854.

In the beginning of this century the then reigning Tsaubwa, with many of his people, in disgust with Burmese oppression, went over to Zimmé and put themselves under the jurisdiction of the Siamese. The promises of the latter were all broken, but the emigration added considerably to the population of the Zimmé principalities.

XII. The last of the Tsaubwaships is Kiang-Khen (*Burm.* Kaing-Khyaing), the most easterly state having any relations with the court of Ava. It is a small state, I believe, but I find no particulars regarding it, except the amount of its contingent, which is 1000 men. Some twenty or thirty years ago the Tsaubwa wished to place himself under Chinese protection, but the Chinese Government declined the offer. The town of Kiang-Khen stands on the right bank of the Cambodia river, according to Macleod, in about lat. 18° 54′; but, for reasons assigned in the preceding Chapter, I believe it ought to be higher.

The Tsaubwas of all these principalities, even where most absolutely under Ava, retain all the forms and appurtenances of royalty. They assume to themselves a multiplicity of wives, like their lord at Ava; like him, they espouse their half-sisters, to preserve the purity of the blood-royal, and doubtless would justify the practice by a claim of descent from the house of Sakya; they have their Ein-shé-Men, or Cæsar, their Atwen-woons, Thandautsens, Nakhangyis, and other officials of the court. Their Palaces have the reiterated roof, the pyathat, or storied spire, and sacred htee. They have also the Yajapalén, or kingly throne, and the white umbrella, with the rest of the five ensigns of royalty. But these

latter they possess only as the Vicar of Wakefield's daughters possessed their crown-pieces; they are theirs, but they must not be made use of.

The existence to this day of these numerous Reguli, with all the paraphernalia of royalty, explains, and to a certain extent justifies, the statements of the old travellers, that Tshenbyo-Myayen, the great King of Pegu, had six-and-twenty crowned kings for his vassals.*

All these states are under the real or nominal supervision of the Bo-mhoo-mentha, whose presidency or seat of administration is at Moné. He generally, however, resides at Ava, only visiting Moné occasionally. His duties are conducted in his absence by a deputy, called the Tsitké-daugyi ("Great Royal Sheriff"), who is obliged to leave his family at court as pledges for his loyalty. The Tsitké-daugyi has various subordinate officials under him at Moné, and either one or two inferior Tsit-kés are posted at the court of each Tsaubwa, in the capacity of Residents, as we should call them in India.

The amount of authority exercised over these states by the Burmans varies nearly with their distance from Ava. Over those nearly in contact with the King's immediate territories, it is (or used to be) exercised with oppressive rigour. Over Kiang-Hung and Kaingma it cannot be more than the peaceful policy of China permits. The tribute from these remoter states is, as we have seen in the case of Kiang-Hung, little more than an honorary token of fealty. Similar presents are made by all the other princes at the *Kodau* or Beg-Pardon festivals, with more or less frequency according to the custom established in each case; those near the Burman border offering them twice a-year, viz. at the new year and at the end of the *Wa*, or Buddhist Lent. But those nearer states are also subject to arbitrary exactions of unlimited amount, and are saddled with a number of hungry Burmans, who make such spoil of the natives as they can.

This, at least, was the state of things during the preceding reigns. But it is understood that the present King has done much to conciliate the Shans, both princes and people, and that the serious insurrections which were formerly chronic in this region have ceased since his assumption of the throne.

The whole contingent of the Shan states was stated to Richardson by the Tsaubwa of Moné to be 91,147; and the former supposed that the prince has used a common Burman hyperbole in multiplying by ten. The aggregate of the nominal contingents must, however, be more than 9000 men. These are, as we have seen, for Nyoung-yuwé 1565, for Muang-Lem 3000, Kiang-Hung and Kiang-Tung 5000 each, Kiang-Kheng 1000, and allowing 5000 for Thein-ni, Moné, and the other Cis-Salwenic states, we should have a total of upwards of 20,000. The Shan contingents are never called out except in very critical circumstances. They were summoned in the second campaign of the first Burmese war, and the force then furnished amounted probably to 8000 or 9000 men.

All the travellers whose journals I have consulted speak in unconscious unison of the

* Thus, Cæsar Frederick: "There is not a king on earth that hath more power or strength than this King of Pegue, because he hath twenty and six crowned kings at his command."—*Purchas*, ii. p. 1715.

bitter feeling with which the Burmese are regarded by all the alien tribes which are in any way subject to their authority. And they speak with a like unanimity of the high character which was ascribed to the Chinese for justice, moderation, and good faith.

The domestic administration of the Tsaubwas themselves appears to be generally of a milder and more paternal character than that of Ava. The princes and nobles show much more of blood and refinement, as distinguished from the commonalty, than it is usual to see in Burma, where there is little distinction of this kind to be observed. The blind Tsaubwa of Kiang-Tung is described by Macleod as a very noble gentleman.*

The Tsaubwaship is hereditary in the royal family of each principality, but the individual successor to the throne is appointed from Ava. He is generally designated beforehand as Ein-shé Men, a dignity conveying considerable powers to the prince as a sort of Cæsar in the state. In the principalities of Kaingma, Muang-Lem, and Kiang-Hung, there is some joint arrangement between Ava and China, the successor being named by one government and confirmed by the other. Sometimes, however, the two governments have granted their nomination to different individuals, and wars of succession have ensued. Indeed such feuds and petty wars seem to have been very common among all these little states, and have doubtless tended greatly to throw them under the power of their more united neighbours.

As in all the Indo-Chinese countries, there seem to be traces over these states of greater wealth and population than now exists. Deserted cities are frequently spoken of; and all the apparatus of royalty about the faded courts of the princes seems to suggest a by-gone period of greater opulence and power than the present.

The great cities with which geographers have besprinkled this *terra incognita* are now, we see, nothing more than considerable villages of bamboo huts. Yet within this region, if anywhere beneath the moon, must have been the great city of Timplan, the capital of the magnificent Kalaminham, of which Mendez Pinto gives such an extravagant account.

South of the states of which we last spoke are other principalities of like calibre, but owning their allegiance to Siam instead of Ava.

The chief of these is Zimmé (Kiang-Mai†), with its confederate states of Lapung or Labong, and Lagong, all situated on the feeders of the Menam or river of Bankok. These, with several of the adjoining districts, once formed a considerable state, extending from the Salwen to the Mekhong, which is often mentioned by the earlier European travellers as the kingdom of Jangomai, Chacomas, Jamahey, &c. It contained fifty-seven walled towns, the ruins of many of which can still be traced. The population of the states named was considered by Macleod in 1837 to be highly estimated at 90,000. They were conquered by the great Peguan sovereign, Tshenbyomyayen, and after the fall of Pegu, in the

* Some of the customs of these Shan Princes seem to have a strong dash of primitive simplicity. In the Zimmé states, at least, all the chiefs, from the Tsaubwas downwards, at harvest-time remove with their families and followers into the fields, and reside there in temporary sheds, superintending and assisting in collecting and threshing the crop. So in primitive times, Boaz, "a mighty man of wealth," came to superintend his reapers, and slept by the heap of corn on the threshing-floor.

† The Xieng-Mai of Sir J. Bowring.

beginning of the seventeenth century, passed under the Burmese. From the latter they revolted in the latter part of the last century, and put themselves under Siam, to which they remain tributary. The greater part of their tribute is paid in teak-timber.

The town of Zimmé contains from 700 to 1000 houses, with an inner and outer fort.* The inner fort is a square of 2050 paces, surrounded by a wall twenty-two feet high, with bastions and a broad ditch. Pagodas,† worship-houses, and monasteries occupy the greater parts of both the enclosures, and artificial water-courses intersect the town in all directions. The priests are here very numerous, and bear a much less respectable character than in Burma. A number of fine cattle are bred in this country, and the chief supply of Maulmain used to be (perhaps is still) drawn thence. There is little or no other trade in the place, and the goods brought by the cattle-merchants scarcely used to fetch the price they cost at Maulmain. Through all these southern Shan states the elephant is used with a frequency and familiarity unknown in any other region of the East. The little state of Zimmé alone is said to possess 1000 elephants in a state of domestication. They are habitually used in all the work of daily life, and may commonly be seen grazing in the fields along with horned cattle.

Muang Nan and Muang Phé are two other small states in similar confederacy with one another, between Zimmé and the Mekhong. They formed part of the old realm of Kiang-Mai.

Further east, on both sides of the Mekhong, is the principality of Muang-Luang-Phaban, or Lantchian.‡ It appears now to be the largest of the southern Shan states. The chief town is described as standing on the east bank of the Mekhong, surrounded by a wall, with a fortified hill in the centre. East of the town are high and impassable mountains. The position of Lantchian is probably in about 17° 45′ to 18° of latitude, and 103° 45′ of longitude.

The state of Lantchian, though subject to Siam, pays a triennial tribute to Cochin-

* Sir John Bowring says the population is called 50,000. He does not seem to have been aware of the visits of Richardson and Macleod to this place.

† In the middle of Zimmé is a pagoda on the top of an earthen mound, of which a curious story is told. A powerful Chinese army besieged the town. The Zimméers were unable to cope with them in war, but proposed that each party should build a pagoda, the htee of which should be distinctly seen by the enemy, and that the party whose pagoda was first finished should be considered the victors. The Zimmé people, masked by thick groves, heaped up a mound of earth and put a little brickwork at the top to support the htee, which was speedily erected. The Chinese, who had worked honestly, acknowledged themselves beaten and departed, leaving their pagoda, the very bricks whereof are alive this day, like those of Jack Cade's father's chimney, to testify thereof.

The story recalls the explanation I once heard given by a Bengalee villager of certain scratches on the trunk of a tree near a notorious patch of tiger-jungle. "Sir," he said, "when two tigers quarrel about the occupation of this piece of jungle, they measure themselves against this tree, and the one who can scratch it highest is the conqueror; the other goes off;" *quærit aliud hospitium.*

‡ Lantchian signifies, "a million of elephants." It is the Lenshen of the Burmese and the *Langeiannes* of Mr. Fitch (see Chap. viii.) *Langione* (Lantchian) is described by the Père Marini as the capital of the great kingdom of Lao, of which he published a description. The book appears to be compiled from the relation of missionaries who were resident in that kingdom at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but it is exceedingly vague and uninforming, and contains not a single proper name from which to ascertain what provinces were supposed to be included under the name.

China, and every eight years sends a couple of elephants to China, as a mark of submission.*

Farther down the Mekhong is Chandapoori, called by the Shans Moung-tchiang, or Wintchian. The city stands on both banks of the Mekhong, the name of Chandapoori properly belonging to that part on the east side of the river. This state was also tributary both to Siam and to Cochin-China. About 1828 the Tsaubwa of Wintchian was inclined to throw off his allegiance to both countries, and proposed to the Zimmé states to enter into a confederacy. The Siamese attacked him with a large force, and utterly destroyed the town, treating the inhabitants with horrid cruelty, and removing most of the inhabitants, whom they located in the thinly-populated tracts on the western branch of the Me-Nam.†

This name of Wintchian is identified with Chandapoori by both Macleod and Richardson. Its identification, and the few particulars regarding it which I have derived from these travellers, are interesting, because they fix the place visited by the Dutch Envoys from Camboja in the seventeenth century, whose narrative is given in Valentyn's large history of the Dutch East Indies. They call the city to which they were deputed *Winkjan*, a name which appears to have puzzled Ritter, who supposes it to be intended for Kiang-Kheng.‡

All the so-called cities of the Shan country, like the chief cities and provinces of Burma, have a classical or sacred name in Pali, besides the vernacular names by which they are known to the Shans and Burmese. Chandapoori is a case in point. Thus also Moné is called classically *Konandi*, Muang-Lem is *Beik-karata*, Kiang-Tung *Khemarata*, Kiang-Hung *Zodinagara*, Kiang-Kheng *Thakalarata*, Zimmé *Nantapoori*, Labong *Harijungra*.§

In the first volume of Duhalde's China ‖ there is a curious account of the travels of certain Chinese from Siam to China, passing through the trans-Salwenic Shan states of which we have been speaking. By the light of Macleod's information this becomes much more intelligible than it was before. The chief cities on the way, they say, were Kyang-hay; seven days farther Kyang Seng; seven days more to Mohang Kemarat; eight days to Mohang Leng, which they call the capital city of Laos; seven days more to Mohang Le;

* Siam itself, according to Bowring, pays triennial homage to China.

† "The Tsaubwa was kept, during the short time he survived, in an iron cage; with different instruments of torture alongside of him, and obliged to proclaim that the King of Siam was merciful, and his punishment deserved. Being an old man, his brutal enemies were not long gratified by the sight of his sufferings."—(Richardson's *Journal of a Mission to Siam*, in *Jour. Asiatic Society Ben.* ix. 249.)

‡ *Erdkunde*, iv. p. 1204 (1834). As I can find no notice of this remarkable expedition in any English book, it seems worth while to give an abstract of the narrative, such as it is. (See Note K in Appendix.)

§ By the help of Prof. Wilson and another learned friend

Chandapoori	= *Chandrapura*,	Selenopolis.
Beik-karata	= *Bhikshurâshtra*,	The Realm of Saints (as it were).
Khemarata	= *Kshemarâshtra*,	Regio Felix.
Zodinagara	= *Jyotinagara*,	City of Light? or *Ayodhya*, Oude.
Thakalarata	= *Sâkalarâshtra*,	Pantopolis?
Nantapoori	= *Anantapoori*,	The City of the Infinite.

‖ English folio translation, p. 61.

eleven days to Mohang-Meng, the chief city of another principality or province, and so on to Mohang Vinan, which belonged to China.

The ruins of the fort of Kiang-Hai, with the remains of Pagodas and arched gateways, were seen by Macleod on his way from Zimmé to Kiang-Tung. It is said to have been the capital of the state before the foundation of Zimmé. Kiang Seng or Kiang Tsen, formerly an independent city, but now subject to Kiang-Tung, stands on the right bank of the Mekhong. It is laid down by Macleod, from information, about fifty miles to the north-east of Kiang-Hai, which is probably too little, as he, leaving Kiang-Tsen far to the right, was eighteen days from Kiang-Hai to Kiang-Tung, whilst the Chinese were seven days from K. Hai to K. Tsen, and the same time from K. Tsen to K. Tung. Mohang Kemarat is Kiang-Tung under its classical name. Macleod's information made Muang-Lem (the Mohang-Leng of the Chinese travellers) ten days from Kiang-Tung, which would maintain the previous proportion. Muang-Le is not known, but Mohang-Meng is doubtless the Maing-maing of the Burmese, one of the cities of the state called by them Kaingma-Maingmaing.

Muang-Lem is spoken of by these travellers as in their time the capital of the *Lahos*. The wild Láwas, we know, are numerous within this territory; but the only civilised states to which the name of Laüs now seems to be applied by the Shans are those of Lantchian and Wintchian. The travellers also speak of mines of gold, silver, copper, and red sulphur, five days north of Muang-Lem, especially of a silver-mine worked by Chinese. This is, perhaps, the Bau-dwen so much spoken of in Burma, though that I believe to be now within the territory of Kaingma. There are, however, it would appear, several silver-mines in this region. It is also mentioned in the Chinese narrative, that Muang-Lem, or Laos, was then tributary to *Pamahang*, or *Hawa* (Ava), and sent an ambassador annually to that court. They also speak of the tribute of gold and silver flowers then, as now, sent from Khemarat, or Kiang-Tung.

Moang Vinan, or Mohang Chay, of which the travellers speak as the termination of their route, is undoubtedly Yunan. Indeed, Captain Macleod, without any reference to this narrative, tells us that the city of Yunan is also called Vinnan by the Chinese, and that its Shan name is Muang Tsé Luang (meaning, I believe, *Great* Muang-Tsé).

We see, then, that these provinces bore the same relation as at present to Ava, at the time when these travellers wrote. What that time was is not stated, but it must have been, at latest, the very beginning of the last century, and may probably have been a good deal earlier. Indeed, in the inscription dated 1650, of which an extract is given in Appendix B, Kiang-Hung and Kiang-Tung are expressly mentioned as a part of the empire of Ava. They were probably subjected, along with the states of Kiang Mai, or Zimmé, by the King Nyoung-Men-Tára, the restorer of the Ava monarchy at the beginning of the seventeenth century, or by his immediate successors.

APPENDIX.

Appendix A.

NOTES ON THE GEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE BANKS OF THE IRAWADI, AND OF THE COUNTRY NORTH OF AMARAPOORA.

[By T. Oldham, Esq. *Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India.*]

PREFATORY REMARKS.

Passing up a river in a steamer is not a very satisfactory mode of geologizing. The rapid progress of the vessel at some times, when in all probability the banks present many objects of interest, which the naturalist would long to have the opportunity of examining closely, and the necessary delays and stoppages at other times, in places where, probably, some wide unvaried flat offers nothing for the geologist's hammer to work upon, both contribute to render the information which can be so obtained but scanty and imperfect.

In our passage up the Irawadi, these difficulties were, as far as it was practicable, removed by the kindly aid of the Envoy to the Court of Ava. In all cases where there appeared to be any points of striking interest, Major Phayre most promptly acceded to my request for a temporary delay, which might permit their examination. But these stoppages, at best, could be but brief. At the capital, also, through his support, I obtained means of seeing a good deal of the country, and procured some useful information. Here difficulties of another kind intervened. The ignorance of many who were appointed to accompany me, the jealousy of all the officials, and the unceasing espionage and restraint which were maintained upon my wanderings, seriously interfered with the easy acquisition of such information as I did obtain, and frequently involved great delay and trouble.

Notwithstanding all this, I was informed, and I am inclined to believe with truth, that I had been permitted to wander about more freely, and to see much more than other Europeans had been.

I was especially desirous of visiting the celebrated Ruby-mines, not so much under the impression that much of interest would have been observed immediately at the mines, as that the country which should be passed over to reach them, and the ranges of hills by which they

are surrounded, would have presented objects of special interest, and, in all probability, have exhibited considerable mineral wealth.

I was also anxious to visit the large salt lake, which lies in the direction of Alompra's old capital, Mout-tsho-bo.

But neither of these trips was permitted. The Ruby-mines are, indeed, most jealously guarded from Europeans. I cannot find good evidence of any British subject having visited them save one, who, having deserted into the King of Burma's dominions, was sent by the then King to superintend the cutting of some drains and other appliances for regulating the supply of water to the mines.

The trip to Mout-tsho-bo was objected to, on the ground of the roads being too muddy, and day after day was lost, before even this very considerate information was vouchsafed!

In perusing the following pages, therefore, it must be remembered that the whole has been the result of less than three months' observation, carried on under the great disadvantages to which I have alluded.

Brief, and I must confess unsatisfactory, as my account must be, I should not have been able to bring together even the little that I have done, but for the warm and hearty co-operation of all my fellow-passengers. To Capt. Yule, Major Allan, and Dr. Forsyth, I am specially indebted; and to Mr. Grant for kindly sketching, and allowing me the use of his views of, some points of interest.

Future observers may enjoy much more extended opportunities of research, and thus add largely to our knowledge of the state of the Burman Empire; but they will scarcely find it possible to look back with greater pleasure on the time spent within the dominions of "The Golden Foot" than can the members of the Mission which visited Burma under the guidance of Major Phayre in 1855.

NOTES ON A TRIP TO AMARAPOORA, ETC.

I joined the Mission party at Thayet-myo, on the 10th of August, 1855, and we started up the Irawadi.

The hills, which at the distance of two or three miles below Thayet-myo approach the river, and form steep ridges along its banks, are, near the station, separated from it by a wide plain of some miles in breadth.

Winding round in a broken ridge to the west, they again form a higher, more marked, and broken range opposite to Meeaday.

They are, throughout, composed of sandstones and shaly beds, of the same general character as those which I have on a previous occasion* described as forming the ridges to the south of Thayet-myo.

From this the wooded and irregular hills extend along close to the river, on the west bank, up to Zounggyandoung, our first night's anchorage.

On the eastern bank the country is less elevated and undulating; narrow flats, richly clothed with vegetation, here and there extending between the river and the hills. Sharply marked ridges of sandstone stretch away from the river at Zounggyandoung to the west; some of these beds are calcareous, and full of shells; but the majority are gritty sandstones, open-grained, and but slightly indurated, with alternating beds of a more clayey deposit, generally of a bluish tint.

This ridge continues to hug the river-bank until near Maloon, whence it recedes to the

* Selections from *Records of Government of India*, No. x.

west, and a belt of champaign country intervenes between it and the river, in which is situate the present station of the Governor of the district, the village of Men'hla, on a flat and gravelly soil.

Thus far the channel of the river is well-defined and not very wide (1200 to 1400 yards), with frequently steep and wooded banks; but, passing Mengoon, while the ground on the east of the river still continues elevated, and the banks high and decided, to the west the river expands and assumes a lake-like character, is studded with numerous islands, and spreads from two to five miles in width. Behind these plains, the elevated ground continues to extend as far as Memboo, a little above and opposite to Magwé, whence a wide alluvial plain, extending from ten to fifteen miles between the river and the outer spurs of the great Aracan mountains, continues as far north as nearly opposite to Pugàn, where another ridge, to which we shall have to refer again, approaches the river-bank.

Just above Men'hla, on the west bank of the river, a high cliff of soft reddish sandstone projects boldly into the river, crowned by a small pagoda on the very edge of its precipitous face, the warm colouring of the ruddy rock contrasting beautifully with the dense foliage of the rich woods around. On the opposite side of the river, in approaching Mengoo-oong, the small ridges of elevated ground stand out well-defined against the sky; the unequal hardness of the alternating beds of sandstone and shales giving rise to a curiously regular succession of inclined beds, all dipping to the north and east, Mengoo-oong itself being situated on a bank of stiff reddish clay, resting upon sands and gravels.

Passing Magwé, we first observe the commencement of a remarkable change in the general character of the east bank of the river. From this, northwards for many miles, the level and flat country which I have noticed, as seen about Magwé, is replaced by a succession of deep ravines and water-courses, which cut through the soft beds of sand and pebbly gravels. The softness of these renders them very easily worn away; and a succession of these gullies comes down to the water's edge, deeply indenting the otherwise straight and almost perpendicular cliff, which constitutes the main bank of the river.

This bank is steep and high (100 to 170 feet), and the peculiar undulating surface of the grassy slopes above, with the marked profile of the cliff overhanging the river, and the deep tints of the rich foliage in the ravines, form many beautiful scenes. Along here fossilized wood occurs on the banks, and not unfrequently of considerable size, washed out of the sand and gravel of which the cliffs are formed. This remarkable raviny character of the bank is not, however, fully seen until the village of Muggeebìn is passed. Here the full force of the current has come against the rock, and exposed a tolerably good section, showing a succession of clayey sands, of sands and pebbly sands. Frequently intercalated masses or irregular lenticularly-shaped beds of a hard calcareous sandstone occur, and occasionally of a dense ferruginous conglomerate.

But the great mass of the cliffs is of a greyish or yellowish-grey sand, or clayey sand, abounding in laminæ of false-bedding, and obviously the result of a very irregular deposition. The face of the cliff is pierced by countless swallow-holes or nests. Over all this ground the trees are small, stunted, and scattered, and the whole country looks parched, arid, and poor. Around the villages, at the mouths of the small creeks and streams, some large, well-grown timber (semul, mango, tal palm, &c.), is seen; but the general aspect is that of a very sparsely-covered grassy plain, with deep and nearly precipitous ravines.

Between the villages of Kaushiyat and Theetabwé, the undulations of the surface become less sudden and marked, the swelling slopes more easy, and the ravines less deep. This character continues past the village of Shadaing, and appears to be partly due to the presence of a thick bed of ferruginous sandstone, under the clays and sands of the cliffs, which has

resisted the erosion. This is not the ferruginous pebbly conglomerate, which appears to continue along here near to the base of the cliff, but a fine sandstone, with a few white quartzy pebbles, imbedded in a red cementing sand. Upon it rests the ordinary yellowish blue clay.

This character partially continues to Sit-tha-bo-glè, but between the latter village and Yenangyoung, the cliffs are much intersected by small ravines and water-courses.

It is only in the low holm-like little valleys that trees are seen, where the percolation of the moisture from the river-banks affords sustenance to the roots. On the hill tops nothing larger than a shrub can be traced,—everything is stunted and parched. Euphorbias grow luxuriantly, and indicate the hot and thirsty soil of the district, while a thinly-scattered coating of grass barely relieves the arid grey of the whole surface.

A stoppage of a couple of days at Yenangyoung gave an opportunity of visiting the well-known Petroleum or earth-oil wells which occur in its vicinity, and of seeing a little more of the country than the rapid progress of a steamer could elsewhere admit of.

Along the river-banks, the lower portion of the cliff is composed of regularly laminated sands and clayey sands, so little indurated as scarcely to deserve the name of sandstones. Many of the beds are slightly calcareous, and abound in calcareo-concretionary masses of the most varied shapes and forms, many, at first sight, very deceptive, and looking exceedingly like organic structures. The general bedding of the mass is quite regular; but each layer or bed abounds in oblique lamination, and often of a most complicated kind. A few pebbly seams occur, and occasionally a thin layer of ferruginous sand, cemented into a plate of ferruginous gravel, or a thin layer of the peroxide of iron. The whole series dips with considerable regularity to the south-west, at angles from 25° to 30°. Numerous deep ravines cut through these soft beds, and the fallen masses on either side assume the most fantastic outlines. Some look like the lofty turrets of some great fortress, others are scarped into successive ledges or terraces, and all are devoid of anything like verdure.

Over all these beds, but not continuously, is a layer of red gravel, abounding in white, quartzy pebbles, generally loosely aggregated and incoherent, but occasionally cemented into a hard and very dense ferruginous conglomerate. This conglomerate occurs irregularly in layers and patches in the mass, and often projects from the face of the cliff a foot or more.

The position of this gravel, which does not occur continuously on all the summits, is easily traceable, from the marked difference in colour between it and the sandy beds below. The latter are of a greyish white, the gravel of a deep ochre, or rust-red. In this gravel here, I found the broken femur of an elephant imbedded in the mass, and some fragments of tortoise bones. Numerous fragments of silicified wood occur in it also, but the great masses, which are numerous, occur in the beds below. Many of these are of great size. One that we saw was three feet four inches in diameter, and more than four feet six inches long. It was endogenous, and had become highly charged with iron. The upper portion of the country here, where out of the immediate influence of the water-courses, is more level and less cut up, forming a general flat about 160 feet above the then (August) level of the river Irawadi.

The earth-oil wells are all within a circuit of a few miles of Yenangyoung, and lie principally in two groups, the most productive and valuable being near the village of Twengoung. Some are along the slopes of the deep water-courses, others on the flat at top. One of these water-courses, which extends from the wells to the Irawadi, gave a tolerable section of the rocks of the district, although the frequent falling in of the soft beds here and there breaks up the continuity. The series consists of one succession of beds of sand and clay, seldom indurated into sandstone as a mass, although with frequent intercalation of nodular beds, or irregularly arranged layers of large concretions which form interrupted beds.

In the immediate vicinity of the wells these beds are nearly horizontal, and are, as a whole, clayey, with sandy layers. These clays are of a bluish-gray colour, flaky, and with very small and imperfect carbonaceous markings. In general, the lamination is very thin, and is shown by successive alternations of clay and sand, frequently so thin and so numerous, that from fifty to eighty occur in the thickness of an inch.

Where the sand predominates, this, of course, is not the case, and then the layers become thicker and more marked. In places, these shaly beds are of a darker tint, and even blackish.

Imbedded in these are many small irregular patches of coaly matter, obviously the remains of mineralised fragments of wood, which had been deposited in the silty drift, and subsequently fossilized.

Portions of this are a true jet coal, with a brilliant lustre, and perfectly conchoidal fracture; other parts are powdery, friable, and like charcoal; and every intermediate state may be seen. In conjunction with these little seams and patches of coaly matter, there is invariably a thick inflorescence of sulphur, giving a strong and well-marked colour to all about it. Traces of this may be seen in many other parts also, where not in connexion with the small patches of coal; but in nine cases out of ten, this development of sulphur occurs in connexion with the appearance of the coal. Seams of sulphate of lime (selenite) occur in the shales or sandy layers along with this sulphur; both in regular seamy layers, and in thin veins ramifying through the mass, and filling up every little crack and crevice.

Near the surface, but not traceable at a few inches from the exposed surface, nitrate of lime is formed abundantly on the face of the rocks, and produces most beautiful groups of silky, acicular crystals.

In these shaly beds are also many nodular concretions of earthy calcareous texture, which are interesting as having, in almost every instance, an outer coating of what appears to be identically the same material as to composition as the mass within, but having beautifully developed that peculiar structure known as "cone in cone." This occurs all round the nodule, and not only on one side. The sandstones are chiefly thin-bedded, and regularly laminated; few much indurated, but some of the layers are of a bluish-gray tint, very close-grained, and calcareo-magnesian.

These on exposure weather to a brownish-yellow colour. This variety occurs principally with the gypsum, and among the layers small ramifying veins of the selenite may be seen.

The gypsum seldom attains a greater thickness than one inch, and is often much less, although the seams are numerous and tolerably persistent. It is beautifully transparent and pure.

Passing down from the wells towards the Irawadi, very similar rocks form the ascending series. There is a tendency to dip towards the south-west, but nothing very marked, the group being on the whole nearly horizontal, although rolled and slightly disturbed. In several places along the banks of the water-course the petroleum is seen actually oozing out from the rock, and in one place, it is very clearly seen to come out along the walls of a crack or break, which has been filled up with calcareous sand, along the surfaces of which the petroleum issues. There is no dislocation or shifting of the beds, but it looks simply like a crack, which has been subsequently filled. Its direction is 30° south of east, and it is nearly vertical. Other faults are seen which are accompanied by down-throws to the west (in one case of twenty feet, in another of seven feet). These head 30° to 35° to the west of south, and underlie slightly to the west 85°.

Proceeding westwards, or towards the Irawadi, we find the rock dipping to the south-west, at angles, at first of from 10° to 15°, but subsequently increasing to 25°. The series, in ascending, becomes less and less an intermixed group of clays and sands, but forms definite beds of shales and sandstones, often of considerable thickness.

The sands are frequently false-bedded, and the clays more clunchy than below; seams of ferruginous pebbly beds occur, although not abundantly.

Still ascending in the series, thin layers of calcareous hard sandstone, which ring under the hammer, occur mixed with the softer clays and sandstones, and higher up some patches of shelly calcareous sandstone.

The enclosed shells are rarely perfect, the whole being one mass of small comminuted ragments of shells, cemented with a hard sandy matrix. These patches are, however, rare, and the series is, as a whole, singularly unfossiliferous. The sandstones are here more solid, thicker bedded, and harder; and this character continues for a thickness of about 300 feet. Above these, we find another series of soft, sandy beds, with a few clayey layers; but the prevailing character is a soft whitish gray sand, constantly obliquely laminated, and in fine and thin layers. A few coarser and pebbly beds occur, and occasionally a thin bed of clayey shale or silt.

This upper portion of the series is eminently sandy, while the lower portion, or that with which the petroleum is found associated, is clayey.

Over all there is the same ferruginous quartz gravel seen near the river, and from this numerous fragments of silicified wood, often of great size, have been rolled into the ravines, and strew the bed of the stream. In an attempt to estimate the thickness of the series here seen, the frequent disturbances which occur, although in no one locality great or very distinct, most materially affect the accuracy of any calculations. These rocks are seen in the directions of the dip for more than three miles, and the average dip may be taken as 20° to 25°. This would give a thickness of about 5500 feet; but from estimation of the thickness of the several groups into which the whole series may be divided, I am satisfied that there is nothing like this amount, and that the aggregate thickness of the whole, as far down as the group of beds yielding the petroleum, does not give a total of more than 2300 to 2500 feet.

From Yenan-gyoung towards Menleng hill (Manlan of Crawfurd) similar rocks are seen, covered, as to the north, by the same ferruginous gravel, and with abundance of silicified wood spread over them.

The country is of the same general outline also, formed of a plateau of tolerably level and flat country, intersected by numerous deep and irregular ravines. The whole has obviously been originally a great flat or elevated plateau, which has subsequently been eaten into and degraded by the action of surface-water; and this has, moreover, been the result of causes which have taken effect subsequently to the country having assumed its present general outline and conformation. The beds of sandstone below the gravel are seen planed back to a perfect level, and on their upraised edges, and resting trangressively on this flat surface, are the ferruginous gravel and conglomerate beds in which the bones are found.

a. Gravel. b. Sandstone.

Fig. 39.

As shown in the sketch, the gravel is not continuous, but is frequently absent; and, in such cases, its absence is, I think, clearly the result of a subsequent removal, and not of original irregularity in the deposit.

Menleng hill-top is composed of earthy calcareous beds of sandstone, which on the

weathered surfaces has a yellow ochry tint, but when fresh-broken is of a blue gray colour. The softer varieties of it are used for cutting into pipe-bowls.

This rests upon a ferruginous breccia, or partly angular conglomerate, the principal components of which are ferruginous nodules of small size, quartz pebbles, much rounded, and small nodular pieces of indurated clay slightly worn: little bits of blackish shale, and hard jaspery quartz also occur. These form a nearly horizontal cap on the hill, resting upon thick beds of blue clay or shale, not very finely laminated, but rather clunchy or lumpy, with veins of sulphate of lime through them, and associated with soft sandstones, sands, and clays, in thin and regularly alternating layers, all dipping at considerable angles to the south-west, and very similar to the beds seen near the petroleum wells.

I did not find the bed containing *Cyrenæ*, which Crawfurd mentions having seen near this (and from his account this deposit seems to have been quite local). But the interrupted continuity of the breccia or conglomerate can be traced near the summit of the hills at the other side of the ravine, which passes close to Menleng on the north. The same beds can be traced continuously (with slight intervals) for some distance along the top of the hills, and in them can be found many fragments of fossil bones.

In these rocks there are two well-marked series of joints, which dice up the mass into very regular, lozenge-shaped pieces of tolerably equal size. These head east 10° north (principal series), and east 70° south (secondary series). Both are nearly vertical. The beds have a slight dip to the south-west, nowhere more than 5°.

The top of Menleng is approximately 270 feet above the level of the Irawadi at Yenan-gyoung, the general level of the plateau from which it rises being about 160 feet.

Proceeding from Menleng, southwards to Nyaonghla, and thence to Theetabwè, a village about a mile and a quarter below Yenan-gyoung, no trace of these ferruginous breccias can be seen. After leaving the high grounds nothing occurs but fine sandstones and clays, sands and sandstones, however, predominating, and all preserving the same general dip to the south-west, at angles varying from 20° to 35°. There is obviously a great deal of disturbance; but the country is much covered; and to trace out these dislocations would require a much more minute and detailed examination than our time admitted. Simultaneously with the disappearance of the ferruginous breccias, the fossil bones and fossil wood ceased to occur also. Though not occurring behind or more inland, there is a broken stretch of this conglomerate, capping the hillocky ridges which skirt the Irawadi south from Yenan-gyoung to Theetabwè, and on to near Wetmasot, and in it fossilized bones are found.*

* As would naturally be expected, these bones are very irregularly distributed, and occasionally are found in great numbers, while again months will elapse without a single specimen being discovered. From all the accounts of the Burmans whole carcases appear to have been imbedded, and when it so happens that the wearing away of the beds in which they occur exposes these, "cartloads," as the natives said, are found together, nearly in a heap. At other times few or none appear. The bones, when fallen from their natural position, are rapidly broken up by friction against the pebbles in the water-courses, and scattered in small fragments perfectly undistinguishable. Frequently the broken pieces of a single bone will be found close together at the base of the cliff from which they have fallen, and been broken by the fall; and if the collector happen to meet them in this way, the fragments can be readily united; but the first shower that falls washes some portions away, and the rest are left detached, broken and useless. We were unfortunate also, as far as a collection of the specimens was concerned, in the period of the year. All those which had been exposed by the degrading forces of the rains preceding had been long removed, and the season of destruction of the cliff was only commencing. Further, the river was now nearly at its highest level, and the whole of the sloping bank on which such specimens would rest was covered. I had looked forward to a few days' further exploration of this very interesting neighbourhood on the return of the embassy, but more important business compelled Major Phayre to hurry down to Rangoon. During the two days we remained there, we found about one hundred fragments and specimens. Major Allen, who was a most zealous and able fellow-worker on this, and all such occasions, picked up a capital rhinoceros' tooth, &c.; and from the natives we procured some good specimens of mastodon, &c., and one tolerably good skull of an animal allied to, if not, *Merycopotamus*. And on our return to

All along the bank there is a great accumulation of strangely fantastic calcareous concretions of every possible form, which have become detached from the beds of sand above, and heaped up at the base of the cliff. Many of these might readily be mistaken for horns, bones, &c., and have, I believe, been frequently collected as such fossils.*

This may be a suitable place to make a few remarks on the abundance of the supply of the valuable product, earth-oil or petroleum. No absolute section of any of their wells could be obtained. In all cases they are carefully timbered up as the sinking proceeds, and this is continued from the top to the very bottom, so that no examination of the sides of a well or pit could be made. The soft and yielding nature of the materials through which the sinkings are made renders this necessary. And where they have not been successful in their adventure, or when the well or pit seems to be exhausted, all the timbering is removed again, and the whole allowed to fall in.

According to the natives, after passing through the sandstones and shales, visible at the surface and in the ravines adjoining, they sink through what they call a "black soil," or "black rock."

This, they say, is about ten feet in thickness, and is obviously their name for the dark bluish-gray or blackish shales, or clunchy clays.

Under this they cut through a yellow soil, and from this they state that the petroleum issues. Between the black and the yellow rocks there is commonly, although not always, a greenish bed, oily, and strongly impregnated with petroleum; and this, in all probability, is nothing but the ordinary shaly clay, charged with the oil.

The "yellow soil" I fancy to be clayey beds, from which, or on which, sulphur has been segregated or thrown out, as an efflorescence.

The wells are put down vertically. They are square or rectangular in section, and about four feet six inches on each side.

Over each well a cross-beam, supported on staunchions at either side, is placed, and on the centre of this is a small wooden drum or cylinder, over which the rope, used in hauling up the oil, passes.

A common earthenware gurrah, or pot, is attached to the rope, and, being lowered, is allowed partially to fill by sinking into the oil below, and is then drawn up by a man or men, who walk with the rope down an inclined plane at the side of the well. The oil thus raised is poured into another pot, or into a small basin excavated close to the well-mouth, and from this is packed into gurrahs for conveyance to the village for shipment. Each cart conveys from ten to twelve gurrahs, each gurrah holding about ten viss of the oil, or, on the average, 100 viss (365 lbs.) on each cart. The oil is raised only in the morning, and, the quantity which each well is known by experience to give having been raised, the work then ceases, and the oil is allowed to accumulate during twenty-four hours. On the following morning the process is repeated. The petroleum, when first extracted, has in mass a peculiar yellowish green colour, is watery more than oily, and of the consistence of ordinary cream.

From some of these wells 400 viss (1416 lbs.) are extracted daily; one which we saw had, according to the statements of the natives, yielded this large amount daily for some months, and

the village, the Myo-thoogyi, or chief man of the village, had got together a couple of small baskets filled with specimens which he had procured from the district of Yeo, at the opposite side of the river.

The inhabitants do not appear to place any value upon these fossils.

If they meet with a peculiarly well-marked one, a skull,—a jaw,—teeth, &c., they pick it up and bring it home, frequently to become a plaything for their children, frequently to be converted into a substitute for weights. Major Phayre very kindly endeavoured to interest the head man of the district in the matter; and I have strong hopes that we may be able to obtain from him many things useless to him, but of extreme interest to the Geologist.

* This has certainly been the case near Prome, and was also partially so with former visitors to Yenan-gyoung.

from it this quantity had that morning been taken. Others, again, only yield sixty viss, or less; while not unfrequently, after large expenditure in sinking and reaching what they consider the proper soil of the petroleum, the well will prove a failure and yield none. The wells* are in two principal groups, as mentioned above, which are nearly two miles apart. They have been sunk indifferently on the slopes of the deep ravines, and from the level plateau on top. They do not occur in any particular line or direction; there is nothing to point to the occurrence of any fault or disturbance, along the line of which the petroleum might issue, and the varying depths of the wells themselves, according to their position (those on the top of the plateau being, in all cases, deeper than those on the slope of the hill-side, and this, approximately, in the same ratio as the surface of the ground is higher in one place than in the other), indicate a tolerable horizontality in the source of supply. This is a question of considerable importance; for if it be the case that one bed or layer of peculiar mineral character is the source of the petroleum, the probability, nay, I would say the certainty, is, that the supply must be gradually diminishing. I could not learn that the number of the wells has been increased lately, while the demand for the product has increased more than fourfold, and is daily increasing. These facts are sufficient to account fully for the greatly enhanced price of the oil. The ordinary price of the petroleum, previously to the British annexation of Pegu, was, at the village of Yenan-gyoung, from 10 annas to 14 annas per 100 viss. It has since increased from 1 rupee to 1-8; and an agent for a mercantile house at Rangoon, who was there at the time of our visit, stated that he had to pay even so much as 2 rupees 4 annas for 100 viss. At Rangoon, the price used to be from 2 rupees to 2-8; it now is never less than 5 rupees, and has been so high as 25 rupees per 100 viss. An export duty of 10 per cent is now charged on this oil. The Burmese government charge also 3 per cent. Under the former system, it is stated that the charges, including the established douceurs to brokers, &c., were not less. In number, the wells were stated by the head-man of the village to be about 200; others said, 100. *They certainly do not exceed in number* 200. The well, which yielded 400 viss per diem, was shown to us as a remarkable one; others were acknowledged to yield only 60 viss; and I think there was a general tendency in our informants to swell the amount rather than diminish it. The average yield of the whole, therefore, must be much less than it was estimated to be by Mr. Crawfurd. Very careful inquiries convinced me that the average could not be more than 180 viss from each well per diem. This would give (allowing that there may be 200 wells at work, which I consider beyond the truth) a total of 36,000 viss per day. If we take the working days as 300 in the year (which again is, I think, above the truth, considering the number of holy days, &c., in which a Burman revels), this would give a total produce annually of 10,800,000 viss. Deducting from this 1-20th as an allowance for waste, breakage of gurrahs, loss of boats, &c., we should have 10,800,000—540,000=10,260,000, *i. e.* ten millions and one quarter viss as the net available produce per annum.†

Another mode of arriving at the annual produce is, to take the number of carts employed

* One of the wells on the top of the plateau has a depth of 180 cubits (royal cubits = 22 inches), and they range from 140 to 180, or from 250 to 330 feet; while those on the slope of the hill vary from 100 to 60 cubits, according to position, or from 180 to 110 feet, while the bed of the stream or watercourse is from 120 to 130 feet below the level of the plateau.

† Mr. Crawfurd endeavours to arrive at an estimate of the population of the country from the average consumption per family of this oil. If his estimate of consumption be at all correct, and that a family use 30 viss annually, the above amount would only give a supply for 342 families, or for about 1,700,000 individuals, not one-half of what he estimated. But all such calculations are fallacious in the extreme.

[It will be seen that Mr. Oldham's estimate here is considerably greater than that to which Major Phayre's inquiries led, which is stated in Chapter I. But the next paragraph in the text indicates that some reduction in Mr. Oldham's calculation is probably necessary.—*Y.*]

daily in the conveying of the oil to the point of shipment, and multiply this by the average load of each. Now, we could not ascertain that there were more than 150 carts so engaged, if so many. The average load of each of these is 100 viss, and taking, as before, 300 days' work, we should have $100 \times 150 \times 300$, only 4,500,000 viss annually, not one-half of what was stated to us.

We have above calculated from the number of wells, as given by the Burmese themselves; I am convinced, however, that the number given is above the fact. I could not see any reason to believe that in the larger group there were more than eighty, and in the smaller or southern group more than fifty wells actually yielding petroleum; the amount obtained from the wells of the southern group is also much less than that from the northern wells. It is also inferior in quality. In any view, either the produce has diminished most materially since Mr. Crawfurd's visit, or he very much over-estimated it from erroneous data. I fancy that both these causes have combined to render his estimate too high at present.

These wells are, each singly, or a group of a few wells close together, the property of different individuals. In some cases they are a source of large and continuous profit; in others unsuccessful trials, which are not unfrequent, absorb all the profit, and even ruin the adventurer. One of these pits costs from 1500 to 1800 Rs.—a large sum for such men to risk. Each family or individual has certain tolerably well acknowledged limits, within which their rights of property are confined, but questions of boundary are a source of constant litigation; the opening of a successful well close to the supposed boundary generally leading to a discussion of these limits, and to long and angry disputes. The temperature of some of the oil, drawn up quickly from a depth of 270 feet, was 90·00°, the air being 79·25° at the time, or a difference of 10·75°. This temperature would appear to indicate a deeper source for the petroleum than the bed from which it actually issues. The mean temperature for the day of observation (August 15) was 81·50; the average mean temperature for several days preceding and following would give 82·00. If, therefore, we take this as the temperature of the surface, and suppose that the line of no-variation is 60 feet beneath the surface, and that the regular increase of temperature below that is nearly the average, as established from observations elsewhere, viz. 1° for every 70° feet, we should have a temperature due to 270 feet of only (roughly) 3° higher than the surface temperature, whereas the actual increase observed was 8°, an increase which, at the same ratio, would correspond to a depth of about 600 feet, and not 270. If, again, we take the mean annual temperature of this place, calculating this by the ordinary formula ($51° 5' \times \cos. l$, l=latitude of the place being in this case 20° 2′ north) as 48·5, we shall find that the increase, taking the same data as before, would indicate a depth of 2870 feet (roughly). I do not, however, believe that this reasoning could be admitted as against the other clear proofs, that the supply is actually from the beds from which the oil issues; and this increase of temperature must be considered as due to the chemical changes which are in progress in these beds, resulting in the production of the petroleum from the vegetable matter imbedded in the rocks. I shall have to refer to other instances in which petroleum is found to occur.

Leaving Yenan-gyoung, the steamer skirted the left bank of the river, under a succession of ravine-intersected cliffs of sands and sandstones, like those to the south of the village. At about 2½ miles from Yenan-gyoung (the small villages of Poungado and of Thengyoung lying between), the large town of Peen-kyoung is situated at the mouth of a stream which is said to have a considerable length of course. Passing this, the general aspect of the country changes very materially. We lose the steep bluffs of sandstone, and there is a great stretch of long swelling country, more richly cultivated and more covered with wood, though still by no means thickly or luxuriantly. As far, however, as the eye can reach, fences and cultivation can be traced, and along the river-bank villages are more numerous, and apparently more comfortable.

About a mile beyond this some low cliffs of loose sands and gravels (never more than forty feet high) are exposed. The layers are horizontal, and very irregularly developed. A few small patches of ferruginous conglomeritic gravel occur, but, as a whole, these deposits are not ferruginous, and are but loosely coherent. In many places along here fine trees clothe the bank, and many beautifully picturesque groups are seen casting their deep shadows over the smooth and glassy waters of the Irawadi. Occasionally undulating dry swells of the ground (as at Shen-byen-sa-gyo, with its picturesque group of ruins), based on loose gravels, intervene.

The same general character of country continues to beyond Silleh-myo, with great flats of river alluvium here and there. Above Silleh-myo, on the right or west bank of the river, is the handsome and flourishing-looking village of Zeik-phyo, with its richly gilt and beautifully situated pagodas, at the termination of a small range of hills, which stretch away northwards and westwards for some miles. Opposite to this small cliffs (ten to twenty feet) of reddish gravelly clay occur along the river-bank, and form the termination of a low swelling country, composed of undulating and rolling plains, stretching away for miles to the eastward, and gradually rising in that direction.

Passing Peema-kyoung, this plain country is replaced by a succession of ridgy hills, of no great elevation, but forming a peculiar serrated outline, from the successive outcropping of the harder beds among the softer sands and clays. The beds dip to south and west, at angles of 12° to 15°, and give a succession of long and sloping ridges with steep and sudden falls.

All are bare or very sparsely wooded ; a few stunted shrubs being the only vegetation scattered over them, excepting the euphorbia, which luxuriates, as usual, in the aridity which destroys everything else. This southerly dip continues for a couple of miles (about a mile and-a-half beyond Seengoo-oong), then the rocks suddenly become horizontal for a little way, and then dip in the opposite direction at high angles (40° to 60°), averaging 45° to the north-east. This continues to the point of Seengoo-oong, where a broad river-bed marks the entrance of a torrent.

The series of rocks here is composed of blue clays and sands, with occasional hard and calcareous layers with fossils. The whole group is very similar to that seen at Prome, and contains similar fossils—conus, voluta, turritella, astarte, venus, pecten, mytilus, balanus, corals, crustacea, &c. &c.

Above Seengoo-oong the country, immediately adjoining the river, is low, flat, and churry, the country behind being formed of undulating plains, rising gradually as they recede from the river, and tolerably well clothed with timber, the small and stunted size of which, however, indicates the arid nature of the soil. Large groves of palmyra palms occur along here, generally in the vicinity of the villages.

From this, and stretching away towards Pagán, past the village of Thekyo-goung, there are many low churs and islands in the river, until the southern termination of the Tang-gyi range, which faces Pagán, appears.

The once-populous and important town of Pagán, with its countless ruined temples and buildings, stands upon a high bank or flat, consisting of soft earthy sands and pebbly layers, occasionally cemented by lime, and then forming concretionary masses or pseudo-stalactitic concretions. The pebbly layers are generally ferruginous, and cemented by the peroxide of iron into hard conglomerates, which, on the exposed face of the steep bank, often stand out boldly from the general surface, the softer beds being washed away. This conglomerate occurs in two or three distinct beds or layers, which, however, are not continuous, dying out and again coming in after an interval. A few fragments of fossilized bones were seen here. The same character prevails for some miles along the river-banks, from the bold and commanding

point of Logahnundah,* upwards past the old and present town of Pagán. From Logahnundah there is an excellent view of the Tang-gyi range of hills, crowned by the Pagoda on their summit. Bare, or very thinly wooded, their tops slope away gradually to the south-west, in a succession of lines parallel to each other, while bold craggy scarps face the east. At their base, an irregular and broken talus is formed of the numerous fallen masses and water-worn débris of the rocks above.

These hills, the Tang-gyi or Dang-gyi range, are composed of a series of shales of bluish-gray colour, with thin but tolerably regular beds of sandstone intercalated; above which comes a succession of thin-bedded sandstones, with thin partings of shales or clays, but no great or marked deposit of clays. This sandy character is persistent to the top and back towards the west. The thick beds of blue clay or shale form about one-third of the total height of the hill; the sandstones, the remaining two-thirds; the hill being altogether, approximately, 1100 feet above the river level. Near the summit there is a thick mass of sandstone (forty feet) which forms a marked scarp under the temple.†

Along the more level ground at the base of the hills, near the river, the rocks are composed of bluish calcareous sandstones, weathering of a yellow tint, slightly dolomitic, and associated with bluish clays or shales, and some more gritty layers. These all dip outwards from the hill, or north-east, at high angles, and the hard gritty layers, standing up boldly from the degraded surface of the softer rocks, often give rise to picturesque and striking scenery.

Above, in the hill-side, the succession of rocks is very regular: they all dip conformably from the scarp of the hill at angles from 12° to 15° to the south of west (west 20° to 30° south). This change in the position of the beds seems to be the result of a great line of faulting or anticlinal, which heads along the face of the hills in a direction north 20° to 25° west.

The continued succession and alternation of these harder and softer beds, and the low angles at which they are placed, together with the thinly covered and arid nature of the surface, owing partly to the incessant falls of portions of the rocks, and partly to the sandy and unproductive nature of the soil, give a remarkable character to the landscape, as seen from the top of the hill. A repetition of well-marked and slightly inclined lines appears on each, even more distinctly shown by the various tints which the beds assume on weathering. To the north-east of the hill is seen the immense spread of flat country, through which the Irawadi winds its course, only broken up by a few low hills on the horizon. To the east, the Thayo-wendine range is seen behind Pagán, standing up boldly from the great plains, which stretch southwards to Seengoo-oong. To the west, the Tang-gyi range drops by the successive falls of the outcropping beds into an undulating country, through which the Yeo river winds towards the south; and the same general undulating and broken jungle-clad country stretches away to the north-west and west, as far as the eye can reach.

The series of rocks forming the lower portion of these hills is obviously the same as that in which the petroleum wells at Yenan-gyoung are situated, and on examining some of the ravines here, traces of this earth-oil oozing out and impregnating the masses, may be seen in several places. It was in the continuation of these same beds, more to the south, that Wallich and Crawfurd noticed the same occurrence of this oil, at a place which I had no opportunity of visiting; and I think there can be little doubt that this petroleum will hereafter be found to

* At the Pagoda of Logahnundah, a large piece of silicified wood is suspended freely, and forms no bad substitute for a bell. There is a sharpness and shortness about its vibrations which metal has not, but the tone is good.

† In this, to the west of the temple, regular cloister-like galleries and cells have been excavated at two different levels, and are carried round the two sides of a square-terraced platform, into which the rock has been formed.

exist here in sufficient abundance to repay its extraction. In these lower beds also occur similar thin seams and layers of selenite. In the sandstones *rippling* is frequent, but in all cases rough and irregular. There is a distinct jointing, so frequent as to amount to an ill-marked cleavage, heading north 30° west, and another series at right angles to this, and nearly vertical.*

Proceeding northwards from Pagán, low cliffs of sands and pebbly beds extend along the eastern bank, broken up by many small ravines and little creeks. These sands and clays have been very irregularly deposited, and frequently present beautiful instances of false-bedding. They occasionally form almost perpendicular banks of 130 to 150 feet high. The swelling banks above are studded over with small scrubby timber, and intersected by little ravines, in which the wooding is rich and the foliage luxuriant; the deep shades of these patches of rich vegetation contrasting beautifully with the warm tints of the steep banks.

A short distance above Nyaoungoo the banks become low and wooded, at first, studded at intervals with scattered palms, and afterwards with large groves. Little villages are embosomed among the trees, and the tall and graceful roofs of the poongyi houses shoot up their pretty minarets among the dark foliage. Low banks (ten to twelve feet) of bluish clay are here and there exposed by the cutting back of the river, but the whole country is low, and like a great delta. The river-channel also becomes broken up by low grassy islands. Behind, at some distance, the country rises into a series of waving, wooded hills of no great elevation, long swelling undulations, all covered with cultivation.

This low wooded and delta-like character stretches to the north here for many miles past Koonyuwa, Meengyàn, Samaik-gon, Yandaboo, &c., and is the result of the great deposits formed by the junction of the Kyen-dwen river with the Irawadi.

The river winds through a succession of islands and sandbanks, occasionally sufficiently raised above the floods to be inhabited and wooded. The old bank of the river, that is, the high and permament bank of the Irawadi, marking the extreme limit of its variations in channel, can be traced along behind these flats, and is marked by a line of villages and a few spires, while still farther eastward the ground rises with a swelling broken outline. The banks are covered with immense groves of palmyra palms (cultivated for the manufacture of sugar), or assume a more open, park-like character, with lofty trees; and the whole country, as far as seen, is very much richer and more fertile than any part between this and the British boundary.

Passing Samaikgon (where the extraction of saltpetre is largely carried on) the channel of the river, still studded with islands, gradually becomes more defined. Moung-gway is seen in the distance behind, and, the villages of Saypadaine, Gnahzoon, Yajinna, passed, a long reach of the river through finely timbered country, with gently undulating and cultivated hills behind, brought us to Kyouktaloung, where these hills come down to the river-bank.

They acquire the comparative importance which they possess only from their contrast with the great extent of level ground about, for nowhere do they rise more than 100 feet above the river-level. They form a series of small flat-topped hillocks, with steep ravines between, composed of yellowish-gray shaly clays, with yellow earthy sandstones, all dipping to west by north at 15°: a few of the layers are hard and calcareous, but the majority are loosely coherent, and soft and earthy. I saw no fossils.

The country behind, formed on these rocks, is a broken flat, the tops of the higher grounds

* The Pagoda of Tang-gyi is said to mark the spot where Gaudama stood, and looking down on the wide plains of Pagán beneath him, foretold the future grandeur and glory of the capital which there would arise; and, indeed, it needed not much inspiration to see the favourable situation of that town for the general trade of the river.

This Pagoda is still much frequented, and a regularly paved, though now much broken, pathway leads to it from the village below.

being nearly level along the strike of the harder beds, and then intersected by deep glens running with the strike of the softer beds, which have been removed.

At a short distance to the north and east these rocks are all reversed, and dip to the east, as far as time allowed me to see, by a general anticlinal stretching away back from the river.

The whole country, seen from the higher grounds, looks arid, parched, and barren. The sandy, dry, and yellow soil peeps out all over, and is scarcely hidden by the stunted and half-grown brushwood and coppice, which is sparsely scattered over it. Not a tree is to be seen for miles together, not even a shrub taller than a man. In the dry weather, I fancy that the whole of this raised district must be barren-looking to a degree that can scarcely be realised from its present state (during the rains).

The open porous soil cannot possibly retain any moisture, and every blade of grass and every leaf must be withered and scorched.

Advancing from Kyouktaloung, the successive ranges of hills to the east of the capital rise into view. The river is more defined in its channel, although a few low islands are scattered along. Low hills stretch along the horizon, behind the flooded banks of the river, and groves of palms still mark the dry grounds.

Passing Lepanzing, the huge tope-like pagoda of Koungmhoodhau is seen in the flats on the right bank of the river, and shortly afterwards the ruined walls and buildings of the old capital, Ava, come into view. Scarcely a single building of any size now remains, with the exception of one large pagoda, which had been repaired and renewed by the present King's predecessor. Opposite to Ava, and placed under the flanks of the Tsagaing hills, is the once populous and important capital of Tsagaing, now but a small and unimportant place. The old walls remain, but are greatly broken and ruined. The Tsagaing range of hills stretches for miles north and south, the southerly termination of the ridge meeting the river at the town of Tsagaing: exactly opposite to it is the rocky promontory of Shue-kyet-ret, and between these two points the channel of the Irawadi is narrowed to 800 yards, while both above and below these points the channel widens greatly, and is studded with sandbanks and islands.

The average elevation of the Tsagaing ridge is not more than 500 feet, with some points rising to 750. It is much broken up by small ravines and watercourses; the surface is very bare, covered only with a few stunted coppice-shrubs, and a very scanty herbage. The rocks are gneissose and hornblendic, with a thick run of limestone beds associated with them. The lower beds are micaceous-gneiss thinly foliated, and intercalated with other beds, which are hornblendic. These are also traversed by many veins of pure quartz; above these comes a series of beds of limestone, highly crystalline, and in parts beautifully white and saccharine marble; but the majority of the beds are of a bluish tint, and flaky, owing to the occurrence of thin laminæ, rendered easily divisible by plates or scales of white metallic-looking mica along the planes. These beds can be traced along the top of the ridge for miles.

Above the limestone come gneissose rocks again, more massive than those below, and of a pseudo-granitic character, abounding in feldspar, with blackish mica. The whole series is traversed by many veins of quartz, with specks of mica and small crystals of feldspar through it (a granite, in fact, although almost pure quartz). In other places the quartz veins are speckled with small crystals of oxide of iron, which decompose and give the mass a spotted look.

From the marble beds along this ridge much fine stone could be had: it is, however, not quarried for such purposes; all the marble used in their sculptured images, &c., being brought from the marble hills about thirty-five miles north of the capital, where this white marble has been obtained from time immemorial. This rock at Tsagaing is used largely for lime, the kilns being situated at the southern end of the range, and their supplies of stone obtained from the rugged scarp of the hill just above. From the admixture of siliceous matter with the limestone

(as no care is taken in the selection of blocks), but all, as quarried out of the face of the hill, is thrown into the kiln, much glassy clinker is formed ; but the lime produced is of very good quality and colour. The promontory of Shue-kyet-ret, opposite to Tsagaing, on the left bank of the river, is also composed of similar rocks, the bedding of the limestone and general arrangement being marked by layers of gneissose rocks intercalated. The limestone is itself also foliated by thin plates of mica in regular laminæ. Here, as at Tsagaing, the bedding and foliation are coincident.

Running parallel with the main ridge of the Tsagaing hills, there is a minor range, which extends in a perfectly continuous line for five or six miles, nearly due north and south from the town. It rises gradually towards the north to about 250 feet in elevation, and then terminates somewhat abruptly. Towards the south this ridge seems to be composed entirely of sands and gravels, heaped up or tailed on to the northern end of the same range, where the solid rocks (gneiss, hornblende-slates, &c.), form the greater portion of the mass. Up the glen which separates the two ridges the road to Mout-shobo proceeds. Near to the northern termination of this minor ridge a marked spur is thrown out from the main range, and nearly crosses the valley between. This is composed entirely of limestone, for the most part tolerably white, but with veins of blue limestone through it ; the beds are nearly vertical, but dip to the north at (85°), striking nearly due north (north 5° to 10° west). They stand up boldly in small mural crags along the face of the hill.

Passing northwards from this, the country between the two ridges gradually rises into a broken undulating surface, the western ridge dying away suddenly, at first by a scarp of about ninety feet, and then blending into the general slope of the country along the hill-side. The main ridge continues to be composed of gneissose and quartzose beds in thin layers, very much twisted, underlying the limestone of which the Toungbela spur is composed.

About two miles north of this spur is the village of Kyoukta, close beyond which is a small lake, the water of which is brackish. The taste is rather bitter than purely salt. A narrow neck separates it from another of about the same size, which lies to the north of it, and at the northern end of which is the larger village of Yéga (bitter water). The country about here has a remarkably sterile, bare aspect. Along the western side, the rocks are hornblendic slates, associated with bluish argillaceo-micaceous slates, very earthy, and even in parts shaly. Their colour is of a peculiar greenish blue, and they are associated with veins of a gneissose sandstone in thin beds, and some few layers of calcareous rocks. The mass of the rocks along here is, however, earthy ; still farther west, the beds are more distinctly sandy, and thicker. Limestone abounds in the main ridge to the east.

In the manufacture of the salt, the process adopted is extremely simple. A frame of wood, four to five feet square, and with sides about nine inches deep, is raised some six or seven feet from the ground on posts. This frame has a matted or straw bottom nearly flat. Below this frame two mats, or frames covered with grass (such as is used in roofing), are so placed that they meet at an angle below, and just beneath and along their line of junction a hollowed piece of timber or a split bamboo is placed, which serves as a tube to convey the liquid into gurrahs or pots placed under it at one end. Into the frame above, the surface-soil or mud of the lake-bed, previously scraped up into a heap, is thrown, and over it is poured more of the water of the lake. This gradually trickles through the matted bottom or floor of the frame, taking up with it the salt formed round the particles of mud and gravel. This brine falls on the inclined frames beneath, and is by them conveyed into the tube at the bottom, and from it collected in the pots. If very dilute, it is passed a second time through the salt mud. It is then removed and evaporated slowly in large flat iron pans or dishes (of Chinese manufacture) over a slow fire. When considerably reduced in quantity, and thus tolerably saturated, the brine is ladled

out into baskets, from which the water trickles through, leaving the salt crystallized on the sides and bottom of the basket. This water is again mixed up with fresh brine from the lake and evaporated; and so the process goes on. The refuse salt, that which remains on the iron pans after the water has been nearly all removed, and which becomes very dirty and discoloured, is used by the people of the village in curries, &c., but they cannot find sale for it.

The salt, thus prepared, sold at the time of my visit (September 1855) for two tickals, or two rupees eight annas, per 100 viss: each pan for evaporation yields daily, when at full work, about five viss, or, as there are generally two pans *at work* at the same time, ten viss per day from each house;* that is, ten days' work for two rupees eight annas, or about four annas per diem divided among all the persons employed, and to pay for firewood, evaporating dishes, &c. &c. This is wretched pay, and the people confessed that they could not support themselves by this manufacture alone, but that they cultivated some ground at the same time. During the previous year the manufacture paid very well, the price of the salt being then five-rupees per 100 viss, or double its present price. This salt, however, is not used by the wealthier classes of Burmans, the salt brought from Bassein and Rangoon being much purer and cleaner, and therefore preferred.

To the west and north-west of Yéga, the surface is broken and ridgy, composed of successive layers of sandstone-looking gneissose and earthy beds, greatly contorted and rolled, and with thin seams of hornblendic rock intercalated, which often present appearances of having been intruded as dykes. The twisting of the beds is often very sharp and sudden, as many as two or three folds occurring in the space of twenty feet. West of these the rocks become more sandy, and in thicker and more massive beds. The whole has a crystalline or pseudo-crystalline character, the beds are semigranular, semigranitoid, and not much indurated, the more clayey beds slightly micaceous, and foliated. There is no limestone with these rocks, but the cracks and fissures in them are filled up with carbonate of lime, and strewed over the surface are many fragments of the limestone of the other ridge.

North of this, and about one mile and a half to the west of the ridge of Tsagaing, traces of copper have been found in the rocks, and at various times pits have been sunk to a small depth here, with a view to the extraction of the ore. Very recently a hole had been put down about twenty feet deep and about six feet square, and this enabled the rocks to be examined.

The ore, which is the carbonate (both green and blue) occurs in thin stringy plates, coating the fissures of a hornblendic slaty rock, along the edge of a highly crystalline greenstone, which looks like a dyke. This is essentially hornblendic in composition, well and largely crystallized in structure, and solid and massive, but abounding in small cracks and fissures. In it also occur thin strings of the copper, but these are apparently confined to a space of about one foot in breadth, at the edge of this crystalline rock. Some of the picked pieces from this pit were brought to the Palace and smelted, and were stated to yield five tickals of copper in the hundred—five per cent. This may have been obtained from carefully selected fragments, but as a source of the metal to any extent, this locality is utterly devoid of value.

The ground between this and the ridge of hills is very broken and bare, and greatly cut up by water-courses and channels, the ridge rising rapidly from the uneven country to the west, and stretching away towards the north with little diminution of its general height. It forms here a narrow ridge intervening between the wide plains which stretch hence to the Kyen-dwen river, on the west, and the river Irawadi, which washes the eastern base.

Above the narrow channel between the rocky points of Tsagaing and Shue-kyet-ret the

* There are generally three pans in a house, one being used to collect the brine from the crystallizing salt, the other two for evaporation.

Irawadi again expands to a considerable extent, and its bed is divided by many and large flat low islands and churs.

These extend from this for many miles northwards (as far as Tsinguh myo), the western bank of the river, for the greater portion of that distance, being well defined and steep or rocky; while on the east there is a wide extent of flat alluvial ground, broken up here and there by small island-like ranges and hills. A few miles above Tsagaing point low bluffs, composed of pebbly conglomerates and sandstones and sands, skirt the river-bank, and continue from this, with little intermission, northwards as far as the village of That. These form a tolerably regular terrace-like flat, intersected by many watercourses in front of the high ridge of the metamorphic rocks, or between these and the river. Above the present or summer level of the river they rise above fifty feet, and, seen from a little distance, the regularity and continuity of this bluff-faced terrace is striking.

The layers of which it is composed are very irregularly deposited, and abound in oblique lamination. They vary from coarse gravel (pebbles of quartz, limestone, mica slate, granite, &c.) to a fine, and in places, even earthy sand, and locally there are thin seams of clay in fine laminæ.

Portions of fossilized wood (silicified) occur, but not abundantly.

Behind this flat rises the continuous ridge of the Tsagaing hills, its highest point, nearly due west from Mengoon, being marked by the Shuè-mindhe Pagoda. This ridge is, as towards the south, here also composed of gneissose and hornblendic rocks, with crystalline limestones intercalated, occurring in endless succession. They are much contorted and disturbed, retaining, as a mass, a dip to the north-west, but greatly rolled about. Veins of granite of varying size traverse and cut up these rocks in the most fantastic ways; and it would be scarcely possible to sketch any arrangement of veins penetrating between the folia of the rocks, crossing and separating the masses, or ramifying among the layers, which could not be paralleled in nature here.

Many of these veins are of regular ternary granite, occasionally having a general pinkish tint, from the prevalence of flesh-red feldspar, but many others are of a binary syenite, composed of quartz and hornblende in large flaky crystals; occasionally feldspar also is present. In all cases this variety seems to affect a much more largely crystalline character than the normal granite. This latter variety seems to be of a date subsequent to the other, one instance of an intersection of the two being observed; but in the absence of any quarries or openings into the rocks, the question could not be satisfactorily determined during my hurried visit. It is probable, also, that a more detailed examination will show that the results arising from the one are different from those produced by the other.

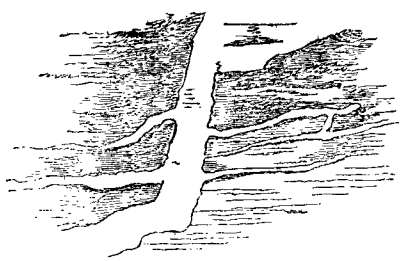


Fig. 40.

Most of the limestone is whitish, occasionally tinged with blue, but often of a beautiful statuary white, large in its crystallization, and in parts very abundant.

The top of the ridge is narrow, and the surface drops rapidly on either side, where the faces of the hills are scored deeply by ravines and watercourses, which leave narrow saddle-backed spurs between them.

The highest point of the ridge (Shuè-mindhe) is 990 feet, barometrically determined, above the level of the river.

At a very short distance above the village of That, similar rocks come down to the river-bank;

and here also several broad veins of largely crystalline granite (quartz, feldspar, and hornblende, quartz predominating) cut through the ordinary hornblendic gneissose rocks. The general direction of these latter is 30° to east of south, dipping 60° to 70° to north-west. The veins head nearly east and west.

On the eastern side of the river opposite to this is the large and populous town and district of Madèya, decidedly the richest and best cultivated portion of Burma which we visited. And, a short distance to the north, near the village of Mowe, are the famous Burman marble quarries, in the small steep ridge of the Tsagyen hills, from which all the marble used in the manufacture of their numerous figures of Gautama for the pagodas, &c., has been obtained from time immemorial.

These hills form a small three-peaked ridge, the general direction of which is nearly north and south (north 6° west). To the west the face is steep, and for one-half of its elevation almost perpendicular, a steep talus forming the base: to the east the hill slopes down to the plain, with a tolerably regular inclination, this face of the hill-side corresponding to the dip of the beds of rock, which is here to the east at 35° to 38°. The great mass of the limestone forms the summit and eastern face of the hills, and here are situated all the quarries from which the marble has been extracted. The limestone rests upon hornblendic gneissose rocks, which form the lower portion of the hills, and have produced the comparatively smooth talus-like base of the hills. Upon the limestone above, and forming to the east of it, a small secondary ridge, come beds of quartzose granular character, and quartzites of a bluish tint. These occasionally assume mica and then become gneissose, and in some of the beds feldspar also is present. The section of the hills in the direction of the dip would be as follows.

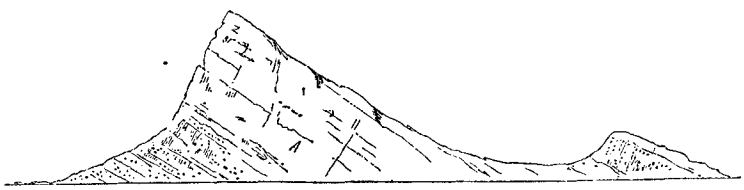


Fig. 41.

The limestone itself is, for the most part, tolerably pure and massive, but occasionally has an imperfect lamination, given by flaky plates of mica arranged in lines in the mass. Small grains of quartz also occur imbedded in some of the layers, which, being of the same colour as the limestone, are not easily distinguishable, except on the weathered surfaces, where they stand out from the general plane, and are easily recognised.

It is, in the mass, of a nearly pure white, and is largely and finely crystallized.

Portions of it have a delicately blue tint, while others are stained by ferruginous spots.

The whole face of the hill to the east is strewed with small chips of the marble, which give a loose and uncertain footing, while the bright glare from the pure white and glistening surfaces is as trying to the eyes as travelling in snow. The so-called quarries are holes put in wherever the workmen imagine they will find a block of the size required, and generally filled up again by the débris from some adjoining hole. There is not a trace of anything like systematic working. Their tools are wretched; they have no mechanical appliances whatever, and it can only be by an immense and entirely disproportionate amount of labour that blocks of any size can be ever obtained. The limestone is much cracked and fissured, and it would be difficult in any case to procure sound blocks of large size, but, under the present mode of working, almost

impossible. Some men who were at work informed me, that for years they had been trying to obtain a very large block for the King, but could not.

The largest blocks they now obtain do not average more than four to five feet long, by two to three feet thick, and even these are not frequently obtained, and are therefore expensive. For smaller blocks there is a constant demand; the rougher blocks, those which are discoloured or too coarse for sculpturing, are used up in other ways: large numbers are roughly shaped into low spherical cones, to be afterwards finished and reduced into weights. The ten-viss weights generally throughout the country are formed of stone, and principally of marble, and are always of the same general form. Some are rudely ornamented with grooves radiating from the summit, and passing down the sides; others are more highly chiselled. For a roughly-chiselled block of the marble, simply rudely shaped, the charge at the hills is eight annas. When finished, one of these ten-viss marble weights* will cost from two to five rupees, according to the amount of ornamentation.

The sculpturing and polishing of the images of Buddh is not carried on at the quarries. The stone for these purposes is all boated down to Amarapoora and to Tsagaing, where are located the workers in marble.

An Italian sculptor would smile at the rude processes they adopt. Seated on the rough ground, the Burman grips the marble he is about to chisel with his toes, and hammer and tool are rapidly plied. No model guides him in his work, calipers are quite unknown, and his mind and eye alone supply him with dimensions. He rapidly reduces the rough mass to a rude form or outline of the figure he intends to produce. A few rough lines with charcoal now mark out the drapery or outline of the different parts, and the same process is continued in the same way.

With larger blocks they are merely laid on the ground, their own weight giving the necessary resistance. No frames, no revolving tables, nor any of the many contrivances which European skill has introduced, are here known.

The work of smoothing and polishing is then commenced. The first process is with a rough file or rasp made in the country, and of the rudest construction. Next small pieces of fine-grained sandstone are used; dipped in water, they are rubbed over the surface, until it be reduced to a tolerably smooth and level ground. After that the last rubbings are given with the powdered dust of the silicified wood, which occurs so abundantly in parts of Burma. This they reduce to a perfectly impalpable powder by grinding it down on a stone with water. This powder is taken up on a soft cloth wetted, and is rubbed strongly and carefully over the marble, until a beautifully smooth surface is produced. The final polish is then given by the same powder, applied by the hand of the workman. And thus the whole is rubbed up to a perfection of polish equal to that ever produced in Europe.

Even the whitest lumps of this marble have a delicate tinge of light blue throughout, and partly owing to this, and partly also to the generally large crystallization of the mass, there is a peculiar semi-transparent look about the finished sculptures, which has most probably given rise to the general notion that these images are of alabaster. This is much more conspicuous in some blocks than in others; and in these there is also a peculiar semi-unctuous lustre in the crystals of the limestone.

The cost of such work and of the stone necessarily varies with the size of the image, and the amount of care and finish bestowed on its sculpture. An ordinary figure of a sitting Gaudama, about three feet six inches high, is worth about 150 tickals, or about 180 rupees (18*l.*), while a

* A standard is said to be given by the Court, and imprisonment follows the detection of either light or heavy weights.

block sufficiently large for such a figure can be had at Amarapoora for about fifty tickals, or about 6*l*. Smaller blocks are of much less value, and the larger increase rapidly in price.

To return to the quarries whence all this stone is procured.

On the face of the hill, and strewed over the surface, may be seen here (as also associated with the limestone at Tsagaing, near Amarapoora) fragments of a reddish-brown clayey rock, greatly indurated, and full of amygdaloidal vesicles, filled either wholly or partially with carbonate of lime, or empty. In the mass are angular fragments of the adjoining limestone imbedded. This has, in fragments, all the appearance of a compact claystone amygdaloid, but on examining more closely, I saw the source of it in several of the openings or quarries. The limestone, as mentioned above, is traversed by large fissures, and these are filled in with a red ferruginous clayey mass, imbedded in which are fragments of the limestone, all angular, and of all sizes, from many feet across to a few inches or portions of an inch. These are imbedded without any attempt at regular order or arrangement, but thrown together in every possible way. The mass of this ferruginous clay is vesicular, these vesicles evidently resulting from small air-bubbles, or from the development of some gas in the mass.

They can be traced in every possible gradation, from perfectly empty to perfectly filled, first with a thin, transparent, and beautifully-glistening coating of carbonate of lime, deposited all round the cell; gradually other layers are formed, and the final step is when the whole cell or cavity becomes entirely filled, and a small globular or irregularly-shaped nodule of calcspar is the result. These can be broken out from the mass.

That this clayey mass has been a mechanical deposit, falling into and filling the cracks in the limestone, is, I think, obvious from the mode in which it occurs in the larger, as well as in the more minute and branching fissures and cracks, and diffused over the whole spread of the limestone—not confined to any one portion.

But it must have been subjected to some heat since then, to have either expanded the small air-bubbles, which may have been entangled in the mud, or to have generated the sufficient amount of gas of some kind, to produce this effect. There is no trace of anything organic in it, the decomposition of which might account for such appearance; and the baked, indurated, and almost porcellanic look of much of it, confirms the notion that there must have been some action of this kind in operation here subsequently to the formation of these deposits filling the cracks in the rocks. Similar appearances occur at Tsagaing; and I am disposed to think that this marble hill-ridge is the same development of limestone as the Tsagaing range.

The whole range has been faulted and dislocated in several lines, which have a general direction east and west, being down-thrown to the north. The hills, seen from the west, stand up thus.

Fig. 42.

The lower limit of the limestone is well marked by the termination of the dark precipitous cliff which it forms. The direction of the dip here would tend to raise the apparent line of junction towards the north, whereas it is seen much thrown down. These faults have produced the deep cuts and gaps in the line of hills. From the summit of the highest peak of this marble ridge there is an excellent view of the country all round, and of the valley of the Irawadi

northwards, with its countless islands and churs. The Mawé myit, or creek, is seen to continue for many miles in a tolerably regular channel, with many windings, from which it probably takes its name (a snake), or from the village adjoining.

The banks of this channel are throughout well marked, being composed of stiff clay, and scattered along are many villages of considerable size. To the west, the country is all flat, and composed of large islands and sand-banks in the river; while to the east, the range of hills which stretches continuously along at some distance, throws out spurs and detached little hills into the flats, many of which are close to the river-channel, and almost bound its course in parts.

The small isolated knoll of Ketthing stands up in the centre of the river-channel north of this, and forms the bluff against which the waters divide, a part passing down to the east, and forming the Mawé myit, but the wider and larger channel, divided by many islands, being to the west. This knoll is composed of dark red beds of tolerably hard ferruginous conglomerates, and pebbly sandstones, irregularly distributed or developed in thick masses of sand, and soft sandstones of a whitish colour. These dip slightly to south and east. (East 15°, south about 5°.) The northern face of the hills, against which the river impinges, is steep and nearly precipitous, but the surface slopes away more gradually to the south and south-east; and tailing away from it towards the south is a great archipelago of sandy islands, stretching for miles down the river.

On the western bank of the river, from Endaung northwards, similar metamorphic rocks to those which show at Gnaye Point extend up the river to the hillock of Minkwadoung. They consist of alternating quartzose and hornblendic beds, with occasional seams of limestone. Veins of granite traverse these in various directions, and the beds are much contorted, although dipping on the whole to the south-east at high angles (80° to 85°).

From Minkwadoung to Yuathit, sandstones again come in; they are pebbly conglomeritic grits of yellowish tint, nearly horizontal, and of no great thickness. Above this, at the little rocky point of Sahgwe, and at the small hill to the west of it, beds of gneiss and hornblende slate, traversed by immense veins of quartz, and with some beds of limestone intercalated, occur. Large masses of granite are seen lying about, and evidently from somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood, but I did not see it *in situ*. To the west of these hills the ground is higher than on the other sides, and is composed of soft whitish sandstones, with some few ferruginous beds. These spread out towards the south also, and appear to continue southwards, forming the higher ground beyond the river-banks. The old metamorphic rocks stand up here, an island encircled by the sea of these more modern sandstones.

At the point of Sahgwe a curious rock occurs, which is in reality a conglomerate, very large rounded masses of limestone (crystalline), of slates, and of quartzy granitic-looking rocks, being imbedded in a crystalline paste, which, where exposed, is soft and decomposed, but which, on the fresh fracture, is very like an even-grained greenstone.

It is a rock composed of dark-green hornblende, disposed in flaky crystals in the whitish feldspar. The mass weathers of a dark colour, and looks, at first glance, like a loose dark sand, with which the white colours of the large lumps of limestone strongly contrast. Its relations with the rocks adjoining are not seen.

North of Sahgwe, the small ridge of Nattoung rises from the flats behind Lehkauk-kya village, and is composed of gneissose and metamorphic rocks, which are skirted by the alluvial deposits of the river, extending from their base to the small hill of Ketthing.

North-east of Ketthing the rocky point of Tsinguh-myo forms the southern bank of a wide expanse of the river, which forms a deep bite, or bay, in the river, in the concavity of which Tsinguh village is placed. The projecting headland is composed of highly vesicular greenstone; almost as vesicular as pumice, although the walls of the air-cells are highly crystalline solid

greenstone. It has a rudely columnar structure, being irregularly divided into large pentagonal masses. On the northern skirt the rock is more compact but less crystalline, and instead of being sub-columnar, is beautifully and most distinctly globular in structure, the mass peeling off in most regular successive coats.

About a quarter of a mile or less (300 yards) south of the point, massive blocks of a similar rock are seen on the bank of the river.

These masses all appear to be the exposed surfaces of two great dykes, which have a direction east and west. Unfortunately no rocks are seen in junction with these dykes, and therefore their relations cannot be traced.

Eastwards from Tsinguh, caves of some extent occur in the face of limestone hills, which form a small outlying spur of the higher ranges to the east. These are close (one mile) to the village of Malé or Shuemalé. The road passes the small villages of Kaubiung and Dizah, and over a well-irrigated and well-cultivated district near Malé, the water being derived from the mountain stream, which here issues from the more hilly ground to the east.

To the south-east of the village of Malé rise the small hills in which the caves are situate. These, near the village, are composed of blackish-gray actinolite or chiastolite slate, dipping to the north-west, and associated with thin layers of quartzose and gneissose character; near the base, to the north, some beds of limestone are seen associated with the other rocks. The rocks are traversed by two distinct sets of joints, the principal heading north 15° east, and the others east 15° south, both nearly vertical, and dividing the mass into parallelopipeds. These are very beautifully marked in the earthy beds.

Beds of bluish quartzite occur under these, and the series is traversed by many veins, often of some feet in width, often thread-like. And below these again come massive beds of white crystalline limestone (marble).

The surface of these is greatly water-worn, and eaten into the most fantastic forms; deep borings of six and eight feet in depth, with perfectly water-polished surfaces throughout, enlarging towards the lower end.

The whole has much the appearance of having at one time formed, for a considerable period, the bed of some river-channel. The entrance to the cave is about 100 feet above the level ground below.

At first the descent is by ladders (ten feet) rudely constructed of bamboos, and very ricketty. From that (about twelve feet) down steep slopes of limestone, and then, by a gently-sloping descent, into the great chamber. Of this, the roof is about forty feet from the floor, and a few stalactitic bosses depend from it, but these are not here abundant.

Turning northwards out of this chamber, the path ascends again about seven feet; thence west, through a narrow and low passage, through which a man must creep on hands and feet. A narrow platform, or stage, here leads across a chasm; and thence another narrow passage opens into the second larger chamber. In one corner of this, behind a large stalactitic mass, which reaches the floor, and in a small recess formed by another, which hangs down in pointed cusps, a few gilded images of Gautama are placed; and this is what they call their "pya," or temple. Within the cave, the cleanly-washed surfaces of the rocks show the association of the limestone, with thin-bedded gneissose layers, the different colours appearing in lines, like the stripes in a riband.

The beds are gently, though considerably, rolled, but dip, as a whole, to the west very distinctly. The massive beds of the limestone are themselves often mixed up with numerous grains and semi-crystalline fragments of quartz, and occasionally of feldspar. The prevailing colour is a bluish-white; but portions are perfectly white, and others of a deeper blue. The entire length of the excavation, or cave, is not more than 100 yards. The caves are lofty, and

in parts roomy; but the absence of numerous stalactitic masses, owing, I fancy, in a great degree to the admixture of the quartzose rocks with the limestone, deprives them of many of the beauties which caves generally possess, especially when lighted up.

The general range of hills which marks the eastern bank from Amarapoora, is here close to these caves, and throws out to the north several spurs, which approach the river still more nearly. North of Tsinguh-myo, these minor hills come almost down to the water's edge, and the river-channel, which from Tsagaing up to this had been very wide, open, and full of sand-banks and low islands, here narrows into a well-defined bed, with steep, and for the most part, rocky banks on either side.

Several small villages are scattered along; Mukouk, nestled under a small hillock, crowned with a pagoda; Shuedheik, Nuwageung, and Laiwazu, are on the western bank, and Gnapeen on the left. Kyoukmyoung, which is situated at the end of the reach opposite to Tsinguh, is a larger town, from which a road goes westward to the old capital, Mout-shobo-myo.

The little rocky point on which Kyoukmyoung is placed is formed of a broad greenstone dyke, cutting through soft yellowish-tinted sandstone, which is in some beds pebbly, in others earthy. The greenstone is sub-crystalline, partially vesicular and globular in structure, being more solid towards the centre of the mass than at the sides. The junction with the sandstone on the south side is not visible, but on the north the sandstone in contact is considerably indurated; but the effect is not traceable at a distance of more than a foot. This sandstone is pebbly. The dyke appears to run nearly east and west.

Sandstone of very similar character shows at intervals in the sandy banks to the north of Kyoukmyoung, with masses of calcareous hard rock imbedded in lenticular and very irregular forms; the whole is greatly disturbed and rolling at small angles. With these yellowish and massive sandstones, farther northwards, by the villages of Tseittha and Maoo, clunchy clays of greenish tint, and sub-micaceous, are associated; all continue to be disturbed and rolled, though not on any very large scale. On the eastern bank of the river, greenstone is seen constantly appearing in the bank, with little breaks of sandstone. These latter appear only on the more projecting points of the bank; and wherever the channel has cut into the bank more to the east, the greenstone is seen. This would appear to be the result of the edge of a large mass of greenstone being exposed along here, by the removal of the formerly existing sandstone. And in the turn of the river, opposite to the village of Kibiung, this solid greenstone forms the bank for a distance of nearly a mile and a half.

This greenstone is, for the most part, very highly vesicular, porous, and open, and appears to have been produced under very slight pressure; but in this highly-vesicular mass are enclosed many large lumps of a close-grained, dense greenstone, intensely hard and highly crystalline. These masses are of all sizes, from a few inches in diameter, and spherical, almost like a cannon-ball, to several feet in length and breadth. Here and there, there is a slight exhibition of the spherical or globular structure, but this is not generally the case.

The composition of these solid dense masses, and of the more vesicular and porous rock, seems to be very similar, and to be of hornblende and feldspar, in nearly equal proportions. Owing to the numerous and very large vesicles in the mass, in the thin walls of which alone the actual texture of the rock can be studied, this is not so apparent at first. No immediate connexion of this with the sandstone can here be seen; but close to the junction, wherever seen, there is considerable disturbance in the sandstone and accompanying beds, which would seem to point to local intrusion. If thus intruded, however, the mass is more than a mile wide, but it may be an overflowing mass.

From Tsinguh-myo, the general course of the river is to the west of north, for ten or twelve miles, when it suddenly turns to the east, and has a course to 30° north of east for about three

miles, when again it resumes the nearly northern and southern course, which it retains for many miles.

In the eastwardly curve of the channel, of which the greenstone referred to above forms the greater part of the southern bank, red ferruginous, shaly beds, crop out strongly on the northern side, near Kibiung, dipping to the south-east at tolerably high angles, and are succeeded (above) by thick gritty sandstones, with soft yellow beds intercalated. Through these a strong greenstone dyke is seen cutting, the beds at either side being greatly disturbed. On the south they dip to the north-east at 60°, while on the north of the dyke they have a south-westerly dip at 70°.

Sandstones of very similar character continue to show on both banks of the river northwards. As a whole, they are at low angles, and dip to the west (5° to 8°); but in one or two places are reversed, and at higher angles. With them are associated greenish clunchy clays and shales, and some thick massive beds of pebbly sandstones, which occasionally become conglomeritic, and are throughout considerably disturbed. Some few calcareous beds occur intercalated, which are hard and close-grained, generally bluish on fresh fracture, but weathering yellowish.

On the eastern bank of the river these sandstones appear to form only a narrow stripe along the bank, being flanked behind by the continuation of the great range of the metamorphic, micaceous, and gneissose rocks, which form all the higher hills. These rocks appear in the river-banks on the eastern side, near the village of Thabietkyin, and on the western side more to the north, near Yethaya. They are here hornblendic, with quartzose layers, much contorted and traversed by numerous veins of quartz. These rocks, however, do not extend for much more than half a mile, when pebbly and irregularly-bedded sandstones, with imbedded calcareous nodules and masses, again occur. These form bluffs along the river-bank, dipping 70° to west-by-north, as at Kyoukmye.

Above this the hornblendic and gneissose rocks again show, with some bands of saccharine limestone. They are, for the most part, thin-bedded and much contorted, but have a prevailing strike to east and west. These continue nearly up to Malé, which is built upon a high bluff of pebbly sandstones and conglomerates; the pebbles being chiefly of quartz, and of metamorphic rocks, with also occasional pieces of sandstones. Many large and rounded lumps of a fine-grained granitoid rock occur, and many nodular aggregations of calcareous pebbly sandstones. The whole dip at high angles (65° to 70°) to the west-south-west. These rocks extend for more than a mile along the bank. And north of the point formed by them the river-channel again expands, and the banks are fringed by sands and clays, concealing the solid rocks.

My trip did not extend beyond this.

From the small village of Thingadhau, on the western bank of the river, I visited the coal mines in that neighbourhood, to see which was the great object of my trip.

Coal is known to occur at three (3) separate localities, all lying westwards of the Irawadi, at distances varying from five to seven miles from it. The most southerly of these localities is near to the small village of Tembiung.

From Thingadhau, the road leads southwards along the ridge parallel to the river, as far as the parallel of Pohbiu village, whence it turns to east, passing through an unbroken jungle, open, and of small timber (the énbeng prevailing), on a sandy soil, through which, here and there, great massive beds of sandstone protrude.

Close to the Irawadi, the prevalent character of the rocks is clayey, bluish-green silty beds predominating; but, more inland, the prevalent character is sandy, few earthy beds occurring.

Near the river, also, the dip is, on the whole, to the east, while farther inland it is to the west. The country is, however, so covered, that it is impossible to trace the point of change. Near the village of Tembiung, a stream of some size is passed, which, preserving a north and south course, falls into the Irawadi close to Kibiung; and about one mile and a half west of Tembiung, in a small watercourse which is a feeder of the Kibiung stream, the coal was found. It crops out in the bank for about fifty yards, and is again seen at a little distance in the continuation of the same strike, and obviously the same beds. With its associated beds, it dips to west 30°, south at 15°.

The coal rests upon blackish-blue clunchy slate, or shale (one foot) blue-gray clunchy and sandy clay, with a few imperfect impressions of leaves and stems (three feet); similar rocks, blackish and more regularly laminated, or shaly (one to two feet); blue-gray clunchy clay (two feet six inches), passing downwards into reddish, hard, ferruginous clunch. Close to the outcrop of the coal on the east, comes the edge of an immense spread of greenstone, of the same general character as that seen in the bank of the Irawadi opposite to Kibiung; and the occurrence of this is accompanied by a roll over, or twist, in the beds associated with the coal. The immediate junction is, however, concealed.

The bed, which has been called coal, is altogether four feet thick, but this is the thickness from top to bottom of the *black* beds. In this, closer examination shows that the top is composed of six inches of smut, or powdery, coal-like matter; then come nine inches of blackish clay, with thin, thread-like seams of coal; below this, the rest of the bed (two feet nine inches) is coaly; but the best layers are confined to about one foot three inches at the bottom of the bed.

From this bed a considerable amount of coal had been raised, and a large proportion of this still remained on the bank of the little stream, crumbling rapidly to powder from exposure. Some had been sent down to Amarapoora, and some we had seen on the banks of the Irawadi, at Kibiung. This had been, I believe, all raised with a view to its sale within the British territory in Pegu, but it was found unremunerative. The coal is of blazing character, burning freely and rapidly, with good blaze but with considerable ash (twenty-seven per cent). It is in structure quite flaky, and is, besides, split up by very numerous joints and cracks, which divide the masses into small pieces, and tend to make the coal rapidly disintegrate into fine slack. This defect was very striking in the portions which had been raised, and the men who had worked at it complained much of its brittleness, and of the difficulty of getting it out in lumps, and of the large proportion which broke up so small, that they had to leave it behind in the mine.

I am satisfied that, while such is undoubtedly the character of the bed, much of the mischief was due to the wretched tools with which they worked, and the unskilful manner in which the excavation was made. The tools they used were the ordinary wood-cutting axe, and their grubbers or spades, consisting of a kind of large chisel inserted in a wooden handle. With these, it was scarcely possible to avoid breaking up the coal into slack. But the brittleness and tendency to break up into small lumps are quite sufficiently obvious to prevent this coal from ever being economical for any lengthened transport. For many purposes within moderate distances of the mine, it will prove an useful and capital fuel.

From the mines to the Irawadi it would require to be carted, as no water-carriage exists. The Kibiung stream is quite unfit for such purposes, having water in it only after rains. But the ground is here not very unfavourable for a road, and the distance either to Kibiung or to Pohbiu, on the Irawadi, would not be more than five to six miles.

The second locality in which coal has been discovered in this district is about five miles more to the north, and along the upper waters of the Kibiung stream.

It lies about five miles westward of the village of Thingadhau, and is exposed in the banks of a watercourse, generally dry, but down which, after rain, a considerable torrent rushes.

The coal-bed, including in this (as in the other case) the immediately associated layers of blackish coaly shale, &c., is five feet six inches thick. It rests upon bluish clunchy and sandy clay, under which occur clean white sandstones, with intercalated beds of bluish black sub-micaceous silts, thinly laminated. Thick soft sandstones, passing downwards into harder micaceous and sub-calcareous beds, underly these. This sandstone is of considerable thickness, varying slightly in coarseness and in texture, and also in tint, from pinkish red to a pure clean white. Under this sandstone come ferruginous silty beds, which, on exposure, become very red on the joints and fissures.

The coal itself is very flaky and woody in structure. In the sandstones false-bedding is frequent, and well-marked. The whole group dips with tolerable regularity to the west, at 5° to 8°.

The mass of the black "coal bed" is earthy and impure, but thin layer-like masses of rich, glossy, conchoidal jet are found in these earthy layers. The surface of these jetty portions, when partially decomposed, presents on the small scale a beautifully columnar structure. In the coal, in small imbedded pieces and in thin stringy layers, occurs a rich amber-coloured gum or resin, easily burning with a blaze. It occurs also in another very interesting form, in minute strings or fibres, passing through and along, and filling up the small interstices in the fibrous or woody structure of the jet. This gives to the mass, from the peculiar contrast of the rich yellow tint of this ambery gum, with the black jetty coal, a very rich silky-looking texture. The whole is eminently of lignite aspect and character, and the peculiar arrangement and disposition of these ambery-looking masses point at once to their being the juices which have exuded from the masses of wood, the decomposition of which has been one great source of the formation of this coal. About 100 yards to the north, the same bed is seen a little back from the stream, holding its average thickness as before.

The third locality in which coal is found lies about eight miles north-west of Thingadhau village. It lies in a district, the drainage of which is to the north and east, not to the south, a small dividing swell or ridge separating it from the other localities to the south.

The road leading to it, or rather the jungle-path, passes over a peculiarly broken and irregular country, formed of soft, easily decomposing sandstones, which break up readily into irregular ravines and hollows, giving a surface over which it would be exceedingly difficult to form a good road.

The coal has been exposed in a great open space in the jungle of bare sand, resulting from the disintegration of the soft sandstone, in which a few irregular patchy layers of ferruginous pebbly beds occur, which stand up boldly, not yielding to atmospheric action, as do the clean sandstones enveloping them.

The coal is exposed for about 200 yards, close to and in the bank of a small mountain-torrent bed, now quite dry. This is called the Manda Kyoung, or stream, and is said to enter the Irawadi close to the village of Yethaya, above Thingadhau. The thick sandstones seen all about pass under the coal, and between these grits and the coal there is a varying thickness of bluish clunchy underclay, with numerous impressions of stems of large grassy-looking plants, and a few larger and thicker stems. The latter (the thicker stems) are best seen in section, where the bank is cut away. The original bark or shell of the open stem has been converted into jetty coal, and forms a regular ring, often perfectly circular, often slightly compressed; the interior being filled in with material the same as the bed of clay in which they occur. The upper part of this clay is of a brown colour, from admixture of carbonaceous matter. Its thickness varies from nine to twelve inches.

The coal rests immediately upon this, and is in structure flaky, but hard, compact, and jetty, with small imbedded lumps of ambery-looking, resinous matter, precisely similar to that seen in

the other coals. With these occur also minute, bright, glossy particles, and some thin layers, looking like vegetable matter carbonized; and in the mass are also imbedded numerous fragments of charcoal, or mineralized charred-wood. These are exceedingly fragile. This coal, on exposure, breaks up into flakes, and becomes covered with a thin ferruginous film.* It breaks out in better masses, and is much less brittle, than the coal at the other localities here visited. The bed varies slightly in thickness, from three feet nine inches to four feet, and is not broken up so much as the other by layers of earthy texture and character. Two distinct backs or main jointings are seen in the coal: of these, one heads north 35° east, and the other east 45° south. Both are slightly inclined, underlying to the north and east, and dividing the mass into parallelopipeds.

A good deal of coal had been raised here, but none had been removed, the country proving impracticable for carts. It now lies in open heaps just above where the coal is seen, and will rapidly disintegrate. Several small parallel faults traverse the rocks here, all being accompanied by slight upthrows to the north. Three of these are seen within the length of surface over which the coal is exposed, respectively throwing the coal fifteen, six, and three feet (the most southerly being the first mentioned): these all head south 25° west, and underly at 75° to 80° to south-east. There is no apparent disturbance in the beds further than the mere shifting, the coal coming cleanly up against the sandstones, and holding the same dip and strike on either side. To the north of this, other small faults, holding a parallel direction, are seen, but the coal itself becomes covered up with detritus.

This is unquestionably the most promising locality of the three referred to. The coal is of better quality and more durable, the roof is strong, and the floor also good, and the whole series dips at the lower angle of 8° to the north-east. Over the coal there is a thin layer of shale, covered by thick solid sandstone.

The principal difficulty here would be the very broken nature of the country over which it should be carried to the Irawadi: the distance, however, is not great—seven to eight miles; and I doubt not that this coal will hereafter prove a valuable deposit. It is, in general aspect and character, like most Indian coals, flaky, and with thin earthy partings, the presence of which produces the generally large percentage of ash which is found to be present; but the layers of coal are fine, jetty, bright coal, highly blazing, and yielding a large amount of gas. I do not anticipate that any of these coals will pay for working, with a view to distant or extended carriage. They would disintegrate and break up too rapidly to allow of their being remunerative in this way; but for all the upper part of the Irawadi river-navigation, and for the supply of any demand which may arise in or about the capital of Burma, I look upon them as holding out a fair promise of a good fuel, in sufficient quantity.

The country all around being at present covered with thick forest and jungle, it was impossible to follow out these beds of coal, and trace their connexion one with the other; but, from their general character and arrangement, and from the associated beds, I am disposed to think that the first and second localities represent one and the same bed, at opposite sides of an anticlinal line through the series, while the third locality belongs to an upper bed. I found no fossils in the sandstones associated with the coal, excepting near to the village of Thingadhau, where leaves of dicotyledonous trees occur, tolerably preserved, in a hard bluish calcareous grit. The markings in the shale under the coal are too badly preserved to be of any value, only giving a clue to their general character.

A reference to the map will show the position and general relations of these coal-beds, and of the other rocks associated with them.

* In this, as in general aspect, fracture, and character, this coal is very like the inferior portions of the Cherrapoonji coal.

From many of the streams in this upper part of the Irawadi course, gold is washed. This is seldom carried on systematically, or for any time; as the people find they have leisure they dig for a few days, and then return to their ordinary work. They never go to any great depth, eight feet being about the maximum of their pits. The larger amount is obtained from the streams which lie to the east of the Irawadi, but those to the west also yield it. The Kibiung stream is one in which it is thus sought.

As I have already mentioned, from Tsinguh-myo northwards, as far as Malé, the river-channel is well defined by steep banks, wooded down to the water's edge, and is unencumbered by sand-banks or islands, with the exception of one small island opposite to Thingadhau, on which the ancient and much-venerated Pagoda of Thihado is built. But above Malé the river again resumes the same open, wide, and sandy character which characterised it below Tsinguh from Tsagaing. Numerous large sandy islands and banks fill up the broad valley, and to the east the hills die away and recede from the bank for miles. On the western bank, after passing the broad bay just above Malé, small hills come down to the river-bank and continue for miles. These are said by the people to be a continuation of the Tsagaing ridge, and are called the Mon-wun-toung. They nowhere attain any great elevation, the highest points not being more than about 600 feet above the river. They are all thickly clad with timber of no great size, but thence, as far as the eye could reach, nothing but unbroken jungle of this kind met the view. Close to the village of Malé there is a small extent of flat ground, occupied by the cultivation of the inhabitants. To the east, the view is bounded by the noble range of hills which divides the valley of the Irawadi from the district of the Ruby-mines.*

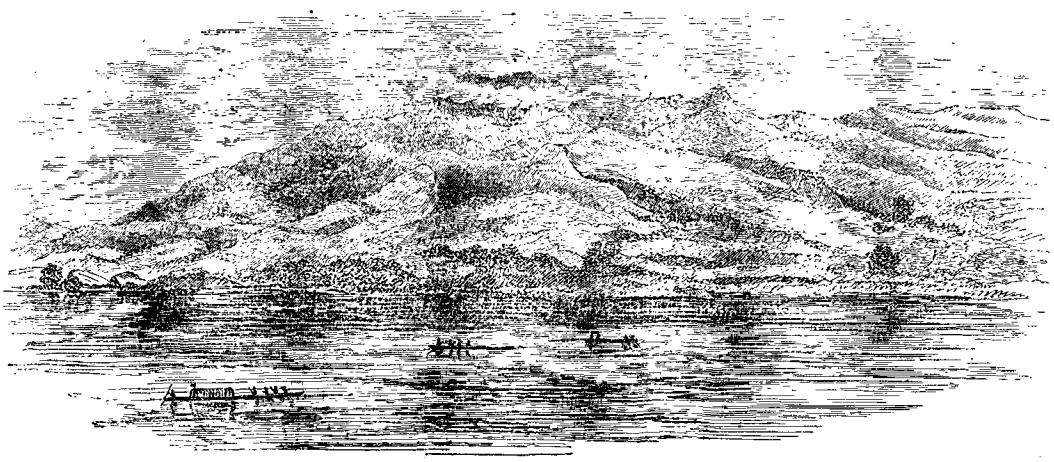


Fig. 43.

This range continues towards the south a massive and lofty group of hills, but towards the north quickly dies away.

Returning to the capital, I had subsequently an opportunity of visiting the hills which lie to the east of the city, and more especially the bold craggy peak of Mya-leit, whose broken outline and boldly-scarped sides form so prominent a feature in the landscape.

Our route lay nearly eastwards from the capital for a considerable distance, passing over a

* The people at Malé stated that these hills were only occasionally and unfrequently visible, owing to the constant fogs and mists which hung around them. They further stated that *snow* lay on them for four months in the year, beginning with the middle or end of November.

large extent of jheely-cultivated country, all under rice-crops at the period of our visit. The water for this irrigation is derived from the great reservoir of Oungbengle. Our route was necessarily very circuitous. There is a good road from the capital, which goes nearly straight to the village of Shan, or Shanyua, but after the recent rain this was said to be impassable.

The village of Shanyua is situated close to the junction of the Myit-ngé and Nadoung-gya, and is not more than three-quarters of a mile from the large town of Shuezayan.

In the latter is an extensive group of temples, clustered together on a rising ground to the north of the village. One of these is much reverenced. It is traditionally said to have been built by a Shan princess, probably by a Shan princess who had become Queen.

The entire group has been greatly shattered by the earthquake of 1839, and only a few out of the number have been repaired. This town of Shuezayan is a great entrepôt for the barter of the well-known *hlapét*, or wet tea, so largely used throughout Burma. Knots of Shans, with great droves of cattle feeding around, formed picturesque groupings round the foot of the temple-steps, and among the noble trees adjoining, all waiting here to exchange tea for salt, &c., for their return-journey. The road leads past here to Thoungzé, and so on to Theebo and Thein-ni.

On the opposite side of the river Myit-ngé is the small village of Meethuebouk (charcoal-burning-village), from the neighbourhood of which a large supply of wood and charcoal is sent to the capital. The path to the noble hill of Mya-leit* leads from this through the jungle to the east, thence doubling round the northern face of the hill.

It strikes the hill about two miles from its extreme end. Winding up the steep face of the hill, over small and loose fragments of the limestone, through dense tree and bamboo jungle, the path leads to a small depression or gap in the regular ridge of the hill-top. From this, scrambling over the most rugged and broken crags of limestone, from every crevice of which some tree sprang, I reached a northerly summit of the range, from which a noble view of the plain of the Irawadi spread before my gaze. To the north, as from a great sea dotted over with islands, the few isolated hills rose from the sunny plain. The noble peak of Mya-leit, with its steep side and broken outline, formed a grand foreground to the flats beyond. Eastwards the eye ranged over a succession of hills rising with long slopes, and curiously unbroken outlines, one range over another. The gorge of the Myit-ngé was beneath, with its muddy stream flowing tranquilly between the dark and well-wooded banks. To the west and south the hills shut out all distant prospect.

The top of this hill forms a narrow, very broken, and irregular ridge, formed entirely of crystalline and sub-crystalline limestone, which rises in great rugged blocks, every crevice of which is filled with clusters of bamboos and stunted trees, the surface of the rock being, as usual, eaten away into the most rugged and uneven surface. The blocks are fallen and heaped together in the most inextricable confusion, but below all this, the dip of the beds is traceable (to west at 50° to 60°), and this dip, or rather the surface of the beds, forms the general slope of the hill on the west.

The tower-like summit of the ridge, so well marked as seen from below, is composed of a huge mass of limestone, which stands up boldly, like a turret from the general outline of a castle-top.

Looking down from the top of the hill, the sharpness with which the hill-ranges to the east rise from the great plain is well seen. The great flat jheely country seems to spread to the very base of the hills, which rise suddenly and rapidly like the steep shores of a rocky coast. The bedding is distinctly visible, the edges of the different layers standing out boldly on the

* See page 336.

sides of the hill, dipping to the west and south at angles from 40° to 50°. Along the base of the hill springs throw out their waters, and, taken in connexion with the disturbance in the bedding, seem to indicate the occurrence of a line of dislocation along the flat of the Myit-ngé here, nearly in a due north-and-south direction, and coinciding with the general steep face of the hills stretching away from this northwards.

The course of the Myit-ngé from this to the Irawadi is very tortuous, the stream itself being both wide and deep, with a tolerable current. The banks are thickly inhabited and prettily wooded — all composed of clay and sand. In places, this clay is largely used for common pottery-work, of which a considerable supply is sent to the capital.

We left Amarapoora on our return-voyage on the morning of Monday, the 22d of October. We arrived at Pagán on the afternoon of the 23d, and remained there the 24th, of which stoppage I took advantage to visit the Thayowendine, a small range of hills near the town. A tolerable road, evidently one of considerable traffic, leads from the town close to the northern base of the hills, and proceeds thence to Paopa, through an undulating dry country, all under cultivation (maize, sesamum, &c.). Reaching the hills, and doubling round a small spur of the range, I turned up the face of the range, along a path leading to a small pagoda, situated on the most northerly point. From this the range was seen stretching away to the south in a succession of sharp points and narrow-topped ridges, presenting to the east a steep and sharply-scarped face. Parallel to the main ridge, and about 150 yards from the base, was a smaller line of hills, raised not more than 150 to 200 feet on their highest points, and stretching away in parallel and regular line.

Between these and the Irawadi a gently-swelling flat of cultivated ground, with a few scattered trees and patches of low coppice, intervened, cut up by watercourses, which marked the channels of the torrents that occasionally rush from these hills, and which have scored the sides of the range itself into deep gorges. Towards the east and north, the country presents exactly the same character, stretching away to the lofty and commanding hill of Paopa, which rises boldly on the horizon.* The Thayowendine range is composed of soft earthy sandstone, with some flaky beds and thin shaly layers. A few calcareous nodules and beds also occur. The range is divided across the centre by a deep gorge, through which a stream called the Toungboungwa flows from the east, and empties itself into the river Irawadi at the village of Tuengwa, below Logahnundah. This is dry during the cold weather. Close to the northern end of the range is the large and wide bed of another stream, now dry, called the Shuegyoung, which falls into the river near the Shueyagong Pagoda, in Nyoungah village.

To the south of the Toungboungwa gap, the general direction of the range is slightly diverted to the east, and there seems to be a line of disturbance crossing the ridge just here.

* To the south end of Paopa hill, a curious solid-looking mass stood up above the general outline, like a huge building, or much like what the great Mengoon Pagoda would have looked, if so placed. The Burmese with me said this was a detached hill, and in form they described it as like a great cylinder rising from the level of the ground, and the top of which they declared to be perfectly inaccessible. (Fig. 44.) Between it and the main hill runs, according to their account, a stream of considerable size in a narrow gorge. Paopa is famous in Burma for its iron, and is the locality of many superstitious legends. I regretted greatly that I could not get to it. Judging from its outline, and from the resemblance of this to that of the metamorphic hills above Amarapoora, I should be inclined to say that it was composed of the same group of rocks.

Fig. 44.

Numerous little shifts and breaks in the strata are visible, whilst the main prevailing dip of the group is to the west, or west 20° south, at angles from 25° to 45°.*

On returning to Pagán, we obtained from the governor of the town (Myo-thougyi) some very tolerable fossil bones, which, agreeably to promise, he had had collected during our absence at Amarapoora. These were from the district behind or west of Tang-gyi, in the country of Yeowah.† These were the more acceptable, as business of importance requiring the presence of the Envoy at Rangoon deprived us of the opportunity of searching for others, which we anticipated, by remaining two or three days at Yenankyoung, where we only anchored during the night. During this night (October 25–26) a heavy fall of rain occurred. There had been showers at intervals during the day, but heavy rain commenced at about two o'clock A.M. on the 26th, and in less than two hours afterwards the wide-spread and sandy bed of the stream, over which we had walked dry in the afternoon, was covered with a rushing torrent. It came down suddenly, swept away all the huts which had been erected close to its banks, and broke loose the boats which were at their moorings, at the mouth of the river. These were driven against the steamers, and several were sunk, and their cargoes of oil floated down the river in great discoloured patches. This sudden and tremendous rush, which came down like a torrent, afforded a capital instance explanatory of the cause of one very interesting and peculiar feature in the country of Burma. Everywhere wide large river-beds are seen,—often several hundred yards wide,—but for the most part perfectly dry. Occasionally, a little trickling rill slowly glides along, in the midst of a great expanse of sand. And, apparently, there is no sufficient force to have produced these large channels. But such a torrent as came down upon this occasion amply explains the real state of the case. In Pegu Proper the same appearances are not presented; there moisture is everywhere more prevalent; buildings rapidly become covered with thick coatings of moss; trees are choked by the luxuriant growth of varied masses of creepers and underwood; and the streams are more constant; but, passing northwards into Burma, the aspect of everything changes. No more striking or more remarkable instance of this could be quoted than the almost total absence of these sources of decay from the countless ruins of Pagán. And, no doubt, this absence has contributed greatly to the preservation of the ruins themselves.

On our return down the river, we visited some "mud volcanoes," which are situated close to the village of Memboo, nearly opposite to Mahgwé. The day was wet, heavy showers only interrupting a continual drizzling mist; but, nothing daunted by this, Dr. Forsyth, Captain Yule, Mr. Grant, and myself, started. Turning southwards through the long street of the village (Memboo), and passing out over two small watercourses, we entered a track, broken by small irregular ridges of low hills, partially covered with shrubby coppice. Our course lay nearly parallel to the river, and at about half-a-mile inland, or to the west of its banks. The first indications we met with of any approach to the locality were little streams of bluish muddy water, occasionally seen smoking, and which, on tasting, proved saline. At little more than a mile from the village, on topping a trifling rise in the road, the view opened on a great sea of blue mud, with a few projecting humps in various parts, and all, now well wet, looking as slushy and soft as possible. Gradually the scene opened a little, and rising from this great swelling spread of mud were seen several conical hills, standing up boldly to various heights. From these, in radiating lines, flows of the mud could readily be traced, marked by the different degrees of consolidation which they had acquired, and the consequently different modes in which

* The sparseness of the population may be estimated from the fact that there are said to be only four villages between this range and Paopa (forty miles), or five between Pagán and Paopa. These are, Thuaso; Toungwa; Myoung beng-gan; Dounglé; Paopa: all small.

† This is the district referred to by Col. Burney as a new site for fossil bones, &c.—*J. As. Soc. Ben.* i. 1090.

they reflected the light, as well as by the peculiar manner in which the drying of the mass had produced jointing or division planes in it. At short intervals a hollow gurgling sound was heard, followed by a kind of flop in the mud.

Proceeding closer to these small conical hills over the mud, which, although looking so wet, was tolerably consistent, we mounted the side of one which appeared to be more active than the others, and found the centre, or conical hollow, or "crater" of the volcano, filled nearly to the brim with bluish-gray, oily-looking mud,—liquid mud,—about the consistency of heated pitch, although, of course, less adherent. This crateriform hollow was not exactly at the summit of the cone, but at one side, and a little below the summit.

As we watched it for a moment, the whole surface of the liquid mud within heaved and swelled upwards, like the heaving of the human chest on inspiration, and suddenly a great bladder-like expansion of the mud was thrown up, and, breaking, fell back into the caldron below with a sullen flop. At one side was a narrow channel or opening, the bottom of which was just above the level of the fluid mass when at rest, but through which, at each successive throw, a portion was ejected, and came flowing down the side of the cone in a regular channel which it had formed for itself, its surface marked by thin filmy flakes of the earth-oil, with which it is partially associated. These thin films followed the curved bands of the quasi-viscous mass, and so produced regular bands of colour on the surface of the stream of mud. The mud and

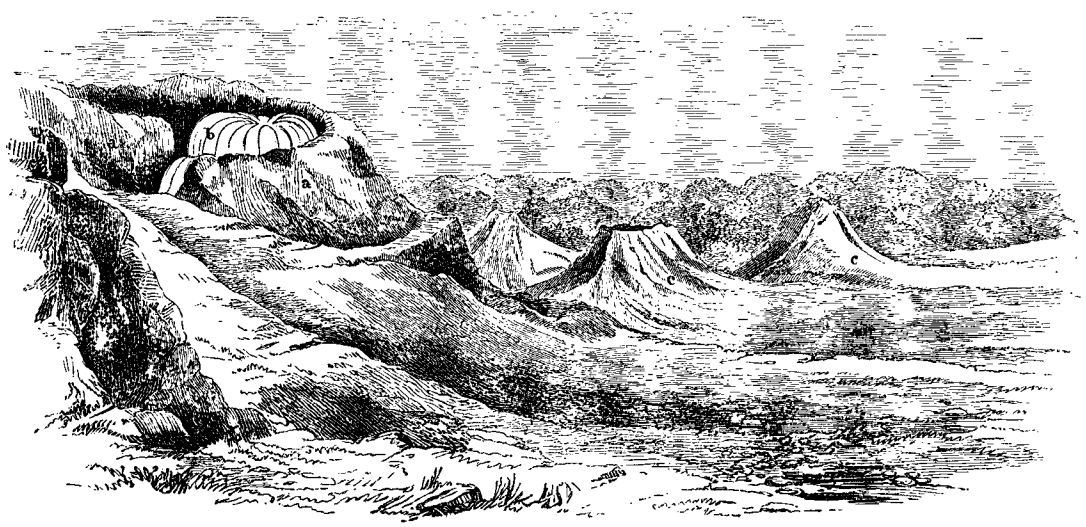


Fig. 45.

muddy water thus thrown out is only slightly salt to the taste, but is used largely in the preparation of salt close by; the process being similar to that employed elsewhere over the country, and consisting simply of lixiviating the mud, collecting the water thus passed over it, and concentrating it to crystallization over slow fires.

There is a strong smell of petroleum, and this may be seen, as I have mentioned, thrown out in small quantities with the mud. But I could not trace any other smell in the air discharged; certainly no sulphuretted hydrogen, nor, I think, carbonic acid. We had no means of collecting the air for analysis.

Of the cones of mud, the highest is about fifteen feet from the general level of the mud around, and is very regular in form. From the very summit of this, a little jet of mud was

thrown up at intervals to the height of a foot or more. The most active hill or cone is not more than twelve feet high, the crater or hollow being about four feet wide at top, and a little

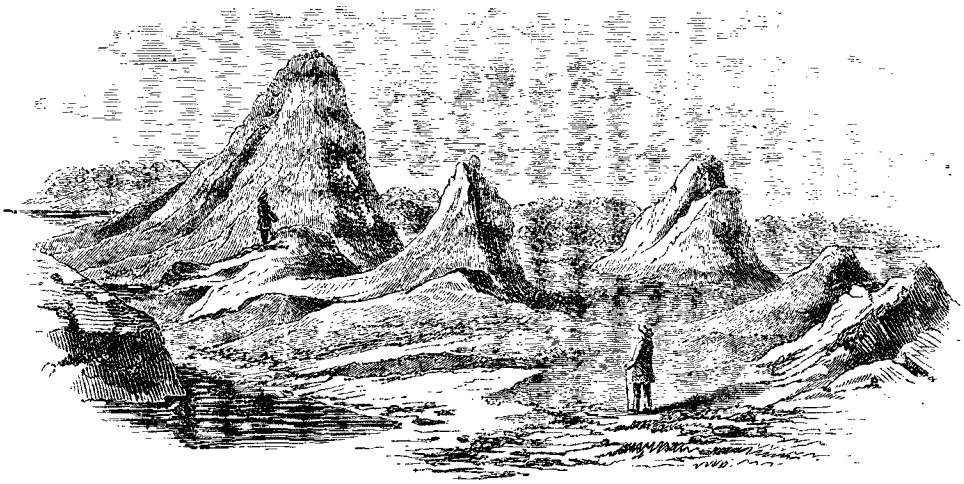


Fig. 46.

below the summit. Another high cone of twelve to fifteen feet occurs to the south of these, and remains of others now inactive and partially washed away again are seen close adjoining. The people of the village said, that occasionally one of these, which had been perhaps for months or years extinct or inactive, would again commence to heave and discharge mud, while frequently the exact position of the discharging orifice, in others which were in operation, would alter.

I noted carefully the intervals of the outbursts or heaves of the most active of these vents, but found them very irregular, both in time and in intensity. There was no law traceable with anything like accuracy, although there did appear to be a rude approximation to some law by which the main burstings or heaves occurred at intervals of about thirty seconds, these greater shocks being accompanied and followed by many little heavings, or the bursting of small bubbles, in the interval.

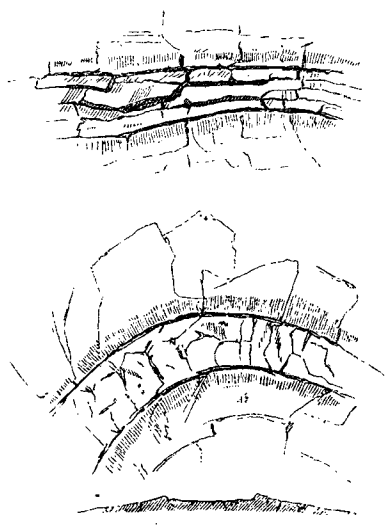


Fig. 47.

The mud, flowing down the side of the cone, forms for itself very rapidly a channel or canal raised above the general level. This is produced by the mud on the edges and sides drying up more rapidly than towards the centre; small raised banks are thus formed, between which the still fluid mud ejected at each successive burst flows in a tolerably continuous stream. The section of such a channel, raised above the general level of the muddy flat, was as represented in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 47.) Occasionally the side would burst, or be broken down, and then the fluid would find an exit, and produce a side or branch-channel, in which the same phenomena would be repeated. While fluid, and in motion, curved lines of structure, owing to the more rapid flow of the centre as compared with that of the sides, dirt bands, &c.,

could readily be traced. But, when dried and solid, the desiccation of the mass of mud containing so large a quantity of moisture gives rise to numerous large cracks, and open joints or fissures, traversing the mud, with comparatively definite direction in the lines (*see sketch*), the most marked being at right angles to the sides of the channel in which the mud flowed; and others, again, nearly at right angles to the former, dicing up the whole mass rudely into square fragments.

Half a mile northwards from these mud heaps there is a group of springs of petroleum, rising out of the level flats at the foot of the small range of hills. One was in active operation in a pool or hole about three feet six inches wide, constantly bubbling up.

There was a large discharge of gas or air, and after the bubbles had burst, the oil could be seen floating on the surface of the water, in little flaky, thin coatings, exhibiting the most beautiful prismatic colours.

This pool or spring had its wall on a level with the ground around, or barely raised above it; but to the north of the spring, about twenty yards off, there was a mound, apparently, at first sight, of a kind of coaly lignite, but which, on examining and breaking it, proved to be a cone of mud originally thrown out by springs similar to those described above, but which springs must have brought with them a much larger relative proportion of petroleum than those now in operation. This had impregnated the muddy mass, and formed a brown-black substance, readily inflammable, and, in fact, an earthy-brown coal. Occasionally in it were fragments of vegetables, leaves, &c. &c., imbedded, and in some of the small cavities were portions of the petroleum consolidated into a hard, black, pitchy substance. This conical heap was eight to ten feet high, and about twenty-five feet in diameter at the base. Other small springs occur to the north of this, and in the same line, but our time did not admit of our visiting more.

The temperature, both of this spring and of the muddy liquid in the cones, was 87°, that of the air at the time of our visit being 81° (the mean temperature of the day being 79° 50′). The villagers said, no flame was ever observed, but that occasionally *smoke* was. I fancy, as they said this only occurred in the cold weather, that their smoke was only the result of the heated air of the spring coming in contact with the colder atmosphere, and producing a cloud.

Leaving Memboo, the steamers proceeded rapidly down the Irawadi. But few and brief stoppages were made, and the party arrived off Rangoon on the evening of the 30th of October.

In concluding these notes, a brief *résumé* of the geological results may possibly be advantageous. I have purposely omitted any reference to matters other than geological, and the account of my progress has therefore been dry and tedious. All information bearing on other points, which I may have obtained, has been handed over to Captain Yule. And in his report also will be found a discussion of the discharge and sources of the Irawadi, with some reference to which I had purposed concluding this report. The geological structure of the country traversed by the Irawadi, so far north as I was enabled to see it, is very simple. From the first appearance of the works at Akouktoung, above the delta of the river, up to Kyouktaloung, not far from the old capital of Ava, nothing but tertiary rocks appear in the river-valley. In some places, the stream rushes through gorge-like channels in these rocks (as above Prome), in other places wide open flats, much like the dried-up beds of former lakes, extend on either bank. And the river-channel is thus made up of a succession of these lake-like expansions, and of narrow and defined channels communicating between them.

Of these tertiary rocks, the main or prevalent strike corresponds nearly with the direction of the river-channel. And the varying character of the strata has, in several cases, given rise to the character of the channel. Thus the degradation and removal of a thick bed or beds of blue clay between hard sandstones, has produced the narrow rocky channel at and above Prome, &c.

But while such is the prevalent strike, there is also much disturbance, much faulting, and much contortion of the beds.

Resting upon the broken edges of these beds, there is another series of strata of sandstones and conglomerates, for the most part much softer than the former, and but little contorted or disturbed. These are principally sandy, in a few cases calcareous, though without any true limestone, and frequently much charged with iron, derived from infiltration. In these beds principally the fossil bones are found. They form the flatter expansions between and among the ranges and hills of the older tertiaries, and the plateaus on their low summits.

The geological age of the older group appears to be tolerably well established, as being of the Eocene epoch. Such was the era assigned, and justly assigned, to the fossils brought from Prome, &c., by Mr. Crawfurd and Dr. Wallich, after their careful examination by Dr. Buckland; and such is the epoch which has been established for these rocks from the examination of still larger collections more recently acquired.

The age of the more recent group is not so fixed. From the great similarity in the character, and in a few cases absolute specific identity of the fossils, they have been referred to the same era as the Siwalik group of India. But the corresponding epoch among European strata is not determined. I have, on the map which accompanies this report, set them down doubtfully as Miocene.

Near the capital, ranges of metamorphic and crystalline rocks appear, having a prevailing direction north and south, and forming well-marked hill-ranges. The immediate connexion of these rocks with the tertiary strata, I have nowhere been fortunate enough to see. But, so far as the evidence goes, it seems to prove that they had been elevated, and had subsequently been degraded, until they had assumed pretty nearly their present general form, previously to the depositions of the tertiary beds around them; and that these latter were formed along the shores and between the islands formed by the metamorphic rocks.

Subsequently to their deposition they were themselves invaded and disturbed by outbursts of volcanic matter, which in some places appears to have been formed in great rents in the rocks, now appearing as dykes, and in others to have actually overflowed the then existing surface. I have not seen anything to show that these trappean intrusions were not prior to the depositions of supposed Miocene beds.

Some recent deposits have again been formed round and over those, and are still being formed by the river throughout its course, and in its great delta.*

* *Fossil Bones, &c.*—Rough list of fossil bones, teeth, &c., procured during the trip, given principally to indicate approximately the relative abundance in which the several kinds have been met with. Time has not sufficed for the careful examination of these, so as to admit of a full description being given.

Jaws and Teeth.

Elephant, tusk	2
Ditto, lower jaw	1
Mastodon, ditto	1
Ditto, molar tooth	1
Rhinoceros, tooth	1
Tapir (?) lower jaw	1
Deer	1
Portion of Cranium, with two orbits and two lines of imperfect molars, shape of Cranium like Sus, teeth like Merycopotamus	1
Gavial fragments	5

Bones.

Pachydermata	35
Ruminants	10
Crocodile	24
Tortoise	21
Ditto, large	17
Undistinguished	16

Note on Metals, Minerals, &c., of Burma.

The following brief notes on the trade in metals and valuable minerals in the Burman Empire have been compiled, partly from information collected by myself during my visit to the capital, from inquiries among the natives, but principally from information furnished by Mr. Spears, to whom I submitted a series of questions bearing on the subject, to which he kindly gave me full replies.

The portions marked with inverted commas are verbatim extracts from Mr. Spears's notes.

Gold.—There are few circumstances which attract the attention of the visitor to Burma more forcibly than the frequent use of gold in decoration, both externally and internally, in their sacred buildings and royal edifices. The whole exterior of many of their largest Pagodas is gilt. In the capital, some of the most beautiful and elaborate Khyoungs or Priests' houses are covered with the richest and most ornate gilding from top to bottom; and in some cases the cost of the gilding alone for a single building has exceeded £10,000 sterling. On the occasion of festivals also, it is a prevailing custom among the Burmans to attach to their Pagodas leaves of gold, even when the building generally is not gilt. Thus, on almost every temple throughout the country, which may be situated near to a village of any size or wealth, little irregular patches of gilding may be seen.

Further, there are few Burmans so poor, that they cannot afford to purchase some rich ornament, some piece of jewellery. Golden ear-rings, finger-rings, neck-chains of gold, often of great weight and elaborate workmanship, are frequent; and the vast amount of wealth which may be seen exposed, in this way, on their great festivals or holy days, for which such rich ornaments are reserved, is most remarkable. In many other ways also, although on a smaller scale, gold is generally used. Gilt umbrellas, used by every high officer of state in the country, in number varying with his rank, the gilding of toys, of small ornaments, of books, &c. &c.,—all these absorb an amount of the precious metal which, in the aggregate, is considerable. Of this large consumption, but a very small portion is supplied by the country itself. Gold-dust is washed from the sands of many streams; it is found near Bamó, it is brought from the Kyen-dwen river, &c. &c.; and I found it in the sands of the streams in the vicinity of the coal-mines of Thingadhau.

But by far the larger portion of all the gold used is brought from China. It is imported in the form of thin leaves of gold, made up into little packets, each packet weighing about one viss. The leaves are of the thickness of ordinary strong foolscap paper, and in size about six inches long by four broad.

From China the annual importation is about 300 viss, or nearly 1100 lbs. Mr. Spears states, that he has known the importation for one year to be as high as 500 viss, or upwards of 1800 lbs. weight.

The greater portion of this very large quantity is consumed in the preparation of gold-leaf, and used for gilding, export, &c. The gold, as imported, is remarkably pure. Its price, in 1855, was nineteen times its weight of Yeutni silver.

The gold procured in the country is all supposed to pay a tax, but as no correct account is taken, it is not easy to ascertain the amount. In Mr. Spears's opinion, from 80 to 100 viss reach the capital yearly. This would make the total annual consumption of gold about 400 viss, or about 1460 lbs.

Gold is prohibited as an article of export, excepting when manufactured into gold-leaf, in which form there is a trifling but constant exportation to Rangoon, and thence to Maulmain.

Gold-leaf can be had in almost every tolerable bazaar or village in the country. Many of the poorer classes buy even single leaves, which they take with them to the pagoda on their moon-days, and attach either to the sacred building or to the Khyoung adjoining. A considerable amount is also used in the preparation of jewellery, &c. &c.

Silver forms the ordinary currency of Burma, it being the medium by which all trade-transactions are carried on. There is no mintage and no coin, and an assayer and refiner is therefore as necessary for every transaction as are the other parties to the bargain. The silver in circulation varies from pure to that which has sixty per cent of alloy. The standard ordinarily adopted, and which is always understood whenever no particular kind of money is mentioned in a contract, is called Yuwet-ni, and should consist of ninety silver and ten copper.* A considerable quantity of silver is brought from China in the way of trade. It is imported by the Shans in a very pure state, made up into small slabs or flat plates, which are from five to ten tikals in weight. The silver which these men themselves use is, nevertheless, very impure, containing often fully 100 per cent alloy.

Silver is procured in many places in the Shan country, and in very large quantities at a place called Bau-dwen, north-east from Amarapoora, and close to the boundary of China.

From this mine alone, it is stated that about forty viss of pure silver are produced per day. Lead and silver are said to be found together (a rich argentiferous galena, I suppose), yielding 1½ per cent of silver. From the difficulty of carriage, the lead cannot be brought away with profit, but the silver fully and amply repays the entire cost of working the mine. At these mines there are stated to be 10,000 Chinese employed, the Burmans not liking the work. There are said to be many other mines through the Shan country, but this at Bau-dwen is by much the most extensive and productive. In fact, if the statements be even near the truth, this must be one of the most extensive mines in the world.†

From these mines the King of Ava only receives forty tikals revenue per annum.

It is probable, or rather almost certain, that a large amount of the silver produced must be absorbed by China, which is so near.

As to the amount of silver in circulation, it is very difficult to ascertain it with any accuracy. Mr. Spears estimates it thus. "Not less than 12,000 viss of copper is obtained annually in the capital by refining coarse silver alone (for the Burmans are constantly changing it from coarse to fine, and fine to coarse), and supposing that silver on an average contains twenty-five per cent alloy, and that one-half of the silver used as currency is annually melted down, we would have 18,00,000, eighteen lacs of tikals pure silver for the circulation of Amarapoora and the adjoining villages.

"Silver has always been a prohibited article of export. It used formerly to be smuggled away in large quantities, but now (1855), as the exchange is very high (silver being very scarce here), I do not think any goes at present."

Lead.— Lead is found in several places in the Burmese territories, but is only worked to a very limited extent, being chiefly brought from the Shan states. It is used in most parts of the country, but especially at the capital, as small change in the bazaars, and, for this purpose, is exposed for sale in every market-place in lumps of various size and value. All over the country, also, it is employed in refining silver, and in making musket bullets.

* For the assay value of this and other sorts of Burman silver, as determined in the Calcutta Mint in 1826–7, see Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Part i. p. 50.—*W.*

† At the *largest* mine in Cornwall, there are not more than 2500 persons employed, including agents, clerks, &c. &c.

Previously to the last war, it was not allowed to be exported, and the price then was five tikals per hundred viss, a price little more than sufficient to pay the carriage from the mines. "The price now (1855) is eight tikals, for lead to be used in the capital or neighbourhood, but, if required for exportation, it can only be purchased from the King, who has monopolised the trade, and at the rate of twenty tikals Yuwet-ni silver. At the beginning of the year, this lead sold at Calcutta for six rupees per bazaar maund (or eighty-two lbs.), but the price of lead having advanced, it now sells for eight rupees. Since the opening of the trade, nearly two years now, about 1,000,000 viss have been exported, and if it were not for the high price charged by the King, ten times that amount would be sent away. As it is, the trade will, at least, double next year."

Specimens of lead ore (galena) were brought to Amarapoora, said to be obtained from the Kuenapa-doung, not more than two days' journey from the capital. This ore was good, and stated to occur in quantity, but contained only a trace of silver. More recently Mr. Spears has forwarded to Major Phayre specimens from another locality, said to be more than three days' journey from Amarapoora, which, on examination, proved to be rich in silver, yielding not less than 1-4 lb. per ton, to 12 cwt. 3 qr. of lead. This is a large percentage, and would render the ore a very valuable one.* It is not improbable that a more enlightened policy will enable the trade in lead to be very largely extended. "For refining purposes, at the capital alone, I do not think less than 20,000 viss of lead are used per annum, half of which may be lost."

Through the kindness of Major Phayre, I have obtained a return of the quantity of lead exported from Rangoon during the last two official years. In 1854–55, the quantity was 558,885.25 viss, representing a value of 166,382 Rs., 15 as. 1¼ p. In 1855–56, the quantity was 428,658.80 viss, representing a value of 115,130 Rs., 13 as. 6 p.

Tin.—Tin is imported from China and from the straits, *viâ* Rangoon. Of the total amount used, China supplies about one-third. But this tin is inferior to that brought from the straits, not working so well. It is principally used as alloy for copper, in the manufacture of brass, for bell-metal, &c., &c., occasionally also for covering roofs. Thus the Palace roof is plated with tin, and some of the Kyoungs in the capital. Price at Amarapoora, about eighty tikals per 100 viss.

The amount of tin exported from Rangoon in 1855–56, was 437 viss, the value 546 Rs. 4 as. None was imported by Rangoon.

Zinc.—The chief supply of zinc is derived from Europe by way of Rangoon; small quantities, also, are brought from China in the form of small cups, the European zinc coming in slabs.

It is used in the manufacture of bell-metal, brass wire, &c. &c.

The price at the capital ranges from 70 to 90 tikals per 100 viss.

Copper.—Of this valuable metal there are annually imported to Amarapoora about 35,000 viss. At present the only supply is derived from China. The ore is said to be abundant in the Shan states, though not worked. Copper is used for alloying silver, making weights, &c. &c. It comes in the form of copper vessels broken up, and in some cases in a rough smelted state.

"I have known it to be cast into cannon, but the expenditure in this way is very small." Rich veins are said to occur about eighty miles from the capital.

Of copper, 15,119 viss were exported from Rangoon in the official year 1855–56. (Returns kindly furnished by Major Phayre.)

Iron.—The principal site of the manufacture of iron in Burma is at Poukpa, a lofty

* This is equivalent to lead, 63.900; silver, 0.0625 per cent.

mountain about fifteen miles east of Pagán, and at *Maedoo*, a good distance north of Shue-bo-myo.

A small quantity is brought from the Shan states, and about one-third of the amount used in the capital is brought from seaward. In the country districts, however, but very little foreign iron is used. The iron from Poukpa, though not considered the best, is that which is most generally used, owing to the greater facility which exists for its transit by water-carriage. It is generally brought to market in lumps weighing from 10 to 15 viss.

This coarse, or, as it would be called in India, cutcha iron, sells for 8 to 10 tikals per 100 viss, depending on its purity, the coarser and more common varieties losing as much as 40 per cent during the process of conversion, the finer qualities about 25 per cent.

"Taking the iron consumed in all Burma into account, I do not think that more than 5 per cent of it comes from seaward, the remainder (95 per cent) being all the produce of the country; dhas (swords), knives, and all agricultural implements being made from the latter kind. Indeed, all the important iron is used at the capital, or at a few large villages by the river's side."

"The present market-price of imported iron is 30 tikals for 100 viss, of native iron 30 to 60, according to quality."

In reducing the native iron, charcoal is the fuel invariably used. All the steel required is imported from seaward or from China, as the Burmese do not understand its manufacture.

"The sulphur used in the country is all imported, and, being a prohibited article of trade, is smuggled, and in considerable quantities. The present price (1855) may be given at about 150 tikals per 100 viss. Before the late war, it was only forty." Specimens of rock, from which it was stated that sulphur was extracted, were brought to me at Amarapoora, and specimens of the sulphur said to have been extracted from it. The latter was unquestionably not of native manufacture, although the ore (iron pyrites) would yield sulphur, if properly treated. The extraction of sulphur from this ore is, however, a process only adopted in Europe within a few years, and, if known to the Shans, can, I fancy, be carried on only in the very rudest way, and with considerable loss in the results.

Sulphur forms a strong efflorescence on the surface, and in the little cracks of many of the beds of rock associated with the petroleum, and from these a small quantity might be obtained.

The "Ruby-mines" of Burma* have been long known, although the jealousy of the native Government has prevented their being visited by many Europeans.

They are situated north-east from the capital, and distant about sixty to seventy miles.

The principal road to them leaves the river Irawadi at Tsinguh-myo, and passes through Shuemalé. There are other roads, from Tsampaynago and other villages, to the north. The mines lie nearly due east from the village, being separated from the valley of the Irawadi by the lofty range of the Shuedoung mountains. The villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the mines are Kyatpen, Mogouk, and Kathéyuwa. The precise limits within which the gems are found are unknown, but they are, or have been, procured over an area of probably 100 square miles.

The mode of seeking for them is simply sinking pits until the gem-bed or ruby earth is met with. This is then raised to the surface, and washed. This gem-bed is met with at very various depths, sometimes not more than two or three feet from the surface, at other times more than forty feet, and occasionally not at all. When the layer of earthy sand containing the rubies is met, lateral shafts are driven in on it, and the bed followed up, until it either becomes

* Notice of these mines, translated from the original account (by Père Giuseppe D'Amato, an Italian Jesuit Missionary to Burma), was given in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. ii. p. 75 (1833).

The place is said to be surrounded by nine mountains, the ground uneven and full of marshes, which form seventeen small lakes.

necessary to sink another pit on it, or it becomes exhausted. It varies in thickness from a few inches to two or three feet.

The rubies are, for the most part, small, not averaging more than a quarter of a rutty, and, when large, are generally full of flaws. Well-marked crystals occasionally occur, but the vast majority of the stones are well rounded and ground down. It is a very rare case to find a large ruby without flaws; and Mr. Spears states that he has never seen a perfect ruby weighing more than half a rupee.

The sapphires are found in the same earth with the rubies, but are much more rare, and generally found of a larger size. "Stones of ten to fifteen rutties without a flaw are common, whereas a perfect ruby of that size is hardly ever seen. The largest perfect sapphire I ever saw weighed one tikal. It was polished; but I have seen a rough one weighing twenty-five tikals." "For every five hundred rubies, I do not think they get one sapphire." You see very few small sapphires in the market, while small rubies are abundant and cheap.

The value of the gems, rubies, and sapphires obtained in a year may be from one-and-a-quarter to one-and-a-half lac, from 12,500*l.* to 15,000*l.* They are considered solely the property of the King, and strictly monopolised, but, notwithstanding the care that is taken, considerable quantities are smuggled.

There are about twenty lapidaries or polishers of these stones in Amarapoora. They are not allowed to carry on their trade at the mines. For polishing, "small rubies and worthless pebbles, brought from the mines, pounded fine, and mixed up with an adhesive substance, and then made into cakes, some ten inches long by four broad, are used to rub down the gem on. After it has been brought to the form and size required, another stone of finer grain is used. The last process is performed by rubbing the ruby on a plate of copper or brass, until it is thoroughly polished, when the gem is ready for the market."

From the above statements, it will be seen that there is a large trade carried on in metals, &c., principally with China and the Shan states. With the former, this traffic is conducted almost entirely on mules; with the latter, on bullocks.

The roads are of the most primitive kind, and the restrictions of various kinds oppressive and strict; and there can be little doubt that these branches of trade would receive a great impulse from more liberal arrangements.

Judging from their peculiar geological relations and structure, I believe that the hills to the east of the capital, and stretching away thence north and south, will in all probability be found rich in mineral and metallic wealth. To establish this and investigate it fully would, of course, require a much more detailed examination than either our time or opportunities admitted of; but even without this, there is a high probability, and the conditions are favourable, for such deposits.

Several specimens of metallic ores, lead, copper, &c., were brought in while the Mission remained at Amarapoora, but, of course, no opinion could be formed of the quantity or abundance in which they occurred.

Among others was one specimen from Ye-ta-gooung hill (Waterfall hill), which was said to be four to six miles from Kue-napa: this was stated to yield three per cent of silver. It showed small strings of silver and of argentiferous galena, occurring in a calcareous matrix, with minute threads of quartz. Whether this specimen was procured from one of the same places that are referred to above I cannot say, but it is very probable.

Note upon Earthquakes in Burma.

The Burman Empire has frequently been visited by severe earthquake-shocks. To this day many, though seldom serious, shocks occur during the year. While the Mission remained at Amarapoora, two slight shocks occurred, on the 18th day of September, and on the 5th day of October; the latter of these was scarcely felt. But the evidences of former shocks, destructive to houses, Pagodas, and Kyoungs, meet the eye on every side. Huge masses of masonry overthrown,—buildings rent from top to bottom,—others half upset, and looking as if the next slight vibration would bring them down, are scattered in numbers over the hills of Tsagaing, in the now deserted capital of Ava, and along the river-banks to the north of Amarapoora.

The majority of these ruined appearances are the result of the severest earthquake on record in the country, and to the effects of which most of this destruction is due. It occurred on the morning of the 23rd March, 1839, at about 4 o'clock A.M. The shock was felt throughout the whole Burman Empire, from Bamó, on the northern frontier, to Rangoon; but of very varying force, and with varying destructive effects.* Mr. Spears, who was in Amarapoora at the time, has, in reply to some queries, kindly favoured me with the following description:—

"On Saturday morning, 23rd March, 1839, at about 4 o'clock A.M., Amarapoora was visited by an earthquake, that surprised the oldest inhabitants by its strength—Burman history mentions nothing of the kind having taken place before. I was in bed and asleep at the time, but was soon awoke by a tremendous roar, and the tiles from the roof of the house coming down about my ears; the motion so great that I had some difficulty in finding the door, but whether vertical or horizontal, I had not presence of mind sufficient to judge at the time. I did not even know it was an earthquake until it was finished. The shock may have taken up about thirty seconds in all.

"When I did get into the open air, I found the heavens without a cloud, and although there was not a breath of wind, the trees shook as if it were blowing a gale. The dust rising all round from the destroyed houses gave the sky a peculiar appearance, not easily to be forgotten.

"From the appearance the ruins presented in the morning, I have little doubt the motion was from north to south. The river did rise a little, as if its bed had been obstructed, but did no damage to the boats, even to those that were deeply laden. I never heard of a wave, but the banks of the river, between Amarapoora and Ava, were rent in many places, presenting chasms of from five to twenty feet in width, from which large quantities of water, and sand of a blackish appearance, had been ejected. The earthquake was not accompanied by any perceptible smell.

"Judging from the appearance the city walls of Amarapoora and Ava presented the next morning after the great shock, I am decidedly of opinion that it must have been felt stronger in the latter than in the former city.

"At Tsagaing, I would not say that it was stronger than at Ava, either on the hill-tops or on the river-side. My reason for supposing this is, that the Pagodas on both sides of the river presented the same appearance: that is, they were all deprived of their 'htees,' and the same quantity of brickwork from the top.

"This earthquake was felt at Bamó and Rangoon; in fact, all over the Burman territory. In Rangoon, the time observed was very nearly the same as here; it did no damage, but was strong enough to ring pagoda and some house-bells, and alarm the inhabitants.

"From all I have been able to learn, I think Ava must have been about the centre.

"After the great quake, we had strong shocks all day, every five or twenty minutes, but

* It was felt distinctly by Dr. Richardson, then travelling in Siam, three days north of Bangkok.—*Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vol. ix.—*H. Y.*

none coming up to the first in violence. They were, almost invariably, preceded a second or two by a sound resembling a cannon fired at a distance ; or, at other times, as if a number of carriages were passing over a rough bridge under ground. There were two distinct kinds of earthquakes : that preceded by the cannon-like sound had little or no rolling motion, but more resembled some one thumping up from below, as it were ; it made the houses 'dirrl,' and set the slates and glasses a-dancing. The other came like the wave of the sea, with a motion generally from east to west ; at least, that was my impression at the time.

" *The under-ground sounds* seemed to *come always from the eastwards.*

" For four or five days we had nothing but earthquakes, every fifteen to thirty minutes ; and for six months after, scarcely a day passed without one. In fact, it is only the last three years that we have been tolerably free from them.

" The impression left on the people was, that it was very unsafe to live in brick buildings, unless a wooden framework is put up inside of them, which is always done now by any Burman wishing to have a pucka house.

" There never was a correct list of the number of people killed ; but there must have been from three to four hundred. Ava suffered most, from having some brick Kyoungs, where a great number of Poongyis were destroyed."—*Amarapoora, 24th Sept.* 1855.

In a MS. Journal of Captain McLeod, in the Foreign Office, Calcutta, there is a brief and very uncircumstantial notice of the same earthquake.

" 1839, March 23rd.—At about half-past one this morning, we were suddenly roused from our sleep by two terrible shocks of an earthquake. Though numerous concussions continued to take place, none were so severe as the two first. In the morning, not a Pagoda was to be seen standing whole. Every brick building in the town had either been thrown down, burying in their ruins numbers of people, or so rent and damaged as to render their being taken down necessary.

" The Pagodas crowning the height of Tsagaing shared the fate of those at Amarapoora. In the neighbourhood of the Residency extensive and deep fissures had spread out, from which large quantities of water had been discharged, and the earth in many places hove up with water springing up from the centre. The wells were all choked up and dry."—*MS. Journal of Capt. McLeod, for* 1839.

Again he notices a shock of earthquake which occurred on March 25th, during his visit to the King.

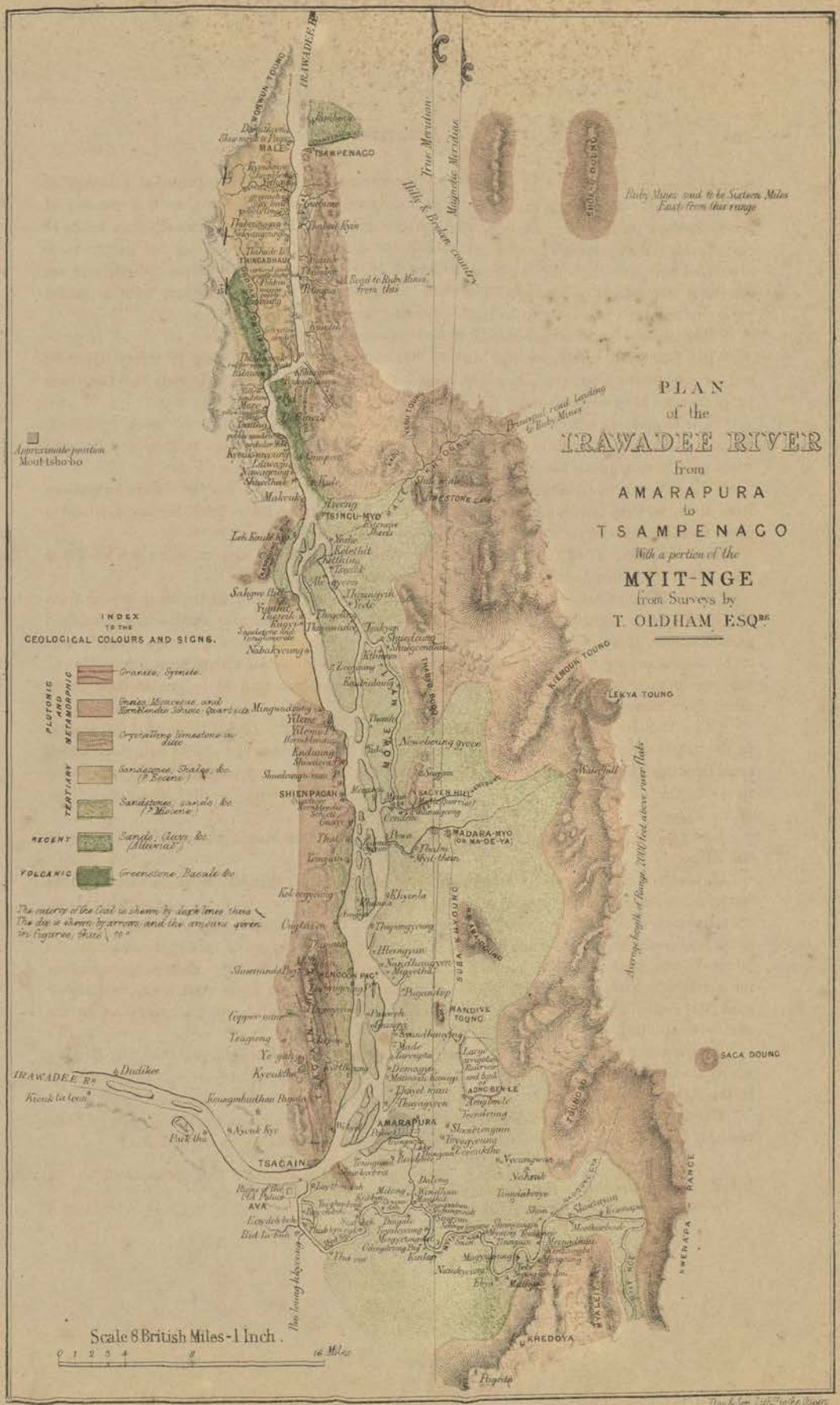
He states that the King of Burma informed him that their religious treatises told him that earthquakes occurred every twenty or thirty years, and were severer on the sea-coast than inland. The Burmese attributed earthquakes to the movement of some animal in the earth, but that foreigners maintained that they proceeded from the sudden union of certain matters in the bowels of the earth, and as a proof of this hypothesis, that they buried certain preparations in the earth, which after a few days would cause the same sensation as an earthquake, and throw open the earth, &c. That during earthquakes eyesight grew dim, and an oppression in the chest was also felt.

I do not find further notices of any earthquakes in Burma, although, probably, the form in which phenomena attending the death of kings are stated by Padre San Germano to be recorded in the Royal Chronicle, may be taken as proof of their not unfrequent occurrence.*

The large lake called Endaŭ-gyi, west of Mogoung, is said to cover the site of a large Shan town, called Tumansye. The natives affirm that it was destroyed by an earthquake.†

* " When there is an earthquake in Pegu," Valentyn says, " they think that the King will die, or will lose his throne, or will oppress them, or that there will be a famine, or something else."—*Y.*

† *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. vi. p. 274.


PLAN
of the
IRAWADEE RIVER
from
AMARAPURA
to
TSAMPENAGO
With a portion of the
MYIT-NGE
from Surveys by
T. OLDHAM ESQRE
INDEX
TO THE
GEOLOGICAL COLOURS AND SIGNS.
PLUTONIC AND METAMORPHIC
TERTIARY
RECENT
VOLCANIC
Granite, Syenite.
Gneiss, Micaceous, and Hornblendic Schist, Quartzite.
Crystalline limestone in situ.
Sandstones, Shales, &c. (? Eocene)
Sandstone, sands, &c. (? Miocene)
Sands, Clays, &c. (Alluvial)
Greenstone, Basalt &c
Approximate position Mout-tsho-bo
The course of the Coal is shown by dark lines thus
The dip is shown by arrows and the amount given in figures, thus 10°
Scale 8 British Miles - 1 Inch.
0 1 2 3 4 8 16 Miles
IRAWADEE R.
TSAMPENAGO
MALE
THINGADHAUN
TSAGAIN
AVA
AMARAPURA
SHIENPAGAH
MADARA-MYO (OR MA-OE-YA)
TSINGU-MYO
MANDIVE TOUNG
SACA DOUNG
LEKYA TOUNG
KREDOYA
AWERAPA RANGE
True Meridian
Magnetic Meridian
Hilly & Broken country
Ruby Mines said to be Sixteen Miles East from this range
Road to Ruby Mines from Ava
Principal road leading to Ruby Mines
Average height of Range 2000 feet above river Gale
Day & Son, Lith.rs to the Queen

Col. Burney (MS. Journal), on 24th April, 1830, then just arrived at Ava, records distinct and severe shocks of earthquake. "The last earthquake occurred about two years ago." And in visiting Mengoon Pagoda in the following year, 1831, he mentions that the building was then cracked on every side, and that this was said to have been occasioned by an earthquake fifteen years before, or in 1816.

Of these and many other earthquakes, there are now unfortunately no records to be found. But in future years, it is much to be desired that careful notice of such phenomena should be preserved. It is highly probable that the basin of the Upper Irawadi will then be found to be connected, and to form one great area of disturbance, with the Upper Assam valley, where earthquake shocks are by no means unfrequent.

APPENDIX B.

From Appendix B. to the MS. Journal of Major H. Burney, Resident at Ava, accompanying a Letter dated 11th September, 1830, in the Foreign Office, Calcutta.

This translation was made and transmitted to Government by Colonel Burney, because it was one of the evidences relied on by the Burmese ministers, as proving their title to the district of Thoung-thwot (commonly called in our maps the Kubo valley), which, by the boundary originally laid down after the peace of Yandabo, had been assigned to Munnipoor.

"Extract from an inscription on stone to be seen at the great Pagoda of Koung Mhoo-dau, or Yaza ma-netsoola, near Ava; which building is described as having been commenced in the year* 998, during the reign of King Tha-lwon Men-tara-gyi, and finished in the year 1012,† during the reign of his son, Nga-dat-dayaka, who is said to have placed the inscription.

"(After many religious sentences from Pali books, the following division of the empire of Ava into kingdoms is mentioned.)

"'All comprised within the great districts or countries of Tsa-koo, Tsalen, Lay-gain, Phounglen, Kalé, and Thoung-thwot, is constituted the kingdom of Thuna-paranta.‡ All within the great districts of Pagán, Ava, Penya, and Myen-zain, is constituted the kingdom of Tampa-dewa.§ All within the great districts of Thee-bho, Nyoung-shwé, and Moné, is constituted the kingdom of Kambau-za.‖ All within the great districts of Bhan and Khwe-loun is the kingdom of Zein.‖ All within the great districts of Tha-re-khettara,¶ Oodetayeet, and Padoung, is the kingdom of Theeri-khettara-ma. All within the great districts of Ketoo-matee, Zeya-wa-dee, is

* "A.D. 1636."

† "A.D. 1650."

‡ "Symes's *Sonaḥparindo*. See his translation of the letter from the King of Ava, p. 487, 4to. edition. [Sunaparanta is mentioned as the country of two merchants, who figure in one of the legends of Gautama. (Hardy's *Manual of Bud.* p. 259.) Its etymology suggests relation to, perhaps identity with, the Aurea Regio of Ptolemy. In relation to this and to the Mareura metropolis, which Ptolemy also mentions in that region, it is rather remarkable that the classic name of Kalé and Thoung-thwot among the Burmese, is *Maureeya* (McLeod's *MS. Journal*), a name also applied to Mweyen on the Irawadi."]

§ "Symes's Tomba-deva. The ministers told me that by Thunaparanta they mean *all* countries to the northward of Ava, and by Tampa-dewa *all* to the southward.

"But this inscription shows that the ministers themselves do not exactly understand what countries are comprised within Thunaparanta and Tampa-dewa."

‖ "This is not our Cambodia, as Dalrymple, in his *Oriental Repertory*, vol. x. p. 107, supposed. Zein is probably Symes's Zaniengnia."

¶ "Prome."

the kingdom of Zeya-wadana.* All within the great districts of Henthawadee,† Digoun,‡ Dala, Kothein,§ Young-mya, and Mouttama,‖ is the kingdom of Yamaniya. All within the great district of Kiyain-toun is the kingdom of Khemawara.¶ All within the great districts of Zen-may and Kyainthee is the kingdom of Harimouza-myo.** All within the great district of Kyain-youn and Main-zeen is the kingdom of Maha-na-gara.†† These great kingdoms and countries, and the great districts of Mayee and Ma-dait, in Tha-mooddara (the sea),' " &c.

APPENDIX C.

Translation of the Burmese Hymn chanted by the Brahmins.

I. May the dangers and enmity which arise from the ten points be calmed and subdued, may the affliction of disease never attach itself (to thee), and in accordance with the blessings declared in the sacred Pali, mayest (thou) be continually victorious. May (thy) life be prolonged for more than a hundred years, and may (thy) glory continue till the end of the world; mayest thou enjoy whatever is propitious, and may all evil be far (from thee) O King!

II. Thy glorious reputation diffuses itself like the scent of the sandal-wood, and exceeds the refulgence of the moon! Lord of the celestial elephant! of the excellent white elephant! Master of the celestial weapon! Lord of life, and great chief of righteousness! Lineal descendant of Mahatha-mada and Mahadha-mayadza, like unto the kings of the universe who governed the four great islands of the solar system, and were versed in charms and spells of fourteen descriptions, may (thy) glory be prolonged, and (thy) life be extended to more than a hundred years! mayest (thou) enjoy whatever is propitious, and may all evil be far (from thee), O King!

III. Great chief of righteousness, whose fame spread like the fragrance of sandal-wood, and exceeds the glorious light of the moon, in whom is concentrated all glory and honour, who with her Majesty the Queen, the lineal descendant of anointed kings, happily governest all; may (thy) rule extend not only to the great southern island (the earth), which is tens of thousands of miles in extent, but to all the four grand and five hundred smaller islands; may it equal the stability of the mountains Yoo-gan-toh,‡‡ Myen-mo,§§ and Hai-magaree,‖‖ and until the end of the world mayest thou and thy descendants continue in unbroken line unto the royal son and royal great grandson, that (thy) glory may endure for countless ages; and may (thy) royal life be prolonged for more than a hundred years, O King!

IV. May our King be continually victorious! When the divine Buddha ascended the golden throne, all created beings inhabiting millions of worlds became his subjects, and he overcame all enemies; so may kings by hundreds and thousands, and tens of thousands, come with offerings of celestial weapons, white elephants, flying horses, virgins, and precious stones of divers sorts, and do homage to the golden feet, which resemble the germs of the lotus, O King!—(*Major Phayre.*)

* "Symes's Seawuttena."
† "Pegu."
‡ "Rangoon."
§ [Or, Pothein: the letter in Burney's MS. is doubtful.] "Bassein."
‖ "Martaban."
¶ "Said to be the same as Hamarotha, or Symes's Hamaratta."
** "Symes's Hurry mounza."
†† "The same as Symes's D'Zodinagara."
‡‡ Yugandhara; the highest of the seven ridges encircling Maha Meru.—*Y.*
§§ Maha Meru.—*Y.*
‖‖ The Himalaya, probably.—*Y.*

APPENDIX D.

Letter from the Governor-General to the King of Ava.

(*After titles and compliments.*)

The Governor-General informs His Majesty, the King of Ava, that, in pursuance of the intentions expressed in the letter which the Governor-General had the honour of addressing to His Majesty on the 23d December, 1854, he has appointed Major Arthur Purves Phayre, commissioner of Pegu and agent to the Governor-General, to be an Envoy to the Court of His Majesty the King.

The Envoy is charged to deliver this friendly letter to the King; and to convey to His Majesty divers articles, the products of various countries of Europe and of the East, in token of those feelings of friendship and good will which the British Government entertains towards the King, and which it desires to retain towards His Majesty and his successors in all time to come.

His Majesty will learn fully from the Envoy how great was the satisfaction with which the Governor-General received the Embassy, which His Majesty deputed to Calcutta a few months ago; and His Majesty will recognise in the prompt appointment of the present mission an additional proof of the sincerity with which the Governor-General desires to cultivate relations of peace between the two great states, and to increase and extend the intercourse which tends so much to the mutual interest and advantage of both.

His Majesty has shown, since his accession to the throne of Ava, so earnest and sincere a desire for lasting concord between the states; His Majesty has at all times exhibited so worthy a resolution to do justice to all men, and in the whole policy of his happy reign His Majesty has so established the reputation of his wisdom and of his determination to cultivate those pursuits which lead to peace and to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects; that the Governor-General entertains a confident expectation that the visit of a representative of the British Government to His Majesty's Court will materially tend to confirm the friendly alliance which is desired by the rulers of the two great states; to remove all causes of possible dissension between them, and to encourage and enlarge the commerce, which must be equally beneficial to both.

The Envoy is an officer of high rank and reputation. He enjoys the entire confidence of the Government of India.

The Governor-General, therefore, invites His Majesty, with renewed assurances of respect and esteem, to listen to the Envoy's words, and to place full reliance on the sentiments which he will express.

DALHOUSIE.

3*d July*, 1855.

APPENDIX E.

The King's Letter to the Governor-General.

His great, glorious, and most excellent Majesty, who reigns over the kingdoms of Thunaparanta, Tampadeepa, and all the great umbrella-wearing chiefs of the Eastern countries, the King of the rising sun, Lord of the celestial Elephants, and master of many white Elephants, and great chief of righteousness, informs the English ruler who governs India and all the great countries to the westward,—

That, in accordance with the existing great friendship, the English ruler having deputed his minister and Commissioner, Major Arthur Purves Phayre, with a Royal letter and presents, the Royal war and accommodation-boats, with the officers of state, have been sent down to meet and escort him; and on his arrival at the Royal city in the year 1217, fifth day of the waning moon Wagoung (1st September, 1855), agreeably to the great friendship existing between both states, he was requested to reside in the house built for his accommodation, and supplied with everything that was requisite. The Royal letter and presents have been received in a proper and suitable manner; and in the year 1217, twelfth day of the increasing moon Tha-den Ky-wot (22d October, 1855), (this) Royal letter was delivered to the Envoy and Commissioner Major Arthur Purves Phayre; and that there should be no obstruction during his journey, officers have been appointed to escort him to the frontier district of Maloon, of which information is now given.

APPENDIX F.

On the Plan of Burmese Monasteries.

I observe that Mr. Fergusson, in his admirable "Handbook of Architecture," expresses regret at the want of information respecting the arrangement of the kyoungs, or monasteries, of Burma, as bearing on the form of such buildings in ancient Buddhist India. Had I seen this before our

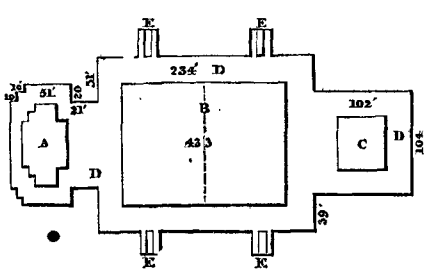


Fig. 48.

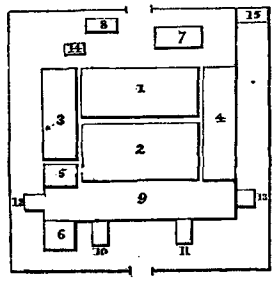


Fig. 49.

journey to Amarapoora, I should have endeavoured to bring away fuller information. My own visits to the interior of these buildings were, I confess, almost entirely barred by strong disin-

clination to undergo what was supposed to be the necessary ceremony of *unshoeing*. The form of the kyoungs is not always the same. There is universally, I think, a rectangular timber platform raised on massive posts to a height varying from six to fifteen feet from the ground, and on this the buildings are erected, sometimes forming three sides of a square. But by far the most common arrangement is that shown in the first of the above figures; and it is that of nine-tenths of the kyoungs near Amarapoora. This plan exhibits rough measurements which I took of the Maha-yet-na-boung-dau, the largest monastic building at the capital. The parts of which the measurements are not marked are drawn in from recollection, but there can be no essential error. A is a timber chapel with a lofty spire, or *pyasath*, of seven or eight stories, covering a large figure of Gautama, and is the most highly-decorated part of the monastery: almost universally, at the capital at least, it occupies the east end of the structure. B is the main building, occupied by the monks. It is divided transversely into two great apartments, and often contains large throned images of Gautama with bibliothecs, ornamented shrines, and all sorts of quaint articles presented by the devout. C is called the *Anouk Tazoung*, or western pavilion, and is said to be devoted to the disciples and school-boys. I give all this with diffidence, having failed to obtain answers to my queries from the better informed. D, D, is the spacious planked platform on which the buildings are erected. E, E, are the staircases, the only pieces of brickwork in the structure.

C has generally two or three tiers of roofs; B has four or five, as described at p. 163, supported by the central row of posts, which run up from the ground, in the instance of the building delineated above, to a height of nearly eighty feet. The number of the noble pillars supporting this building was, as mentioned before, 404.

Sometimes there are three pyasaths, or spires, abreast at the eastern extremity. The second figure given above is from a Burmese drawing. It differs greatly from that which I have observed to be most common at Amarapoora. In it, most probably, No. 1 corresponds to B in my drawing, No. 2 to C, and No. 3 to A. The following are the references which accompanied the drawing when sent me by Major Phayre.

1. Chief room. In this the second personage of the Kyoung generally resides, with the superior students.

2. The schoolroom and place where the Poongyis generally receive visitors.

3. Place where the idols are. The chief Poongyi generally sleeps in a room off this, and uses it to take exercise in; he also generally preaches here to small congregations.

4. Long gallery for walking exercise.

5. Reading-room.

6. A spire sometimes built at the side of the entrance.

7. Eating-house for the probationers and scholars.

8. Cooking-house.

9. Outside raised open veranda called "Elephant's Approach." It is meant that a man of rank comes on his elephant thus far; but such an act would never be allowed nowadays. A man of the highest rank would dismount outside the fence, and come up to the kyoung barefooted.

10, 11, 12, 13. Ladders of entrance.

14. Bathing-house.

15. Do. for scholars and probationers.

APPENDIX G.

On the Sources of the Irawadi.

The sources and upper course of the Irawadi are still, I believe, a vexed question among geographers. We have no new light to throw on the controversy, but it is worth while to collect the facts.

A century ago D'Anville asserted his conviction that the great river of Ava was identical with the Tsanpoo, which the maps sent from China by the Jesuits had lately made known as traversing Tibet from west to east.* Dalrymple, the compiler of the Oriental Repertory, and a very able geographer, who put together on a small scale Buchanan's geographical collections for the narrative of Symes's Mission, indicated the same idea on his map. On the other hand, the great proto-geographer of British India, whom our corps of Bengal Engineers should be proud to reckon as one of its earliest members, identified the Tsanpoo with the great river of Assam, the Burrampooter.†

In 1825, and some years later in a memoir on the sources of the Brahmaputra and the Irawadi,‡ M. Klaproth revived the doctrine of D'Anville and Dalrymple, supporting it by citations from Chinese authors and state documents, as well as by arguments from physical geography. His definite position was that the Tsanpoo passed through the west of Yunan, and, under the Chinese name of Pinlang Kiang, entered the Burmese territories at Bamo, and there, joining another considerable river coming from the north, formed the river which flows by Ava as the Irawadi.§

That the exact position taken up by Klaproth was quite untenable, there was fact enough in print to prove. Buchanan had ascertained, and recorded from the information of the Tsaubwa of Bamó, that the Irawadi in no part of its course entered Yunan, and that the river of Bamó was a small stream called, both in Burmese and Chinese, by epithets nearly corresponding to the Indian *nullah*.‖ If any doubt on the latter point remained, it must have been dispelled by the personal observation of Capt. Hannay in 1835-36, and of Drs. Griffith and Bayfield in the following year.¶

A gallant attempt to solve the problem was made in 1827, by Lieutenants Wilcox and Burlton, who accomplished an arduous journey across the mountains between the sources of the Dihing and the valley of the Irawadi (12,474 feet high at one point of the route). The latter river, at the point where those officers stood on its banks, a few miles north of Moongkhamti, and in lat. 27° 26′, was about eighty yards broad, and though considerably swollen by melting snows, was still fordable, and traversed by numerous shallow rapids. The sources of the river

* *Eclaircissemens Géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde.* Paris, 1753, p. 146.

† Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 298. A conjecture to the same effect occurs in the memoir on the map of Tibet by the Père Regis, at the end of Duhalde's *China*.

‡ About 1829. The copy in the Asiatic Society's Library is an excerpt from some periodical, and has no date.

§ Pemberton (p. 175) seems to be mistaken in supposing that Klaproth had retracted his theory in his *Description du Tubet*. He there re-asserts it. (See *D. du T.* p. 116, note.)

‖ *Account of a Map of the Route between Tartary and Amarapoora*, &c. By Francis (Buchanan) Hamilton, M.D. *Edin. Philos. Journal*, vol. iii. 1820, pp. 35, 36.

¶ Hannay's *MS. Journal*; and abstract thereof in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vi. 258; *MS. Journal* of Dr. Bayfield in Surveyor-General's Office; Griffith's *Posthumous Papers*, p. 138.

could not be distant, and their position was pointed out in a towering wall of snow-capt mountains, stretching from west to east transverse to the valley.

In the disquisition which Wilcox has appended to his narrative, he has, I think, all but absolutely demonstrated, both that the Tsanpoo is the Burrampooter (or rather the Dihong, for the sacred branch called Brahmaputra is a much smaller river), and that the Irawadi is not the Tsanpoo.*

But though his researches foreclosed the problem in this direction they rather tended to open it in another. For he also learned from the Singphos that the Irawadi which flows down into Burma, is formed by the junction of another large branch from the eastward with that which he had visited among the Khamtis. This junction he placed in lat. 25° 3′, but it was afterwards ascertained by Capt. Hannay to be probably near 26°.

Now it appears an obvious suggestion that this eastern Irawadi, called by the Singphos the Shumäe Kha, or Sgin-mäe Kha, which has never been seen by European eye, may be much larger, and of vastly remoter source, than the river seen by Wilcox. This supposition, however, Wilcox himself felt constrained to reject. The Singphos agreed in describing this eastern river, which they were familiar with, sometimes as not larger, sometimes as not materially larger, than the Khamti river; and they were of opinion that the Shumäe Kha rose in the northern mountains, *i. e.* in the mountains above-mentioned north of Khamti, and a few days' journey only east of the known river. It was also a fact to be noted, that the Shans give the name of Namkiu to the river of Khamti and to the Irawadi throughout its course.† Wilcox, therefore, enters into an elaborate argument from the analogies of Assam, to show that it is quite probable that a river in that region, having no greater area of drainage than the Irawadi with the sources which he ascribed to it possesses, should exhibit as great a body of water as that river was described to exhibit at Amarapoora and at Prome.

The little evidence since collected cuts both ways.

On his way to Mogoung, Capt. Hannay learned from some Shan soldiers the important fact that the western branch was called by the Burmese *Myit-gyi*, or great river, the eastern, or unvisited branch, the *Myit-ngi*, or little river. They told him also that this Myit-ngi, called by the Shans Nam Boun, and by the Kakhyens or Singphos Zin-mäe Kha or Sgin-mäe Kha, rose in the same range of hills with the other branch, but eight days' journey to the east of Khamti. Some eastern Singphos, whom he met at the Amber-mines, confirmed this statement, telling him that the Sgin-mäe rose in the mountains bounding Khamti to the north, and that to the east of it there was a great range of mountains trending south, called by the Singphos *Goulansigong*, and regarded as the (nominal) boundary between the Burmese and the Chinese territories. They also said that the eastern river was not navigable at all, and that the western river was only traversable by rafts.

All this confirms Wilcox's views, and singularly harmonises with what he heard.

But then comes the difficulty.

Wilcox's arguments may be admitted as showing the possibility of the Irawadi's being a river of the magnitude ascribed to it at Prome, where it drains thirty-one square degrees, or at Amarapoora, where it drains about fourteen, and is 460 miles distant from the Khamti source; out when we ascend to the latitude of Mogoung, where, according to the Singpho evidence, it

* *As. Researches*, xvii. 457. Prior to this, Lieut. Wilcox, in communication with the Surveyor-General, Lieut.-Col. Hodgson, had reprinted Klaproth's Memoir, and combated his theory. *Oriental Quarterly*, July 1826. The Journal of Lieutenants Burlton and Wilcox, of their visit to the sources of the Irawadi, was published also in the same for June 1827.—*W.*

† Too much could not be built on this, with the case of the smaller Brahmaputra swallowing up the greater Dihong on the other side of the mountains.

would drain only about five and a half degrees, and be only 200 miles distant from its source, and still find it spoken of in the same sort of terms, it is not wonderful that doubts arise.

Captain Hannay thus describes his last view of the Irawadi before turning off to the north westward up the river of Mogoung:—

"Before leaving the Irawadi I could not help contrasting its size with that of the Mogoung river; the mouth of the latter being hardly visible from the opposite side of the Irawadi, which is still a fine river, flowing in a reach from the eastward half a mile broad. The water is now very clear, and the current runs at the rate of two miles an hour. The depth varies from three fathoms in the middle to two fathoms at the edge of the river, but the banks, which are high and composed of alluvial soil, have every appearance of being overflowed in the freshes."*

Similarly Dr. Griffith says in the report of his journey from Mogoung to Ava:—

"The Irawadi, even at the mouth of the Mogoung river, and at a distance of nearly 800 miles from the sea, keeps up its magnificent character. At this point it is 900 or 1000 yards across; when we reached it, it had risen considerably, and the appearance of this vast sheet of water was really grand. . . . . The great branch from which the Irawadi derives its vast supplies of water still remains to be discovered, and will probably be found to be the Shoomaee Kha. It is evident at any rate, that the great body of water comes from the eastward, for between the Mogoung river and Bor Khamtee, in which country Captain Wilcox visited the Irawadi, and where it was found to be of no great size, no considerable branch finds its way from the westward: neither are the hills which intervene between these points of such height as to afford large supplies of water."†

In his private journal, however, he notes the breadth of the river somewhat lower: "The Irawadi opposite the entrance of the Mogoung river is 600 yards across," &c.‡

Physical data touching on the probabilities of the subject are sadly deficient. We have no knowledge of the rainfall in northern Burma, no sufficient measurement of the volume of the river; and the whole of the comparative data that I can find on the discharge of great rivers seem to me exceedingly unreliable, with the exception of those contained in Mr. Ellet's book on the Mississippi and its tributaries, in which there is little bearing on this question.§ Nor have we yet any data for the general slope of the Irawadi or the height of the capital above the sea, for want of contemporaneous barometrical observations.

What facts have been observed, however, it may be interesting to put on record.

The flood volume is not a matter of much interest; for it is impossible in these latitudes to deduce anything as to the area of drainage from this volume. We know, for instance, that such a river as the Cauvery, draining an area of only 30,000 square miles, is calculated to discharge a volume of more than 300,000 cubic feet per second;‖ and the Damooda, draining no more than 7000 square miles, is calculated in its highest floods to bring down nearly 600,000 cubic feet per second,¶ or about half the volume of the Mississippi at the full. Our visit to Amarapoora was during the highest floods of the Irawadi, and we had no opportunity of seeing the river in what may be called its normal state.

* *MS. Journal*, December 31st, 1835.

† *Posthumous Papers*, pp. 136, 138. ‡ Ibid. p. 93.

§ The measurement of discharges is capable of no check but that of frequent repetition, and this appears rarely to have been practised. As an instance of the uncertainties of data of this kind, there are three statements, on respectable authorities, of the discharge of the low-water Ganges at Benares; one of which gives 16,000 or 17,000 (See *As. Researches*, xvii. p. 467); the second, 20,000 (*Gleanings of Science*); and the third, 36,000 (*Id.*).

‖ Lieut.-Colonel Baird Smith, *The Cauvery, Kistna, and Godavery*, 1856, p. 7.

¶ Captain Dickens on the Damooda, in Bengal Government Selections, No. 15, p. 70.

Lieutenant Heathcote, however, measured the discharge in the middle of October, when the surface was ten and a half feet below what was stated to be the highest level, and nearly thirty feet above the lowest.* The section was taken between the Shwé-kyet-yet and the foot of the Sagain hills, where the river flows (till very low) in a single and well-defined channel. I have not been able to obtain the elements of the calculation, but the discharge under these circumstances was calculated by Lieut. Heathcote at 316,580 cubic feet per second. And the areas of the stream at different heights, as deduced from his section, are

At supposed highest flood	133,800	sq. feet
As observed (ten and a half feet below ditto) . .	105,300	„ „
Supposed lowest level	27,690	„ „

(Before reaching which the stream seems to be divided.)

The discharge has also been measured by Dr. M'Clelland at Prome, on the 25th April, 1853, when the river was about fifteen inches above its lowest level. The result of his calculations was a discharge of 105,794 cubic feet per second.†

It has been measured again just above the head of the Delta, by Mr. T. Login, employed in examining a scheme for opening the Bassein river. His calculation of the discharge is 75,000 cubic feet per second. For several reasons I think this more probable than Dr. M'Clelland's.

Wilcox deduced from measurements of the Dihong, and of the united Burrampooter at Goalpara, that, after deduction of the former as foreign supply, there remains a low-water discharge of 90,188 cubic feet per second as the drainage of 15·3 square degrees of surface; and he calculated from this that there probably might be a discharge of 180,000 feet in the Irawadi at Prome during the dry season.

The far greater part of the Irawadi's basin is under very different conditions from those of the Burrampooter, and a proportion deduced from the latter is far too high to be applied at Prome.

As well as can be ascertained, the areas drained by the Irawadi in different parts of its course, assuming its sources in the Khamti mountains, are as follows:—

Immediately below the mouth of Mogoung River . . .	5¾	sq. degrees
At Amarapoora	13½	„ „
At Prome	31	„ „
At the head of the Delta	32½	„ „

And taking Wilcox's ratio to area of derivation, the dry weather discharge at Amarapoora should be	79,577	cubic feet
Taking Dr. M'Clelland's Prome measurement as a basis, the Amarapoora discharge should be	46,071	„ „
And with Mr. Login's	31,154	„ „

The last I suspect to be not much under the truth.

If we calculate in the same way what ought to be the discharge in the latitude of the Mogoung river, we shall find it to be

By Wilcox's ratio	33,894	cubic feet
By M'Clelland's	19,623	„ „
By Login's	13,270	„ „
And the mean of the last two	16,447	„ „

* Lieutenant Heathcote's information led him to estimate the difference between highest and lowest level of the river at forty feet. I suspect, however, that this is too much. Burney, who lived close on the river bank, says in his Journal, under date of July 17th, 1831, "The river is 32¾ feet above lowest level. This is a good deal more than the greatest rise of last year. All the country for miles round the city is covered with water."

† See Dr. M'Clelland's paper, in *Journ. As. Soc. Ben.* vol. xxii. p. 484.

This is a large body of water, but certainly not nearly so great as Captain Hannay's account of the river would imply, if we could take his passing statements of breadth, depth, and velocity, as the basis for a rough calculation of discharge. Even with considerable abatements these data give nearly three times as much as that just indicated. From other incidental statements, however, in the journals of Hannay and Bayfield, I have made similar rough calculations, and have found the result considerably less.* Indeed no use can profitably be made of such incidental statements in a calculation so liable to error. And it is worthy of notice that in the locality mentioned above, the Irawadi must be dammed back by the narrow defile of the Kyoukdwen, which it is approaching from an alluvial plain, and naturally spreads over a spacious bed. In passing up the Kyoukdwen itself, Captain Hannay records his strong impression that the sources of the river could not be very remote.

On the whole, there does not seem sufficient ground on which to build anything in opposition to the strong evidence obtained by Wilcox and Hannay that the furthest sources of the Irawadi are in the mountains above Khamti. We see that the volume of the river at the mouth of the Mogoung tributary might be on the ratio afforded by the valley of Assam (assuming the correctness of Wilcox's measurements there) double what we deduce that it would be from actual measurements of the river in the lower part of its course. And that the amount afforded by this last deduction is not altogether inconsistent with the *general* character ascribed to the river by Hannay and the other travellers who have traced it furthest, becomes more comprehensible, if we consider that this deduced amount of volume is the very same that an observer like James Prinsep was content to accept as that of the Ganges at Benares.† And it may be worth while to remark, that the area drained by the Irawadi at the point in question (five-and-three-quarters square degrees) is very nearly the same as that of the basin of the Rhine up to Cologne.

* Thus at Kathà, the current is said by Captain Hannay to have been one mile and a half an hour, and the depth eighteen feet. A little before the breadth had been stated to be two furlongs. Supposing the depth to be an average (which is improbable), this would give a discharge of about 41,800.

Again, in the defile below Bamó, the width at some places is stated by Captain Hannay to be only 100 yards, with a depth of seven to ten fathoms, and *no* current. Assuming for *no* current the liberal interpretation of one and a half foot per second, we should have a discharge of 22,950.

A little above Bamó, Dr. Bayfield states the width at 400 yards, with a depth of four fathoms close to the right bank, and one fathom in the centre. This gives a sectional area of superficial feet 10,800; which, assuming a centre velocity of one and a half mile an hour, would give the discharge 19,000 cubic feet.

† *As. Res.* xvii. 467.

APPENDIX H.

I.—*Detail of Imports paying duty at Thayet-myo frontier Custom-house, for the three quarters from February 1st, to November 1st, 1855.*

	Value.	Amount of Duty.
1. Sesamum oil	Rs. 258,062 0 0	Rs. 25,806 11 0
2. Molasses (palm)	145,358 14 0	14,535 4 3
3. Silk goods and velvets	88,307 2 9	8,832 0 9
4. Cotton piece goods, thread and twist	72,700 12 7	7,275 7 6
5. Chillies, garlic, onions, and turmeric (tons 1220)	65,643 15 0	8,564 10 4
6. Cutch (tons 578)	46,958 4 0	4,695 3 9
7. Tea-leaves (lbs. 473,441)	44,208 2 0	4,421 2 0
8. Tobacco (lbs. 1,142,545)	39,636 14 0	3,968 3 3
9. Petroleum (lbs. 6,679,140)	21,972 2 0	2,200 6 9
10. Teak timber (tons 8775)	21,492 6 0	2,668 1 6
11. Sweet-oil	12,109 4 0	1,210 15 2
12. Lackered boxes (No. 47,169)	10,871 10 9	1,087 10 3
13. Orpiment (lbs. 131,765)	10,710 0 0	1,071 0 0
14. Hardware	8,965 8 6	914 14 9
15. Parabeiks (No. 4730)	467 8 0	46 12 3
16. Tamarinds, plums, cigar-leaves, tobacco wood, oil-cake, paper, straw, cocoa-nuts, &c.	12,432 11 6	1,242 5 9
17. Glassware, gold-leaf, silver, lead, copper, plates, &c.	6,449 0 6	646 10 3
18. Stick lac, indigo, vermilion, &c.	2,553 13 1	255 1 3
19. Sundries	45,551 2 0	5,054 15 2
	Rs. 914,451 2 8	Rs. 94,497 7 11

N. B.—The above abstract is for the fourth quarter of 1854–55 and for the first two quarters of 1855–56, as the imports were not recorded before February 1855, and no returns later than November 1855 have been received. There are also anomalies of which I can give no explanation. Thus the value attached to 8775 tons of teak timber is only Rs. 21,492, or less than Rs. 2–8 per ton.

II.—*Imports free of duty at Thayet-myo, during the three quarters just named.*

1. Ponies (No. 16), valued at	Rs. 1,940 0 0
2. Wheat (baskets 16,207)	17,799 0 0
3. Pulse (ditto 74,784)	55,968 4 0
4. Cotton	1,341 2 0
Other things	768 5 9
	Rs. 77,816 11 9

III.—*Abstract of Exports paying duty at Thayet-myo frontier Custom-house, for the year from 1st November, 1854, to 1st November, 1855.*

N.B. I have not been able to procure this return for the last *official* year.

Articles.	Value.	Duty levied.
Ngapee (tons 13,502)	Rs. 939,707 1 6	Rs. 58,566 14 0
Paddy (baskets 1,719,436, or about 43,000 tons)	594,124 11 2	53,729 9 0
Rice (baskets 742,191, or about 18,600 tons)	451,278 5 2	45,386 15 0
Dried fish (tons 1734)	297,578 9 8	11,890 10 0
Salt (tons 7189)	206,091 9 11	51,739 12 6
Betel-nut (tons 716)	118,925 4 10	8,727 4 0
Fish-roes	190 12 0	7 14 6
Leeches (?)	135 0 0	4 8 0
	Rs. 26,08,031 6 3	Rs. 230,053 7 0

IV.—*Abstract of Exports free of duty passing Thayet-myo frontier Custom-house, for the year from 1st November, 1854, to 1st November, 1855.*

N.B. I have not been able to obtain this return for the last *official* year.

Cotton piece goods, thread, twist, &c.	Rs. 227,539 15 8
Silk piece goods, velvet, &c.	76,335 12 0
Woollens, shawls, &c.	27,666 8 0
Cigar-leaves and tobacco	20,588 8 0
Crockery	20,511 7 0
Spices and medicines	10,612 12 0
Hardware	5,090 12 0
Glassware	2,844 0 0
Cocoa-nuts, dye, paper, and gold-leaf	3,102 8 0
Sundries	17,593 12 8
	Rs. 411,885 15 4

APPENDIX I.

Specimens of the Reigning King's Edicts.

No. I.—*Edict regarding Land (Private Property) formerly taken by Persons in Power.*

The inhabitants residing in the various towns, districts, and villages within the Royal kingdom, who claim paddy-fields, fenced-gardens, islands, and lands appropriated for dry cultivation, by right of inheritance, or by purchase, (are informed that) If such property have been forcibly

taken from them, by the royal brothers or sons, the queens, nobles, or any of the officers of state, on the plea of its having been granted by royal order, it is hereby notified, that such unlawful proceedings will not be allowed, and that the right to the property above-mentioned should be submitted to the Hlwotdau, and the royal permission obtained for its repossession. (March 11, 1853.)

No. II.—*Edict regarding Debts incurred by Persons appointed to Office.*

His most glorious and excellent Majesty, Lord of the earth and water, Lord of the white Elephant, and of many white Elephants, Lord of the celestial weapon, Lord of life and great Chief of righteousness, proclaims,—

In the Royal kingdom, the officers of Government in the Golden City, the tsaubwas (tributary chieftains), lords of districts, governors of towns, and the generals of the army, have borrowed money on account of the towns and villages;—and also private soldiers have borrowed money; the mode of recovery for such debts is various; the creditor in some cases is wealthy or influential, and the debtor poor, or in distressed circumstances; the latter is (thus) unable to discharge the debt. Though the debtor repays the full amount due by instalments, the creditor calculates the amount of interest and renews the bond, by which means the debt is doubled, and the original amount repeatedly paid. Such transactions, being contrary to justice, cause the forfeiture of the double merit which might be attained in the present and future state of existence.

If an order be issued not to demand money that was borrowed during an emergency, it would cause loss both to the debtor and creditor; and if permission be granted to claim debts incurred during the past and present reigns, it will give trouble, and distress the people in the service of Government, in the several towns and villages. It is therefore ordered, that claims for money borrowed within the royal kingdom on account of the towns and villages, and debts incurred on account of the private soldiers of each circle or division, should not be submitted at the Hlwotdau, or at the inferior court Yoom-dau, neither should the heads or chiefs of the division or circle, nor the governors of towns, or general officers, adjudicate such claims, but the demand should be made by a petition to his Majesty. (April 10th, 1853.)

No. III.—*First Edict regarding the Courts of Justice.*

His most excellent and glorious Majesty, Lord of the earth and water, Lord of the white Elephant and of many white Elephants, Lord of the celestial weapon, Lord of life, and great Chief of righteousness, proclaims that,—

I, the most excellent sovereign, having in the former state of existence accomplished all the duties of religion, have now become the "Lokah-tha moo-di-nat,"* or Supreme Monarch, and wishing to attain also to deity, assiduously practise all the duties incumbent on kings, like unto the most excellent and good kings Phra Aloung and Mandat, the sovereigns of the four grand islands. I promote and glorify the royal religion, and desire the happiness of all created beings during my own reign, and continually hereafter during the reign of my Royal son, great-grandson, and great-great-grandsons. The nobles and other officers of state who have

* Qu. *Loka-samudr-nâth*, Lord of Earth and Sea?—(*Y.*)

been promoted and appointed to offices of trust by me, their sovereign, and who administer the affairs of the empire for the benefit and advantage of religion, of the king, and of the country, should be careful not to utter falsehoods, to give way to violent anger, or to neglect their duty for pleasure; these three unworthy principles should be avoided.

There are three descriptions of bribery, viz. high influence, wealth, and friendship.

The four infidelities are occasioned by selfish desire, by ill-will, by ignorance, and by fear. The six good qualities are, patience, watchfulness, activity, industry, impartiality, and compassion. The three permanent rules connected with the world, with kings, and with justice, should be attended to. The eight requisite qualifications in nobles and officers of state are, intelligence, piety, courage, prudence, mental abilities, bodily strength, indifference to wealth, and to be affable and pleasing in conversation.

The nobles and officers of state should maturely consider and avoid that which is improper, adopting only such precepts as will enable and assist them in the administration of the affairs of the empire. But the nobles and officers of my Royal elder brother, the chief of righteousness, did not pay any attention to their duties; they received large bribes of gold and silver, and decided unjustly; the poor people our subjects were thereby greatly harassed and distressed.

During my Royal golden reign, the good nobles and officers of state should carefully attend to the established rules, and so administer the affairs as will advance the glory of the holy religion, and prove beneficial and advantageous to the sovereign and to all the people of the empire.

No investigation shall take place, or decision be given, in civil suits at the inner or upper or Royal Courts (Royal criminal Court) or at the Yoom-dau; all such cases should be made over to the Tara-Yoom (or Civil Court). Cases of hereditary or official rights, and claims for disputes about boundaries,* shall be filed and investigated at the Hlwotdau: all criminal cases shall be inquired into and decided at the Eastern Hall of Justice (Yoom-dau).

The several officers attached to the Inner and Supreme Courts, Eastern and Western Halls of Justice, and of the Civil Court, have been promoted and appointed by his Majesty in accordance with their talents and abilities; the scribes and messengers will also receive the Royal bounty in silver, and therefore, on the reception of plaints regarding hereditary or official rights, criminal cases, and so on, no fees whatever shall be levied, nor shall the complainants be put to any expense on the plea of fees due for pleaders or judges, or for the fees termed "obeisance to the wisdom of (the) appeal (court)" or for fees to messengers:—The decision should be clear and conclusive.

With reference to the fees chargeable on the filing of civil or criminal suits from all the distant towns, districts, and villages, in the Royal kingdom, including the Golden City, the heads or chiefs who have the right to prosecute or represent cases, civil or criminal, &c., shall be charged the undermentioned rates, viz.:—

For filing the suit	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Scribe's charge for entry	7 Mhoos 1 pé. (14 *as.*)
Judge's or solicitor's charge as "obeisance to their wisdom," each party paying	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Scribe's fee for copying the decision	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Charge for hlapét, or tea, which is eaten both by the plaintiff and defendant as a token of the final settlement of the case	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)

* Apparently boundaries of districts, &c.

With reference to the Fees chargeable on Administering Oaths, the following rates are established, viz :—

Scribe's fee for entry (each party paying)		5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Ditto	Messenger	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Ditto	For producing the book of oaths	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Ditto	Administering the oath	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)

Regarding Ordeals by burning a candle, chewing raw rice, being immersed in water, and thrusting the finger in melted lead: if any of these four kinds of trial by Ordeal is adopted, the Charges are (first) *for the Ordeal of Burning Candles:*

Scribe's fee for entry (each party paying)	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Messenger's fee	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (4 *as.*)
Value of bees' wax	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Fee to the person that watches the time of burning of the candle and notes the relative time	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)

Charges for the Ordeal of Chewing and Swallowing Raw Rice.

Scribe's fee for entry (each party paying)	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Messenger's fee	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Value of the rice	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Fee to the person that watches the time of chewing	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)

*Charges for the Ordeal by Water.**

Scribe's fee for entry (each party paying)		5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Messenger's fee		2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Fee to the person who has charge of the landing-place		5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Ditto	For fixing the posts in the water	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Ditto	For holding the rope, the ends being given to the parties diving under water	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Ditto	Placing the bamboo on the heads of both parties to enable them to go under water at the same moment	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Fee to the person watching the relative time the parties have remained under water		5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)

Charges for the Ordeal by Melted Lead.

Scribe's fee for entry (each party paying)	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Messenger's fee	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Price of the lead	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)

* This ordeal appears to be known among all the Indo-Chinese nations, including the islanders of the Archipelago. The following is a notice of the practice among the Kasias of the Sylhet Mountains. "The water ordeal used to be a common mode of decision. The opponents with much ceremony plunged their heads under water on opposite sides of a consecrated pool, and he had the right who remained longest under water. I have been told that it was lawful to use the services of practised attorneys in this mode of trial: so that long-winded lawyers have as decided a preference in these regions as elsewhere. The last case of this ordeal, between parties belonging to Cherra Poonjee, occurred five or six years ago, and was fatal to both plaintiff and defendant."—Notes on Kasia Hills and People in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* 1856.

Fee for superintending the melting of the lead and for grass which is wrapped round the finger before thrusting it in the melted lead	1 Tikal.
In all cases civil and criminal, &c., the messenger who summons the parties will receive at the rate of	2 Mhoos 1 pé per Taing.*
Scribe's fee for noting the proceeding, and final decision	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
Messenger's fee	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Solicitor's or pleader's fee for the first "response" or pleading of the case	2 Mhoos 1 pé. (5 *as.*)
Travelling charges for do. at the rate of	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*) per Taing.
In cases of imprisonment either in the common jails or places of temporary detention, the fee for receiving charge of a prisoner is	5 Mhoos (8 *as.*)
The magistrate's or judge's fees are in accordance with the amount of fines levied or value of suits decided, viz. for each viss of silver	10 Tikals.

This much only will they be allowed to receive:

For copying orders or decisions;

For entering the same;

For transferring or removing a case for the decision of any other magistrate or judge;

For additional insertion in the statement or deposition;

For making out an account or list, and claiming the ten per cent from both the plaintiff and defendant;

The proper and established fees only shall be taken; no further sums should be extorted, but if, in contravention of this my established and Royal proclamation, any one receives more than the established fees, he shall be punished by the ministers in accordance with his guilt.

Let this Royal proclamation be distributed among all the hereditary chieftains of Palaces and Umbrellas, the Tsaubwas, and Tsau-khans, Myo-tsas (lords of districts), Myo-woons (governors), Tsit-kés (Judges), and to all the different heads and chiefs of districts and villages. —(April 24th, 1853.)

No. IV.—*Edict forbidding the services of Inhabitants being taken by Princes and Chiefs to the detriment of the State.*

In the reign of my Royal great-great-grandfather, the census of the various towns, districts, and villages within the Royal kingdom, were carefully taken, during the years 1145 and 1154, and the number of persons liable to be called to occasional service, and of those in the actual service of Government, was finally arranged and settled.

Subsequently fives and tens of these individuals having the command of money, and disliking the chiefs of their respective towns and districts, were unwilling to serve in their appointed places, but proffered their services to those in authority (Queens and Princes), by engaging to supply them with oil and tobacco, or to serve them as followers and attendants. Their services having in this clandestine manner been transferred to others, the chiefs of towns and villages were unable to complete the number of armed men required for the service of Government, and the settlement of the different districts and villages was thereby disarranged. It is therefore ordered that no persons, by tens or fives, should be allowed to withdraw from their appointed places in the districts, on the plea of supplying oil, tobacco, &c. (to those in authority). But

* A Taing is a little more than two miles.

that, if the Queens, Royal brothers or sons, and Royal concubines, require betel or water-carriers, umbrella or palanquin-bearers, the capabilities of their respective towns and villages should be taken into consideration, and the number of followers fixed.

By the adoption of such a measure, the list of soldiers would not be incomplete, and those required for the service of Government would be always available. The nobles and other officers of state should likewise not allow the clandestine transfer of such services to themselves.

The above Royal order, composed by the ministers at the Hlwotdau, having been approved, is hereby promulgated.—(April 25th, 1853.)

No. V.—*Release of Prisoners.*

Royal edict or amnesty granted during the festival of "beg-pardon day" to prisoners confined in the several jails within the Royal kingdom.

His most glorious and excellent Majesty, Lord of the earth and water, Lord of the white Elephant, and of many white Elephants, Lord of the celestial weapon, Lord of life, and great Chief of righteousness, declares,—

I, your most excellent sovereign, who observe all the laws incumbent on kings in the manner that the ancient most excellent and good kings have practised; who protect and rule the inhabitants of the kingdom, and all created beings, in accordance with the established laws; and having inherited the kingdom of my father, with the golden palace and umbrella; and like unto my great-great-grandfather Theeridumma-thau-ka-Men and Dewa-nanpeya Tietha-Men,* and others who practically observed religion, and having attained the merits of a former existence by charitable deeds, I now earnestly desire to promote the spread and further extension of the Royal holy religion.

The inhabitants, and all created beings, should abstain from deeds which lead to evil and violate the eternal law; and, desiring that they should follow the good and excellent law which leads to the Nát regions and to Neibban, and, moreover, being anxious to extend the Royal established religion, I enjoin, and recommend, and exhort to the faithful observance of its precepts and doctrines.

Within the Royal kingdom all those that are under my Royal authority, the Hlwotdau (Supreme Court), Yoomdau (Inferior Court), Tsaubwas, or hereditary chieftains, lords of districts, governors of provinces, tsitkes, or lieutenants, and heads of divisions or circles, &c., in whose prisons are placed persons convicted of civil or criminal offences, who, although they should be punished in accordance with their crimes, yet, as on the attainment of divine excellence evil is removed from all created beings, and they enjoy comfort and happiness, (so I), having attained the title of King and the exalted blessings of the white umbrella, now solemnly open the festival of the "beg-pardon day." At the period of this propitious occasion, among the persons that are confined no exceptions should be made; whether their crimes are heavy or light, great or small, hoping that all the evil passions inherent in humanity may subside in the breasts of all created beings, and further, to secure the merit of rescuing from calamity those who are suffering privations and afflictions in confinement, and having preserved the land-animals, birds, and fishes from injury, I now grant an amnesty and general release to the prisoners. Let them, therefore, without exception, be entirely released.

In the year 1216, tenth day of the waning moon Ka-tshoun, this edict was proclaimed at the morning levee in the presence of the Atwen-Woons, by the Royal Than-dau-tshen-men-lha thain-ga-thoo.—(May 21st, 1854.)

* These syllables are intended to represent the names of the great Sri Dharm' Asoka, King of India, and of Dewananpiyatisso, King of Ceylon, under whom Buddhism was established in that island, circa B.C. 250.—(*F.*)

APPENDIX J.

Specimen of a Burmese Drama. By MAJOR PHAYRE.

The Burmese dramas are all taken from ancient stories, either of supposed events in the former births of Gautama, or of events in the lives of the several Princes of countries in Gangetic India. During our passage up the river Irawadi, the story of Gautama's own life before he became a Buddhist monk, formed the subject of the plays represented by Marionnettes. The plays, as acted, appear to be "adapted to the stage" from the histories by the chief of a company, or stage-manager.

I procured, while at Amarapoora, copies of several of the plays we saw acted, and it was evident, that while the general plan of the story, and the more solemn and dignified part of the dialogue, was written down at considerable length, a great deal, indeed the entire humorous portion, was left to the wit of the actor. The copies I procured were veritable stage ones. Generally speaking, the same plays can be represented either by puppets or actors.

The drama, of which I now propose to give a sketch, is the life of Oo-dein-na, King of Kau-tham-bi, a country in India. This was acted by puppets while we were at Amarapoora. It is a translation from the Pali, and the whole is in Burmese verse of four syllables.

[*The scene opens in the capital of Kau-tham-bi. The King on his throne and his courtiers around him.*]

King (*addresses them*).—Great nobles and chiefs!

Nobles.—Phra (Lord)!

King.—Are my subjects happy and prosperous?

Nobles.—Since your Majesty's happy reign began, religion has shone forth with splendour; the seasons have been propitious—the earth has been bountiful—the rich and the poor, men and women, have enjoyed peace and prosperity, and the happy years have been to them as water to the lotus.

Scene closes.

Himalaya Mountains—Enter a Nát.

Nát.—Now I am a Nát! When and in what body was I before? Ah! looking with a Nát's eyes and understanding, I perceive I was a hermit in these wilds. My companion A-la-kap-pa is still here. I will seek my friend.

[*Arrives where a cave is.*]

Hermit.—Who art thou that comest suddenly to my cell in the garb and appearance of a Nát, with the nine jewels in thy crown?

Nát.—O holy Hermit, of a good lineage, who ever livest in the forest, tell me all thou desirest, so that nought may remain unsaid!

Hermit.—O Nát! who by stupendous merit hast reached thy exalted abode, I have nothing particular to ask; but numerous elephants come around my cell, and do great damage. Be pleased to forbid this for the future.

Nát.—O holy Hermit! I will give unto thee a golden harp, and by the virtue of its sounds, and thy song accompanying, elephants will come or go as thou commandest.

SCENE.

Palace at Kau-tham-bi.

Enter King and Queen.

Queen.—O glorious Lord of Hill and Plain! may it please you, of the three seasons, the rains, the winter, and the summer, it is now the very coldest. I cannot find warmth from a cloak; may I go and remain out in the sunshine?

King.—Beloved Queen, the constellation of Orion and the Moon are now near to each other, and the season is cold. When thou wishest to bask in the sun, wrap thyself in the crimson mantle, put this sparkling ring on thy finger, and go forth to enjoy thyself.

[*The Queen goes out to sit in the sun.*]

Scene in the solitary wilds of Himalaya.

Enter an immense Bird.

Bird (*speaks*).—From the beginning of the world there have been numerous sorts of birds, cranes, ducks, crows, peacocks, and others. I am not of their sort. My power would extinguish them all. My home is amidst vast mountains and pathless forests, and ever and anon I descend from them. I will now go to the country of Kau-tham-bi to seek for food. So* now (*to the band*), as I am about to fly, strike up a victorious melody, O leader of the orchestra!

[*The Bird commences his flight, and, soaring aloft, says:*—]

This is a beautiful country, and full of golden palaces, and lovely gardens with gorgeous coloured flowers and shrubs. Nevertheless, I must look out for something to eat. Thus turning north and turning south, looking up and looking down, I spy outside the King's palace a piece of flesh red, red as blood. It is mine as sure as the food in a monk's begging-dish—it cannot escape. I will stoop at it, seize it, and fly away; and now that I may easily reach the large tree in my own mountain from this country of Kau-tham-bi, play a soft and simple air, O leader of the orchestra!

[*The bird seizes the Queen, mistaking her red mantle for the appearance of flesh, flies away with her to the mountains, and deposits her in a tree. The bird comes as if to devour her, when the Queen claps her hands at him, which frightens the bird, and he flies away.*]

Scene in Kau-tham-bi.

Present—the King and Ministers.

Minister.—Great and glorious King, a monstrous bird has descended and carried off the anointed Queen who dwells to the south on your majesty's right hand, and we bring the mournful intelligence, making humble obeisance to the golden feet.

King.—She was beautiful as the Queen of Heaven. The cruel bird has seized the Queen of the Southern Palace. Instantly assemble an army, and I myself will march to her rescue.

* The comical stage effect of the characters addressing the orchestra is very frequent.—(*A. P. P.*)

Scene changes.

The Queen discovered on a tree weeping.

Queen.—Ah, once was I happy with my Lord of the Palace. Now I must meet the evil death. I know not where I am. The East, the West, the North, the South, where are they? Alas! I think of my past enjoyment, and am like one consumed with fire. Behold, O my husband, my sad condition!

[*It begins to rain, and the Queen brings forth a son.*]

The Hermit A-la-kap-pa (*discovered in his cell*).—Every day I go to search for food under the tree where the elephant bird perches, and pick up what he lets fall. Thus I do as a Hermit of the forest. I will go now, according to my wont.

[*The Hermit goes to the foot of the tree where the Queen is. The Queen weeps.*]

Queen.—O, my child, in the midst of a wild wood, with only a tree for thy shelter, I cannot have thee tended and cared for. I will embrace and kiss thee. If we were in Kau-tham-bi, thy own father would fondle thee in his arms. May thy power become great hereafter. I love thee as a precious jewel. In the Palace thou shalt have nurses, attendants, and companions, and a cradle set with gems, with singers to lull thee to sleep. This cannot be now. Oh, what evil destiny is mine that this calamity has befallen me! I feel like one stricken. As thou hast been born at the change of the seasons, I will call thee Oo-dein-na.

Enter the Hermit A-la-kap-pa.

Hermit.—I hear the sound of weeping such as I never heard before. It is very wonderful. Is it a man, a Nát, or a Nága? I will inquire: Who is there up in that tree? [*sees the Queen*] From what country art thou, daughter?

Queen.—I am the Queen of a great monarch, and the great bird stole me away from my husband, and placed me on this tree. Only since I was brought here have I seen the face of my child.

[*The Hermit assists the Queen to descend the tree. She remains in the forest, and being unable to return to her country in consequence of its great distance, marries the Hermit, and they continue to live in the cave.*]

Scene changes.

The Prince has grown up.

The Hermit (*looking up at the stars*).—The constellations have descended to the western island. Of the planets, Saturn is dim;—so I know the King of Kau-tham-bi has departed this life.

[*The Queen weeps.*]

Hermit.—Why dost thou weep?

Queen.—He was my husband, and the father of my child; though outwardly indifferent to my fate, I inwardly suffer deep distress.

Hermit.—Grieve not. In Neibban alone there is no death. Death is the lot of all beings on earth.

Queen.—I approve thy words; but my son still remains, and does not enjoy his rights.

Hermit.—I love thy son, and will take care of him, and assist him.

[*The young Prince Oo-dein-na enters. The Hermit presents him with a golden harp, and teaches him a tune and song.*

The Prince retires to the tree he was born on, ascends it and plays. The wild elephants of the forest come around him, and are obedient to his voice and harp. The Hermit then directs him to go to Kau-tham-bi.]

Prince.—Gracious mother! I go to Kau-tham-bi. What are your commands?

Queen.—Beloved son, when you reach Kau-tham-bi, the nobles will not believe you are the heir. I give thee an emerald ring, which show to them. If they believe not that, show them this mantle, which was thy father's. They will then resist no more.

Scene near Kau-tham-bi, Prince Oo-dein-na sends on Messengers.

Prince.—I thus inform the inhabitants of Kau-tham-bi that they should receive me as their King, and deliver up to me the Palace. This they should do without delay.

Reply of Nobles.—The Queen of our monarch was, while pregnant, carried away by a great bird. It is now long ago, and we know not whether she is alive or not, or whether she had a child or not, therefore we do not wish to deliver up to you the Palace.

Prince.—I now shall go near to the city with my army, and summon the nobles.

Enter Nobles. Prince addresses them, tells them his history, the story of his birth, and his name.

Nobles.—This is a wonderful tale! give us some token by which we shall know it to be true.

Prince.—Behold the emerald ring, and the red mantle, which my royal parents possessed.

Nobles.—We believe, my Lord. We tender our allegiance, and entreat you to take possession of your father's kingdom.

Prince.—When the stars are propitious, and all is prepared, I will by eight Brahmins be anointed,—then take the vows of a King, and ascend the golden Palace.

[*This ceremony is supposed to be performed, and he goes to the Palace.*]

Scene, Palace at Kau-tham-bi.

King Oo-dein-na.—I now have reached the position of my father as chief of the country; but I have no Queen. Let it therefore be proclaimed, that the nobles and people of respectability bring their daughters for me to choose a wife.

Nobles.—There is one wealthy man named Gau-tha-ká, who has a daughter named Tha-ma-wa-di, wonderfully beautiful, and worthy to be Queen.

[*Tha-ma-wa-di is brought, and at once installed as Queen.*]

[*Here a stage direction intimates, that as the audience like to hear chiefly about Kings and Queens, Princes and Princesses, the actors are to* leap *a part of the story and go on to*]

Scene in Ook-dzay-ni country, the King of which is named Chan-da-peetz-tzau-tá in his Palace.*

King.—I shall go forth to the garden; summon the guards and attendants.

Nobles.—We obey.

King.—Is there any King in the world with elephants and horses so beautiful as mine?

Nobles.—O, King, there is one King among the sixteen great countries, who is also a great King like you—Oo-dein-na of Kau-tham-bi.

King.—Will it not be proper to bring Oo-dein-na here by force?

Nobles.—He has great power, and possesses the secret power of controlling elephants, which makes it difficult to take him.

[*They go forth to the garden.*]

Scene, the forest bordering the two countries of Kau-tham-bi and Ook-dzay-ni.
Enter a Hunter.

Hunter.—I and my dog will now go and kill whatever enemy appears. With my bow and my dog, I care not what I encounter, elephants, tigers, deer, or what not; so come along (*to his dog*) brave Tiger. (*To the band*) Now, as I go forth on a grand expedition, burst forth like thunder.

[*Enters the forest and sits down.*]

Scene in Ook-dzay-ni Palace.

King.—Wise nobles and chiefs! I purpose making the figure of a large elephant, moveable by machinery, which shall be placed on the borders of the Kau-tham-bi country, and Oo-dein-na hearing of it, will come to capture it. Then the sham elephant retreating, shall lead him into an ambush, and we will take him.

[*The elephant is made and sent to the forest.*]

Scene in Forest.

Enter Hunter.

Hunter.—Here have I toiled and met nothing. Not an arrow has left my bow. Why is this? Ah, I see now, there's a white elephant; that accounts for it. I shall go and give information to my Lord Oo-dein-na. (*To the band*) As I am returning home, strike up an ear-piercing tune.

Scene in Kau-tham-bi Palace.

King Oo-dein-na and nobles.

Nobles.—In a deep forest a white elephant with a body glistening like silver and splendid tusks, has been met by a hunter.

King.—Is this true? If so, I myself will go forth to capture him.

* *Ujain*, I presume.—(*Y*)

Scene in forest.

Enter King with a harp, sees the white elephant and plays. Elephant retires.

King.—What! though I strike the harp, still you do not come; but I will follow thee up until I compel thee.

[*The King follows after the elephant amidst thick forests, and becomes separated from his attendants, when men concealed in the bushes rush out and capture him.*]

Scene in Ook-dzay-ni.

King Chan-da-peetz-tzau-tá and nobles.

Nobles.—King Oo-dein-na has been captured, O King!

King.—Keep him strictly in prison, and have him well watched, that I may know what he says; but first call him now to the presence.

Enter Oo-dein-na.

King.—You have now come to my country and must obey me. You must also disclose to me the secret of your power over elephants. When I know that, you shall return to your own country.

Oo-dein-na.—I can only instruct in that art him who will make obeisance to me.

King.—You are younger than I am, so I will not make obeisance, and if you do not divulge to me the secret I will put you to death.

[*As Oo-dein-na will not consent to teach any one who will not bow down to him, it is arranged that the King shall send a female servant to be instructed, and he sends his daughter disguised to learn the secret. She is not told the rank of the person who is to instruct her.*]

Scene.

The Court assembled—the King's daughter, Wa-thoo-la, appears, but behind a curtain.

Oo-dein-na.—Sister, if you wish to know the secret, you must repeat carefully what I say.

[*He appears to whisper towards the curtain.*]

You cannot repeat as I do; your comprehension appears dull.

Princess.—I shall endeavour to understand you; but you are rude in speech.

[*After considerable fencing in speech between the two,*]

Oo-dein-na (*opening the curtain.*)—Why, she is not a servant. She is a beautiful, high-born lady.

[*Here the stage direction is in the play, "The Princess, seeing a young man, they mutually talk of love."*

In the end, the Princess manages the escape of King Oo-dein-na from her father's dominions, and flies with him to his kingdom.]

Scene in Kau-tham-bi.

A Brahman (to his niece Magandi).—I propose presenting you to the King.

Magandi.—Very well, uncle.

At Palace, enter the Brahman.

King.—Whence art thou?

Brahmin—From Goo-a-roo-yeet—my brother went to the forest as an ascetic, and left his daughter with me, whom I brought up, and now present to your Majesty.

King to Nobles.—I now have three beautiful Queens. Tha-ma-wad-di, whom I married first on arrival here, and who, though not of royal race, is my chief Queen, Wa-thoo-la, and Magandi. I desire that a suitable Palace be built for each.

"The scenes following are too tedious to give in detail. They chiefly refer to the quarrels of the two Queens, Tha-ma-wad-di and Magandi. Tha-ma-wad-di is a worshipper of Gautama, who is then alive, and is represented as coming occasionally to beg food in Kau-tham-bi.

"The King, being instigated by Magandi (who is opposed to the religion preached by Gautama) against Tha-ma-wad-di, assays to put her to death with arrows; but the arrows rebound from her body and strike the King. He cries out to Tha-ma-wad-di for protection, and she informs him the best protection is to believe in Gautama, and practise the law of Buddha.

"The play ends with the triumph of Tha-ma-wad-di, and the disgrace of the artful and malicious Magandi, who appears to have been supported in her conduct by her uncle, the Brahman.

"There is no hint given in the play of the return to Kau-tham-bi of the mother of Oo-dein-na."—(*A. P. P.*)

The chief persons and incidents of this drama are taken from the Kathá Sarit Sagara of Somadeva—the story of Udayand, prince of Kausambi, and Chandasena, king of Ujayin, is translated in the *Oriental Quarterly*, June 1824, p. 273, and into German by Brockhaus.

APPENDIX K.

The Mission of Gerard Van Wusthof to the King of the Laos.

The Chapter in Valentyn* is entitled;

"*Anent the land of the Louwen* (LAOS), *and a journey thereunto made by our folk in Anno* 1641. *How long our Ambassador was on the way up this perilous river. What places he met with, and with what state he was received. The Prince and his troops described. And what besides then befel. His presents to the Ambassador and his train. The presents sent to him and his further requests. The Ambassador's voyage back again. The Ambassador's remarks on this country. The goods that are met with, and which take there. The King's income. The government of the country. Their New-year's day.*"

The people of this country, though they have a different king from Cambodia, trade much with the latter. There are also in the land of the Laos many costly articles, which find a good market in Japan and elsewhere.

* III. Pt. ii. Tonkin and Cambodia, p. 50.

In March 1641, some merchants of this country came on board a Dutch ship from Cambodia to Batavia, in order to get a better knowledge of the Dutch, whom the Portuguese spoke of to them with habitual disparagement. They were well received and well pleased, and the Governor determined to send a mission and presents, with a view to cultivating the friendship of the rulers, and acquiring useful knowledge of the country and its trade.

A party was accordingly despatched from the Cambodia factory, consisting of the junior merchant, Gerard Van Wusthof, as head of the mission, with William de Goper and Hubert Van Lokhorst as assistants, besides a surgeon, two Dutch boys, and a Malay from Patani as interpreter. They took a small sample invoice of parti-coloured cloth, fine calico, and emerald rings, worth altogether about 6600 florins.

They took two months and three weeks to ascend to Winkjan, the King's residence, which lay 250 miles* up the river. This river, called the river of the Laos, comes from the upper country of Pegu, and flowing east and south through the Laos country, enters the sea near Cambodia, after a course of about 300 (Dutch) miles.

The river was found sometimes very broad, and sometimes very narrow, and abounding in rocks. There were also horrible waterfalls, which compelled them to unload all the boats, in order to drag them up and down.† They passed some towns and villages on the way, well built after the fashion of those parts, and here and there they saw a house or temple of stone.

The names of the places passed were these: Loim, Gockelok, Looim, Simpoe, the large town of Sombok, Sombaboer, Baatsjong (which lies twenty-two days up the river from Cambodia, and where the King of Cambodia had held his court fifty years before), Namnoy (where there was much gold found: it lay some days short of the boundary between the two countries), Bassak, Ocmum, Naewein, the town of Samfana, Beenmoek, Saymoen, Tapanom, and Lochan, a town as big as Schoonhoven, governed by a sub-king from Cambodia. Also Huysoen (where there is much fine silk cloth), Meunkok, a large mart for the Laos goods, and various other places.

When they reached Winkjan,‡ in the beginning of November, his Excellency's letter was first read, to see if it was properly expressed. Being found all right, the mission was conveyed to the city with great pomp in three large boats, manned each by more than forty rowers. The Governor-General's letter was carried in the biggest boat on a golden salver under a gilt canopy, and attended by a Prince of the country to do it honour.

They were courteously received on shore, furnished with rice and money, and it was intimated from the King that his Majesty would give them an audience, if the Envoy would agree to pay him obeisance after the fashion of the country, by approaching him holding two candles,§ and bowing the head three times to the ground.

* This would be equal to nearly 1160 English miles, supposing these to be Dutch miles, of which 21.725 are equal to 100 English miles. Even supposing this distance to be estimated from the mouth of the river, and not from the factory at Cambodia, it seems a great deal too much. Moung Luang Phaban, or Lantchian, is set down by Macleod (see map in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vi. 989), in about 17° 50′. This agrees with Père Marini, who, on the authority of Roman Catholic missionaries, says it is in 18°. Supposing Wintchian to be only half a degree south of this (and it is probably much more), we should have 1160 miles of distance in 465 geographical miles of northing in a river parallel to the Irawadi. Now, our course from Meaday to Amarapoora gives only 254 statute miles of distance to 152 minutes of northing. The same proportion would give only 780 miles for the length of the Mekhong to Wintchian, or say even 900, allowing for windings in the delta.

† According to Père Marini, the river, in passing from Laos to Cambodia, is obstructed by such rapids, that the traders are obliged to unload their boats, to carry the cargo in carts, and to drag the boats overland. This portage, though for a distance of three miles only, he says occupies ten days.

One of the missionaries laid before the King a project for the construction of sluices to facilitate the traject. But the King said that these obstacles were the best defence of his kingdom, and declined to take up the scheme.—*Relation du Royaume de Lao*, &c. p. 334.

‡ Chandapoori.

§ This has probably some relation to the gilt candles which form a part of the tribute from the Shan Tsaubwas to the Court of Ava.—See ante, chap. xiii.

On the reception-day six elephants were sent for them. The General's letter was carried on the first elephant in a golden salver, and the party mounted on the others. They entered the city through a red stone wall, which rose two or three feet over their heads as they sat on the elephants, and which was surrounded by a broad ditch full of water. The streets were lined on both sides by soldiers, numbering some 50,000.* After proceeding some distance they dismounted from their elephants, and were conducted to tents, where they were to wait the King's summons. By and by the King rode past on an elephant, attended by a train of other elephants with armed officers, and a life-guard of 300 men armed with muskets and pikes, with minstrels, &c. These were followed by the King's wives on sixteen elephants, anxious to see the embassy, who were the first Christians who had ever appeared in that part of the world.† The King, when he had gone into his tent, sent eight trays with refreshments to the Dutchmen.

At four in the afternoon they were summoned to the audience, and led across an esplanade into a quadrangle surrounded by a loopholed stone wall, in the middle of which there was a large pyramid, covered with gold plates, on which they said 1000 lbs. of gold had been expended. The Laos people worshipped before this pyramid as before a god.

Here the presents were brought and placed before the King under the blue sky. Soon after, the embassy was conducted into a great church, where the King was with his grandees, and made the customary obeisance, as they had promised. The King welcomed them with much courtesy, and presented the Ambassador with a golden water-cup weighing one-fifth of a cati, a parti-coloured Laos cloth,‡ and a red *badjoe* § or upper garment. To each assistant he gave a cup of half the weight, a cloth and a badjoe, and so on. After this there was an exhibition of the King's fencers, wrestlers, jugglers, and drolls,‖ and of women dancing in quaint attire and with peacocks' tails in their hands.¶ The whole finished with a display of fireworks.

The King was delighted with the presents, but begged that next time they would send him some water-dogs, and other big dogs, cockatoos, Agra doves with peacocks' tails, (?) with different kinds of rabbits, large carpets, and fine linen.

The Ambassador stayed at Winkjan till the 24th of December, 1641. The return to Cambodia occupied three months and three weeks.

The King of the Laos was generally at peace with Cambodia, because the two countries could not get on well without each other. But with the King of Pegu he was continually at war. They had a great deal of trade overland with Siam. The goods came in caravans of small buffalo-carts, carrying 220 catis apiece, and, having to cross high mountains, were four or five months on the way, though an unhampered traveller could do it in a month, if he was not hindered by the tigers which abounded on the way. They brought here (from Siam) great quantities of different striped stuffs, which they exchanged for gold.

When an Ambassador came from Siam, he was treated very much like a prisoner. He was forbidden to go out of his house, or to buy or sell anything, and a guard was put before his house to watch him.**

They maintained a steady peace with the Emperor of China. The Chinamen came down the river every two years to Meunswae, a town on the borders of Pegu,†† bringing musk and fine silk.

* So this, we see, is an old usage in those regions.

† There is no allusion here to Marini's Roman Catholic missionaries, but farther on, mention is made that in 1641 two Catholic Portuguese priests brought presents to the King, and endeavoured to obtain permission to diffuse Christianity among the Laos, but were refused.

‡ "Van Caffa-bond," (?) § Putso ? ‖ "*Poetse makers.*"

¶ See text, p. 114. Nearly all the details of the reception are singularly like those of our audience at Amarapoora.

** So at Amarapoora, to a certain extent, with us.

†† *i. e.* of the Shan states tributary to Pegu, or Ava rather.

With Quinam the King was also in alliance, but with the Tsiampa (who are very wild folk) both Laos and Cambodia were constantly at war. From that quarter there was a large slave-trade.

The articles of trade found in Laos were these; musk,* gold, lac, slaves, rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, deer and other skins, fine benzoin, silk, &c. Salt was so valuable that they gave for a *maas* of salt a *maas* of gold, which they could well do, as there was much gold both in the river and in the mountains above Namnoy. This place paid the King yearly ten catis of gold.

Food was abundant and cheap; there being plenty of venison, pork, and poultry, besides a variety of fruits.

The King's revenue consisted chiefly of gold, lac, benzoin, and ivory. And every hundred houses had to pay him yearly a quarter pound of gold. He gave a great deal of his treasure to the priests for the gilding of their temples and images.

The King's forces amounted to 70 or 80,000 men. But, as they were not kept always armed, he was very often invaded in the upper country by the King of Pegu. But the Peguers only made a sudden incursion, carrying off what they could collect, and did not usually hold their ground long.

APPENDIX L.

Note on the Affinities of the Indian and Burmese Styles of Architecture.

By JAMES FERGUSSNO, Esq.

So much has been said, and so well said, by Captain Yule, in the body of this work, with regard to the architecture of the Burmese, that very little remains to be added as an Appendix.

The subject is, however, one of so much interest to the student of Indian antiquities, and the facts and illustrations brought forward in the text are of so novel and interesting a character, that any light that can be thrown upon them from any quarter cannot fail to prove acceptable to those who have not had the opportunity of investigating the subject for themselves.

Before proceeding to speak of the antiquities of Burma, it will be well to recapitulate, as briefly as possible, what we know of the Buddhist antiquities of India; it being an acknowledged fact, that both the religion and architecture of the valley of the Irawadi were borrowed from the countries to the westward of that stream;—the religion literally,—the architecture, with only such subsequent admixture of local peculiarities as have given it now its peculiar individuality.

In India, we know of only three different kinds of Buddhist structures:—

First, the great Dagobas, or relic-shrines. These are the great domical buildings commonly known by the name of *Topes*, and generally erected over some sacred relic of Buddha or his disciples; but sometimes also built to commemorate some sacred spot, hallowed either by the presence of Buddha himself, or by the performance of some miracle or great religious event.

At Sanchi in Bopaul, at Manickyala in the Punjaub, and at Anuradhapoora in Ceylon, they

* The existence of the musk animal among the mountains of Southern Yunan seems to indicate that these reach a great elevation.

are generally great hemispherical domes placed on a low stylobate, or drum, more or less ornamented with sculpture, and are also at times surrounded by an enclosure of stone pillars.

The second class are the Chaitya Halls, which, both in form and purpose, almost exactly resemble Christian churches or basilicas. They are oblong apartments, consisting of a central, and two side-aisles, terminating circularly in an apse, in the centre of which is placed a simulated Dagoba or stone altar, to which the priest turns in prayer, and round which the processions circulate.

The third class are the Viharas, or monasteries. These, in India, are only known, like the last class, by the rock-cut examples. They are generally square halls lighted from one side, the windows being always protected by a verandah, and in the centre of the wall opposite to this is generally placed a chapel containing an image of Buddha; and sometimes there are two such chapels containing statues of inferior personages. The two other sides of the hall are occupied by the cells—the dwellings of the monks.

It is scarcely probable that any great monuments of the first class, and of the primitive form, now exist in Burma. It may be that the early missionaries, who, in the first century after the Christian era, first preached the doctrine of Buddhism in this country, brought with them no relics of importance, and, consequently, had no object in erecting great Dagobas to enshrine them; and were, consequently, content to erect chapels and monasteries, which, being of wood, have perished long ago, or, it may be, that the earlier monuments of this class are encased in the more modern pagodas, as tradition tells us is the case at Rangoon and Prome, and as analogy, from Indian examples, would lead us to expect everywhere.*

Be this as it may, the only monument of this class now known is the Kong ma dan Pagoda.† If this is as modern as it is asserted to be, it must be, as Captain Yule suggests, a copy from the Ceylonese examples; but whether it is so or not, it certainly is a more beautiful and appropriate building than the complex spiriform edifices in which the Burmese now delight.

In earlier Indian examples, the other two classes of buildings always remained separate, but in latter times a Dagoba altar was sometimes introduced into the Vihara, in place of the statue of Buddha, thus apparently converting the Vihara to the purposes of a Chaitya Hall also. In Burma this seems almost invariably to have been the case, and the Kyoung, or Burmese monastery, is a great hall, with altars and images of Buddha, surrounded by cells for the residence of the priests or attendants of the temple. In Burma, as in ancient India, these seem almost invariably to have been of wood, and, consequently, in India, we should hardly have known of their existence, and certainly have known nothing of their form, if it had not been for the rock-cut examples, which reveal the internal form, but leave us entirely in ignorance as to what their external appearance may have been.

The style of ornamentation in Burma is purely local; but there is no reason for believing, from such information as is available, that the general arrangements of the modern Kyoung differ materially from those of the mediæval Vihara.

This exhausts our knowledge of Indian architecture, but does not touch the main object of interest in Captain Yule's book; for the ruined temples of Pagán are wholly without any counterparts in the Buddhist architecture of India, and open up an entirely new phase in the history of the style.

Had these monuments been found in India proper, they would have been assigned most unhesitatingly to the Jains, and no reasoning would ever have convinced an Indian antiquary that they had been Buddhist, or had any connexion with that religion.

Every Indian explorer knows how difficult it is to distinguish between one of the cross-legged, flat-nosed, woolly-pated figures of the Jaina Tirthankars, and the ordinary repre-

* See note, p. 51.

† P. 65.

sentations of Gautama. Were it not for the emblems, such as an antelope or lion in the pedestal, or their locality and age, the most practised eye in India might frequently mistake the one for the other; but in the architecture no such similarity has hitherto been suspected. The Buddhist Ananda, at Pagán, is just such a temple as the Jaina Parisnath at Sadree,* with only such differences as were necessary from the one being of brick and the other wholly of stone, and the consequent difference between a vaulted and columnar style of architecture.

In fact, these Pagán temples are not Dagobas, nor Chaityas, nor Viharas; but are as completely image-temples as the ordinary Dewalas of the Hindoos, and, as such, are unlike any Buddhist forms farther west. It is true, indeed, that about the Christian era statues of Buddha were placed in front of, or on the four faces of the Dagobas, and in the niches of the Viharas; and that they afterwards became objects of reverence, if not of worship: but in India no temples seem to have been erected expressly to enshrine these images, and in which they were the sole and only object of the ceremonies of the place, as seems to have been the case at Pagán.

At the time when Pagán became a capital, say from the ninth to the thirteenth century, Buddhist architecture had almost ceased to be practised in India proper; but in Ceylon, Pollonarua was built and flourished almost exactly synchronously and under similar circumstances; and if any officer would do for that city what Captain Yule has done so efficiently for Pagán, we might, from comparing the illustrations, arrive at new and more correct views on the changes of Buddhist architecture in that age.

At the other extreme of the empire, in Cashmere, there is a class of temples which antiquaries have generally ascribed to the Hindoos, but which were, no doubt, Buddhist temples, and of the Pagán type; but as this form was till now utterly unknown, everything like an image-temple has hitherto been ascribed either to the Jains or Hindoos, but never to the Buddhists.

The only temple at all approaching those of Pagán, either in style or arrangement, which is known to exist in India, is that at Buddha Gya, in Behar. Like them, it is of brick, almost the only example of this known so far up the country, and it is an image-temple, though dedicated to Buddha, and not unlike those at Pagán in arrangement, only that the Sikra, or spire, is more important, and more like the ordinary Hindoo forms, and the porches form a less extended base. The mystery of its peculiarities is, however, very much cleared up by the discovery of an inscription in the Burmese character found at its base, which ascribes its erection (and I have no doubt correctly) to a Burmese King in the year 1305.†

Captain Yule is, no doubt, perfectly correct in stating that the style of ornamentation of the Pagán temples is derived from India. The ornamentation in the contemporary Hindoo temple, known as the Black Pagoda at Canarac, is in almost every respect identical; and so is that in the buildings at Pollonarua, and still more strikingly in the Tope at Sarnath, which is coeval with the Pagán buildings. As it is quite certain that the Indians did not borrow their style of ornamentation from the Burmese, it seems an inevitable consequence, when two things are so similar, that the Burmese must have borrowed their style from India.

Notwithstanding the general similarity, there are local peculiarities mixed up with the style, quite sufficient to give it an individuality which cannot be mistaken, and to identify its masonic forms with the peculiar forms of wood-carving which are so singularly characteristic of Burmese architecture.

One other prominent feature of these Pagán temples is the adoption of the Hindoo Sikra, or spire, as the crowning pinnacle of each. Nothing is so essentially and characteristically Hindoo as this, and its form can be traced from the early square towers of Bobaneswar to the modern spires of the Benares temples, but always preserving its local character, and never, so far as I

* *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 79.

† *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vol. iii. p. 214.

know, used out of India, except in this one instance; and although very generally adopted by the Jains in India, I am not aware of the Buddhists employing it in a single instance, even in the country of its origin.

The Burmese style differs entirely from the Indian in one striking peculiarity,—in the common and almost universal use of the pointed arch, not only in their openings, but in the vaulted coverings of their passages.

Had this occurred anywhere between the Indus and the Euphrates, the existence of such a form might have been looked for, and certainly would not have appeared strange, even at a very much earlier date; but as it seems an undoubted fact, that the natives of India never used the arch at all before the Mahommedan conquest, and as it is not known to exist either in Ceylon or Cashmere, it certainly is curious to find it so current and so perfect in a country *beyond* India, and so far removed from Assyria and the other countries of the west, which have the credit of inventing it.

It is further evident that these specimens at Pagán, though dating some of them from the ninth century, are far from being the earliest examples. The style is complete and full-blown, and there is no hesitation in using the circular, the flat, or pointed arch,—each exactly in the place where it is most wanted, and to which our extensive experience shows that it was best adapted.

The universal use of the arch in Burma arose, without doubt, from brick being the building material of the country, as contradistinguished from stone and wood, which were the building materials of India; and wood is known to be so perishable a material, especially when used with masonry, as to necessitate its abandonment wherever durability is desired.

Besides those peculiarities, which are so interesting to the archæologist and the historian of art, these Pagán temples deserve the attention of the architect, from their size and the general beauty of their arrangement. Nothing, for instance, can be finer than the general cruciform plan of the Ananda, with the deep shadows and various perspectives which this affords; and the mode by which each successive roof rises and diminishes, preparing at last for the well-proportioned culminating spire, is, as an architectural combination, equal to anything to be found in the East, and not frequently surpassed by the more boasted buildings of the West.

The base of the Thupinya is, perhaps, a little overpowered by the size of its great Donjon tower, and its spire is not so graceful as the last named; but the Ganda Pala seems to hit a happy mean between the two; and although it wants the size and the four porches of the first-named, it is singularly happy as an architectural composition.

It would be easy to continue these remarks to almost any extent, but enough has, I hope, been said to point out the principal affinities and peculiarities of the great buildings of Pagán; and it would seem almost impertinent to say more, when so much has been done by Captain Yule, as to render any remarks of mine superfluous. In concluding, however, I hope he will allow me to express the gratitude which I, in common, I am sure, with every Indian archæologist, feel for what he has done in this respect. He has added a new and most valuable chapter to the history of Indian art; and if other officers of like intelligence would show equal zeal and industry in other parts of India, neither the history of the people nor their arts would remain the uninteresting blank which has so long been the reproach of the unsympathising Saxon who now rules the destinies of the Eastern world.

APPENDIX M.

On the Languages spoken in Burma and the adjacent Countries.

Some of the following lists of equivalents in several of the languages spoken in Burma, have been brought together from Mr. Hodgson's collections in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. But several have been added from MS. information. I am quite aware of the uncertainty that attaches, more or less, to such lists, without very thorough revision by those who have the opportunity and competence to perform it, and I cannot answer for this having been done with all my originals; the most that I can now do being to take all care that those originals shall be exactly reproduced; but still it seems worth while to exhibit these. It is to be regretted that the same system of spelling has not been adopted in all, and it would be dangerous to attempt here to reduce them to a common orthography, especially as the system used by some of the compilers can only be probably conjectured.

The sources of these lists are as follows:—

I. *Burmese.* (A) is from a list supplied to Mr. Hodgson by Major Phayre, and published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1853, p. 8. This may be thoroughly depended on, barring clerical or typographical errors, and comparison with the next list will show that very little margin for these can remain.

(B) was kindly supplied in MS. by Captain Sparks, and was obtained from the American missionaries at Rangoon.

II. *Talain, Món,* or Peguan. (A) is from the same MS. source as I., B. (B) is selected from several originals; viz. 1st, A list by Dr. Morton, in the paper by Mr. Hodgson just referred to. Words from Dr. Morton's list have an M after them. 2d, A list kindly drawn out for me by Lieut. Williams of my own corps, lately Superintendant of Survey in Pegu, with the assistance of an intelligent and educated Talain employed on the survey under him. Words from this list have a W after them. 3d, A list for which I have to thank the ready help of another brother officer, Lieut. C. D. Newmarch, executive engineer at Maulmain. The author is, I believe, the Rev. Mr. Haswell, of the American mission there. Words from this list have an N after them.

III. *Singpho.* This list is by Mr. Bronson of the American mission in Upper Assam. It is published in the J. A. S. B. XVIII. p. 969, by Mr. Hodgson, who considers that it may be depended on as correct.

IV. *Sgau-Karen.* (A) is from a MS. supplied like I. B. through the kind intervention of Capt. Sparks, by Mr. Vinton, of the American mission at Rangoon, and may (barring clerical errors) be thoroughly depended on. (B) is selected from lists obtained as noticed above by Lieuts. Newmarch and Williams, and from another collected by my friend Mr. Oldham, during his travels in Tenasserim. The words are marked O, N, and W, respectively.

V. *Pwo-karen.* From Mr. Vinton, like IV. A few variations are added from W.

VI. *Toungthoo.* From one of Dr. Morton's lists supplied to Mr. Hodgson, and published in the Journal for 1853, p. 19.

VII. *Munnipoori.* I have not been able to find this language among Mr. Hodgson's lists. The present one is taken from a large vocabulary by Lieut. Stewart, 22nd B. N. I., in the Journal for 1855, p. 658.

VIII. *Khyen* or *Khyeng.* This is one of Major Phayre's lists from Hodgson, J. A. S. B. 1853, p. 8. It was taken in Aracan.

IX. X. XI. and XII. are all Shan dialects. IX. is from the language of the Khamtis, on the borders of Assam; X. from "Laos." This is a very vague term, but I presume it here represents the Shans east of Ava. XI. is Siamese. These three are from the lists by the Rev. Mr. Brown of Sibságor, published by Mr. Hodgson, in J. A. S. B. XIX. p. 311. XII. is from Dr. Morton's lists in the Journal for 1853, and represents, it is presumed, the dialect of the Shans settled in Tenasserim or on its borders. I have given these four in order to show the exceedingly small variation of the language of the Shans, spread as they are over such a vast tract of country, and split into so many communities, contrasting so remarkably with the Protean changes of these monosyllabic languages among the wilder tribes.

The systems of spelling adopted are as follows:

1. In Major Phayre's lists (I. (A.) and VIII.).

á	as in *America*	ai	as in *air*
i	„ „ *in*	ei	„ „ *mind*
í	„ „ *police*	ou	„ „ *ounce*
u	„ „ *push*	au	„ „ *audience*
ú	„ oo in *foot*	o	„ „ *note*
e	„ in *yet*	th	„ „ *thin*
é	„ „ *there*	th	„ aspirated *t*

2. In the lists by Messrs. Brown and Bronson, (III. IX. X. XI.) the Italian or Jonesian pronunciation of the vowels appears to be adopted. It is a pity that every one collecting such lists will not make this the standard.

3. With Mr. Vinton's lists (~~I. (B.)~~ II. (A.) IV. (A.) and V.) the only rules of pronunciation given were,—

u to be pronounced as in *flue.* This seems to be used only in the Karen list.
a „ „ *Wander*
o „ „ *Boniface*
ir, er, to be pronounced as vowels, omitting the consonant ending of *r.*

This seems to apply to some of the Karen words. The *er* is, I suppose, intended to represent the sound of *e* given in Scotland to the Greek η and to the *e* in the surname Kerr. Both long and short *u* appear to be represented by *oo*, and *ay* is sounded as in *day*, *ee* as in *flee*, *aw* as in *awful*, *ou* as in *bough.*

4. In Lt. Williams's words and in Lt. Newmarch's the pronunciation of the vowels appears to be nearly the same as in the last, an accented *a* being represented by *ah.*

5. Dr. Morton's spelling seems to be very irregular, but imitating that of English words,

with the usual uncertainties of that practice, and sometimes even using a final mute *e* to modify the sound of a preceding vowel, as in English.

6. Lt. Stewart's system is thus given:

á	is pronounced like	*a*	in *father*		a	like	*a*	in *man*
é	„	*e*	„ *there*		e	„	*e*	„ *men*
í	„	*i*	„ *police*		i	„	*i*	„ *pin*
ó	„	*o*	„ *note*		o	„	*o*	„ *not*
ú	„	*u*	„ *pull*		u	„	*u*	„ *fun*
oo	„	*oo*	„ *moon*		ou	„	*ou*	„ *bounty*
eu	„	*eau*	„ *beautiful*		ei	„	*i*	„ *mite*

ph never pronounced like *f*; gh and kh like the Persian *Ghain* and *Khe*: th like an aspirated t, as in hot*h*ouse.

Of the languages given here, the Burmese, Talain, Shan, Munnipoori, and Toungthoo* are written; the two Karen dialects have been reduced to writing by the American Baptist Missionaries. The others are unwritten.

* My authority for this is the following extract of a note from a gentleman of the American mission to Lieut. Newmarch:—

"The Toungthoos *have* a written language and books, and Kyoungs and priests. I have *seen* their books, and on the fall of Sebastopol I *printed* the Governor-General's proclamation for Lieut. Burn, in Toungthoo, but I confess it was the *first* and only thing that has ever been printed in Toungthoo."

English.	I. *Burmese.*		II. *Talain.*		III. *Singpho.*	IV. *Sgau-karen.*	
	B.	A. (*Phayre*)	A.	B.		A.	B.
Air	Lay	(Lé)	Kyah	Kyáh. W.	Mbung	Klee	Kálí. O.
Ant	Payooet-tsiek	(Payuetseik)	Ka-mwot	Hka-mwot	Gagin	Ter.	Ta-ghi-sau. O.
Arrow	Hmyá	(Myá)	Lay-yau	Lau. M.	Pelá	Plah	Khli. O.
Bird	Hnget	Nghet	Ka-tseen	Hka-tseym. W.	Wu	Tó	Hto. W. Hthu. O.
Blood	Thway	Thwé	Tseen	Htsein. M.	Sai	Thwee	Athüi. O. [O.
Boat	Hlay	Thé ?	Ka-loun	Hlo. M. Galone. W.	Li	Klee	Hkalee. W. Hkali
Bone	Ayó	Ayo	Joot	Htsot. M. Tsoot. W.	Nráng	Khee	A*kh*hui. O.
Buffalo	Kyooay	Kyuai	Pree-eng	Parin. W.	Ngá	P'nah	Paná. W. Penná. O.
Cat	Kyoung	Kyoung	Pa-koh-wah	Hpah-koé. W.	Ningyau	Thah-menyaw	Mengaw. O.
Cow	Nooá-ma	Nuá	Ka-lian-boh	Karau. M. Galow. W.	Kansú	Ghaw'pee	Klau. W. Gaupe-mó. N.
Crow	Kyee-gan	Kyí	Kha-dait	Hká-tát. W.	Kokhá	Sowah-khah	Tsoa-hkáh. W.
Day	Nay	Né	Ta-ngoo-wah	Ta-ngway. M. Nyoo-ee. W.	Ningthoi	Nee	Mu-khni. O.
Dog	Khway	Khwé	Khlâ	Klay. W.	Gui	'Twee	Htwee. W.
Ear	Na-yooet	Ná	Ka-toh	.....	Ná	Nah	Na-khu. O.
Earth	Myay	Myé	Taik	Te. M. Teet. W.	Nggá	Hawko	Hau-hko. W.
Egg	Oo	U	Ka-mai	Hkamá. W.	U'di	Dee	Hdee. W. dhi. O.
Elephant	Ts'hen	S'hen	Tsaine	Tseyng. W.	Magui	K'saw	Ka-saw, kahtsau. O.
Eye	Myet-tsee	Myetsi	Mhoot	Mwot. W	Mi	Mal	Mé. O.
Father	Aphay	Phá-é	Abhâ	A-pah. W. Ma. M.	Wá	Pah	Bah. W. [O.
Fire	Mee	Mí	Ka-mwot	.....	Wan	Máoo	May-oo. W. Mí-uh.
Flower	Pan	Pán	Pa-kou	Kaonw. W.	Siban	'Paw	Phoh. O.
Foot	Khyay	Khyé	Joing	Htsihn. M. Zine. N.	Lagóng	'Kaw	.....
Goat	Ts'hiek	S'heik	Ka-bek	Hkabai. W.	Bainam	Mal tal lal	Mi-tel-leh. O.
Hair	Tsabeng	S'haben	Tsoot	Swet. M. Thook. W.	Kará	'Ko-thoo	Kho-thu. O.
Hand.	Let	Let	Toh-wâh	Tway. M. W.	Lettá	Su	Tsu. O.
Head	Goung	Ghoung	Ka-dop	Hka-táp.	Bong	'Ko	Hko. W.
Hog	Wet	Wet	Khlait	Kalet. M.	Wá	'To	Tho. O.
Horn	Gyo	Ghyo	Pao	Kareng. M. Greeung. W.	Rung	Nir	Ner. N. Tha-nah. O.
Horse	Myeen	Myin	Khyaî	Kchyé. W. [W.	Gumrang	'K'tha	Kathay. W. Ka-thí.
House	Ieng	Eing	Hainh or Hoi	Hnyee. M. Hngeet.	Ntá	He	Hhi. O. [O.
Iron	Than	*Th*an	Pa-tho-wâh	Pathwé. W.	Mpri	Tah	Htá. O.
Leaf (not dark)	A'yooet	Yuet	Ka-nah	Hlah. W.	Láp	Lah	The-la. O.
Light	Aleng	Len	Ka-mah	..... [W.	Ningthoi	Tah-k'paw	Ta-go-pau. O.
Man	Loo	Lú	Ma-nee	Karoo. M. Banee.	Singphó	Pgah-k'nyaw	Paka-nyau. W.
Monkey	Myouk	Myouk	Ka-now-wee	Kanwee. M. W.	Woé	Taheu	Tao. W. Tahoo. N.
Moon	La	Lá	Katou	Kátoh. W.	Sitá	Lah	Lháh. O.
Mother	Amay	Ami (Amé ?)	Amai	.....	Nú	Mo	A-mo. N. O.
Mountain	Toung	Toung	Doe	Hdé	Bum	'K'sir	Kutchcho. O.
Mouth	Pa-zat	N'hup	Pauh	Pán	Ninggup	'Tah-'ko	.....
Musquito	Khyin	Khyin	Ka-mheet	Hkameek. W. N.	Tsigrong	P'so	Pet-tso. O.
Name	Námee	Ami	Yâ-moo	.....	Ming	Mee	Amyee. W. Ami. O.
Night	Ngyá	Nyá	Pa-toung	Pataum. N.	Siná	Nah	Páthi. O.
Oil	Ts'hee [thee	S'hi	Khloing	.....	Nam án	Tho	.....
Plantain	Hnep-pyau-	Nghet-pyo	Phrat	.....	Lungu	Thquee	Thakwee. W.
River	Myeet	Myit	Bhee	Bee. W. N.	Khá	'Tee-'klo	Klo. W. hnau. O.
Road	Lan	Lám	Khlaung	.....	Lám	'Klaí	Khlé. O.
Salt	Ts'há	S'há	Bhau	Pó. M. Buh. N.	Jum	Eethah	.....
Skin	Ayay	Thayé	N'ham	Hnam. W. S'nam. N. Nan. M.	Phi	Tah-'pee	A-phé. O.
Sky	Mo-koung-gin	Mó	Ta-kha	.....	Mu	Moo'k'polo	Moohko. W. O.
Snake	Myooay	Myué	Thoom	Soom. W. Sroom. N.	Lapú	Ghu	Gú. N. Mgu. O.
Star	Kyay	Kyai (Kyé ?)	Nhoung	Noung. M. Hnoung. W. S'nong. N.	Sigan	Ts-ah	Htsah. W. Cha. O.
Stone	Kyouk	Kyouk	Kâ-mho	K'mau. N.	Nlung	Ler	Hlui. O.

V. *Pwo-karen.*	VI. *Toungthoo. M.*	VII. *Munnipoori. (Stuart.)*	VIII. *Khyen. (Phayre.)*	IX. *Khamti. (Shan.)*	X. *Laos. (Shan.)*	XI. *Siamese. (Shan.)*	XII. *Shan (taken in Tenasserim).*
Lee	Ta-lee	Núngsit	Klí	Lóm	Lóm	Lóm	Lónma
Tung. P.	H-tung	Kukcheng	Lhing-zá-mí	Mót	Mót, puak	Mót	Mot
Plah	Pla	Tél	Thwá	Lim	Lempün	Lukson	Pen
Too, Htoh. W.	A'-wa	U'chék	Hau	Nók	Nók	Nok	Hnot
Thwee	Thway	I'	Ka-thí	Lüt	Leut	Leuat	Leet
Klee	Phray	Hi	Loung	Hü	Heu	Reua	Hó
Khwee	Htsot	Surroo	Ka-yok	Nuk	Dúk	Kaduk	Sot
P'nah, Páná	Pay-nay	Iroi	Nau	Khwai	Khwái	Khwái	Kwihn
Maing-yaw	Nyen	Houdong	Mín	Miau	Meau	Meau	Myoung
Tsernung-mu	Phou	Sul	Sharh	'Ngo	Ngóa	Ngóa, wóa	Wó
Klah	Zank-ay	Kwák	Ang-au	Ká	Ká	Ká	Ka
Nee	Mo-yay	Númit	Konup	Wan	Wan	Wan	Kawon
Twee	Htwé	Hwí	U-í	Má	Má	Má	Ma
Nah	Nau	Na	Ka-nhau	Hú	Hú	Hú	Hoo
G''on-koo	Ham-tan	Laipák	Det	Langmin	Dín	Phen-din	Sen
Dee	De	.....	Toi	Khai	Khai	Khai	Khíht
K'sang	Hsan	Sámoo	Mwí	Tsáng	Tsang	Chang	Tsan
Meet thah	May	Mit	Mi-ú-i	Tá	Tá	Tá	Mat-ta
Pah	Phá	Ipá	Pau	Po	Po	Po	Pau
Mee	May	Mei	Mí	Fai	Fai	Fai	Hpihn
Paw	Ken	Lei	Pa-pá	Mok	Dok	Dokmai	Mau
Kang	Khan	Khúng pa	Ka-ko	Tin	Tín	Tin	Ten
Bee	Bay	Humêng	Ma	Pe	Pe	Pe	Pá
Koo-thoo	Ta-lu	Thum	Lu-sám	Phóm	Phóm	Phóm	Khon-ho
Su	Su	Khút pák	Kúth	Mü	Mü	Mü	Mee
Kó	Katu	Mokó	Lú	Hó	Hó	Hóa	Ho
Tóh, Htoo. W.	Htau	Ok	Weuk	Mú	Mú	Mú	Moo
Nóng	Nung	Sují	A-kyí	Khau	Khau	Khau	Khoung
Thee [W.	Thay	Sagól	S'hé	Má	Má	Má	Ma
Yaing, Gayn.	Sam	Yim	I'm	Hün	Heun	Reuan	Híen
Tah	Say-thee	Yót	Thí	Lék	Lek	Lek	Leit
Lah	Lay	Maná	Shé	Maü	Bai	Bai	Moung-mán
Tserpan	Lita-lay	Mañgál	.....	Leng	Leng, tseng	Sawang	Alen
Herplong, Hploon. W.	Lan	Mi-Nipa	Klang	Kun	Khón	Khón	Konpoo-trihn
Tser-oke	Khyag	Yong	Young	Ling	Wok, ling	Ling	Lein
Lah	Lu	Thá	Khlau	Lün	Deun	Tawan	Len
Mó	Men	Imá	Nú	Me	Me	Me	Amyá
Koo-laung	Koung	Ching	Toung	Noi	Loi	Pukhau	Patouk
Nók	Proung	Chil	Hak-kau	Sóp	Pák	Pák	Htsot
Tser-poe	Takhra	Kang	Young-yán	Yung	Yung	Yung	You
Maing	Meen	.....	Na-mi	Tsu	Tsü	Chü	Tsoo
Moo-Nah	Mo-ha	Ahing	Ayán	Khün	Khün	Khün	Kakhán
Thoo	Nú-man	.....	To	Nam'man	Nam'man	Nam'man	Na-man
Thah-kwee	Gná	Lapoi	Nhám-pau	Kúe	Kue	Klue	Kwá
Tee-klook	Nhrong	Tnrel	Ha-loung	Kbye, Nam	Nam, Me	Me, Nam	Nan-howk
Pung-thah. P.	Klay-tantha	.....	Lám	Táng	Tang	Tháng	Tán
Tee-lah	Tá	Thúm	Tsí	Kü	Keu, Kem	Kletia	Ko
Tserpate	Phro	Ool	Wún	Nang	Nang	Nang	Nann
Tserpoh-pain.I.	Mo	Nidhoripak	Han-mhí	Fá	Fáfón	Fá	Hpa
Ghu	H'm	Lil	Phol	Ngú	Ngu	Ngú	Ngoo
Tsah	H'sa	Thó-mucha	Aá-shé	Náu	Láu	Dáu	Loung
Lóng	Lung	Núng	Lún	Hin	Hin	Hin	Mahein

English.	I. *Burmese.*		II. *Talain.*		III. *Singpho.*	IV. *Sgau-karen.*	
	B.	A. (*Phayre*)	A.	B.		A.	B.
Sun	Nay	Né	Ta-ngowah	Tangway. M. Nyuwa. W.	Ján	Mu	Muh. O.
Tiger	Kyá	Kyá	Khlat	Kala. M. Kla. W.	Sirông	Bautho	[O. Ká. N. Butho, k'hé
Tooth	Thwá	*Thwá*	Ngaet	Nget. M. Gnáut. N.	Wá	Mài	.....
Tree	Theet-peng	Apen	Ka-noung-tsoo	Kanoung. M.	Phun	Thay	.....
Village	Yooá	Yuá	Khwon	Koh. M. Kwán. W.	Mereng	T'wau	Kau. O.
Water	Yay	Yé	Daik [waih	Tdát. W.	Ntsin	Tee	Hteee. W. Thi. O.
Yam	Myouk-khoung	Myouk	Ka-dop Kh-	Ka-wa. W.	Nai	Nwaì	Noé. O.
I	Kyenók	Nga	Wa-doit	Awai. M. Owá. W.	Ngai	Yah	Yá. O.
Thou	Meng	Men or Nen	Moing	Bai. M. Mna-er. N.	Náng, Ní	Nah	Tha. O.
He	Thoo	*Thá*	Nyeea	Nya-er. N.	Khí	Awaì	Au. N.
She	„	.....	„	.....	.....	„	.....
We	Kyenók-dó	Nga-do	Pwai-daik-toh	Pooey. N.	I'	P'waì	Pghá. N.
Ye	Meng-dó	Men-do	Pai-tah		Nitheng	Thu	.....
They	Thoo-do	Thá-do	Nyeea-toh		Khíní	A'waltha	Ya-we-da. O.
Mine	Kyenok ee	Ngái	Karom-pwai-daih	The possessive indicated only by the thing possessed being placed before the possessor. N.	Ngéná	Y'waldah	.....
Thine	Meng-ee	Mení	Krom-pai		Náná	N'waldah	.....
His	Thoo-ee	*Thái*	Krom-nycea		Khíná	A'waldah	.....
Ours	Kyenók-do-ée	Ngádoi	Kro-pohy		.....	P'waldah	.....
Yours	Meng-dó-ee	Men-doi	Kro-pai-toh		.....	Thuwaldah	.....
Theirs	Thoo-dó-ee	Thá-doi	Krom-nyceatoh		.....	Awaitha-waldah	.....
One	Teet	Tit	Moowah	.....	Aima	T'er	Tah- W. Hta. O.
Two	Hneet	Nhit	Pha	Bah. W. N.	Nkhong	'Kee	Khee. W.
Three	Thóng	Thon	Phaik	Peh. W. Pee. N.	Masúm	Ther	Theh. W. Thó. O.
Four	Lay	Lé	Phon	Paun. W. N. [N.	Melí	Lwee	.....
Five	Nga	Ngá	Pa-thoun	Patsón. W. P'sone.	Mangá	Yaì	.....
Six	Khyouk	Khyouk	Ká-row	T'rou. N. [N.	Krá	Khú	.....
Seven	Khoonect	Khun-nhit	Ká-pôh	Hkapau. W. T'pauh.	Sinit	Nwee	.....
Eight	Sheet	Shyit	Ka-tsan	Hka-tsám. W. T'ehan. N.	Matsát	Kho	Hkau. W.
Nine	Kó	Ko	Ka-tsee	Hka-tseet. W: T'cheet. N.	Tsekhú	Kwee	Hkwee. W.
Ten	Táts'hay	S'hai (S'hé ?)	Tsau	Sau. W. Chaw. N.	Sí	T'see (one-ten)	Tatsee. W.
Eleven	Táts'hay-teet	.....	Tsau-mwa	Sau-mwáh. W.	.....	T'see-ter (ten-one)	Ta-tsee-ta. W.
Twelve	Táts'hay-hneet	.....	Tsau-phâ	Sau-Bah. W.	.....	T'see-"hee" (ten-two)	Ta-tsee-khee. W.
Twenty	Hná-ts'hay	Nhits'hai (Nhit-s'hé ?)	Pha-tso	Bá-tsoh. W.	Khún	Kee-see (two tens)	Khee-tsee. W.
Thirty	Thóng-zay	Thon-s'hai (Thon-s'hé ?)	Paik-tso	Pee-tsoh. W. Pee-chaw. N.	Tumsí	Thutsee	Theh-tsee. W.
Forty	Lay-zay	Lézhai (Les'hé ?)	Poien-tso	Paun-tsoh. W.	Mlísí	Lweesee	.....
Fifty	Nga-zay	Ngazhai Nga-s'hé ?)	Pa-soun-tso	Pa-tson-tsoh. W.	Mangásí	Yaìsu	Yay-tsee. W.
Hundred	Tá-ya	Tayá	Khloun	Klóm. W. Klaun. N.	Latsá	Tk'zah	Tágáyah. W.
Thousand	Tá-htoung	.....	Ngeen	Ngeem. W.	.....	Tk'to	Tágá-hto. W.
Of	Ee	I	Aou	.....	Na (affix)	Bah-khah	Ah. N.
From	Ga	Gá	Atai	Noo-kar. N.	.....	Ler	.....
To	Tho	A'	Haut	Too-kar. N.	Fe	Soo [(near)	.....
By	Upyen	Phyen	Enau	Naer-kar. N.	.....	A'ghaw'tee	.....
With	Hnen	Nhen	Pha	.....	.....	Daw	A-tho. N.
Without	May	.....	Ootseen	.....	.....	.....	.....
In	Hmá	Nheik	Ah-dowá	.....	Kátái	A'poo	.....
On	Pau-hma	Bomha	Atau	A-too. W. L'too. N.	Lethá	A'paw'ko	.....

Affixed to the noun.

V. *Pwo-karen.*	VI. *Toungthoo. M.*	VII. *Munnipoori. (Stuart.)*	VIII. *Khyen. (Phayre).*	IX. *Khamti. (Shan.)*	X. *Laos. (Shan.)*	XI. *Siamese. (Shan.)*	XII. *Shan (taken in Tenasserim).*
Moo-mai	Mu	Númit	Ko-nhi	Wan	Kangwan	Tawan	Kawon
Khay	Ka	Keí	Kyí	Sü	Seu	Süa	Htso
Mai	Ta-gná	Yá	Ka-hau	Khiu	Khiau	Fan, Khiau	Khyó
Thaing	Thing-mu	Upál	Thin	Tún	Tón	Tón	Ton
Twan	Dung	Khul	Nám	Mán	Ban	Ban	Mann
Tee	H'tee	Ishing	Tú-í	Nam	Nam	Nam	Nán
Nwá	Nwá	Há	Ba-há	Man	Hóaman	Mandom	Ho-mau
Yer	Khwa	Ei	Kyi	Kau	O'ng-ku	Khá	Koung
Ner	Na	Nung	Náng	Maü	Tóa	Tua, Müng	Moung
Ur	Wa	Ma	Ni	Man	Man, Tan	Khon, Man	Khoung-nick
"	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
P'wee-dah	Né	Eikhoi	Kin-ní	Hau	Hau	Rau	Koung-niht
Nwee-dah	Ná-the	Nungkhoi	Nang-ní	Maü-sú	.....	Su	Htsooh-niht
A'thee-way	Wá-the	Makhoi	Ni-di or Ni-li	Man-khau	.....	Khruarai	Mau-niht
Y'wa-dah	.....	Eigi	Ki-ko	.....	.....	.....	.....
N'wa-dah	.....	Nunggi	Nang-ko	.....	.....	.....	.....
A'wa-dah	.....	Magi	Ni-ko	.....	.....	.....	.....
P'wa-dah	.....	Eikhoigi	Ki-ni-ko	.....	.....	.....	.....
N'thee-wa-dah	.....	Nungkhoigi	Nang-ni-ko	.....	.....	.....	.....
A'thee-wa-dah	.....	Makhoigi	Ni-di-ko	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lung	Ta	Amá	Nhát	Nüng	Nüng	Nüng	Nein
Ne	Ne	Ani	Pan-nhí	Song	Song	Song	Htsoung
Thung	Thung	Ahoom	Thúm	Sám	Sám	Sám	Htsan
Lee	Leet	Mari	Lhi	Sí	Sí	Sí	Htse
Yca	Ngat	Mañga	Nghau	Há	Há	Há	Ha
Khoo	Ther	Taruk	Sauk	Hók	Hók	Hók	Hoht
Nwaee	Nwot	Taret	S'hé	Tset	Tset	Tset	Tseet
Kho	That	Nipál	Sát	Pét	Pét	Pét	Tet
Kwee	Koot	Mápal	Ko	Kaü	Kau	Kau	Kowt
L'tsee	Tah-si	Tará	Ha	Sip	Sip	Sip	Tseit
L'tsee-lung	.....	Tará-ma-thoi	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
L'tsee-nee	.....	Tará-ni-thoi	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nee-tsee	He	Kool	Kúr	Sau	Sáu-nüng	Yé-sip	Htsoung
Thung-tsee	Thung (?)	Kúnthra	Tún-gíp	Sám sip	Sám sip	Sám sip	Htsan-htsiet
Lee-tsee	Leet (?)	Niphoo	Lhí-gíp	Sí sip	Sí sip	Sí sip	Htse-htsiet
Yca-tsee	Ngat (?)	Yáng khai	Nghau-gip	Há sip	Há sip	Há sip	Ha-htsiet
L'yah	Ta-loy-eu	Chámá	Klá-át	Pák	Hoi	Roi	Hpat
L'taung	.....	Lisiñg amá	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ler (as of whom)	A	.....	.....	.....	.....	Thí	.....
Ler (as from the city)	A	Di gi	.....	Hang, Ti	.....	Ke	.....
Tsu [by]	En	Da	A'	Luk	.....	Té	Kohn
Bóh-kóh (near	Tóme	Na	Lá	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dai	.....	Loi nít na	Yung	.....	.....	Duei	Han
Ler-koung	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Mai
Ler-pung	Pu	Da	Dúka	Kannü	Nai	Nai	Kanoung
A,paingoo	Long	Thuk	Há-nang	Nau	Neu	Bon	Kanouk

English.	I. *Burmese.*		II. *Talain.*		III. *Singpho.*	IV. *Sgau-karen.*	
	B.	A. (*Phayre*)	A.	B.		A.	B.
Now	Yákhoo	Yakhu	Ka-moo	L'mooh. N.	Yá	Kaìkinaee	Kaikane. N.
Then	Htó-ákhá	Tho-akhá	Pa-tóka-moo	Pdou-kálá-kauh. N.	.....	T'unuts'u	.....
When	Thau-ákha	Bhe*th*o-khá	Ma-tsee-lau-row	Moo-chee-loh. N.	Yango	Tú	Kai-lai. N.
To-day	Yánay	Yané	Ngwai-noh	.....	Daíní	M'ʻsah	M'tsaee. N.
To-morrow	Neppan	Net-phan	Noo-yai	Yeh. W.	Mphoní	ʻKaìghaw	....
Yesterday	Manaygá	Ya-manné	Lek-ka-nai	La-ka-neh. W.	Maní	M'hah	....
Here	Thee-hmá	*Th*imhá	Anoh	Eenaw. N.	Náde	ʻPaìee	....
There	Hóhmá	Homhá	Ahtai	Eetá. N.	Tode	ʻPaìna	....
Where?	Bay-hmá	Bhemhá	Ah-lau-row	....	Gadégui	ʻPaì laì	....
Above	Apau-hmá	Apomhá	Ah-lau-tai	....	Ning tsang	A,ʻpawko	....
Below	Ouk-hmá	Ouk mhá	Ah-mho-noh	Ahmau. W. S'mau. N.	Katái	A,ʻpawlah	....
Between	Tsat-kya-hmá	Akyá mhá	Ah-khra-ka-ril	Akrá. N.	....	A,bersir	....
Without	Apyin-hmá	Pyen mhá	Ma-ngai	Mngaer. N.	....	A,klor	Ler-ko. N.
Within	Ahlay-hmá	Atwen	Ah-dowá	Adwah. W.	....	A,poo	Len-poo. N.
Far	Way-thau	Wé	Ngoowá	Nyoo-wá. W.	Tsán	Yeezee	Yee. N.
Near	Nee-thau	Ni	Tsaik	....	Ni	Boo	....
Little	Ngay-thau	Seikkhalé.(?)	Dwot	Dote. N.	Katsi	ʻSee'koo	Tse. N. Atjhe. O.
Much	Myá-thau	Myá	Kloung	Hbau. M. Klung. N.	Lo	Ahmah	Ah. N.
How much?	Bay-louk	Bhélouk	Ma-tsee-row	....	Gadéma	ʻSee-ah-laì	Tse-ah. N.
Thus	Thee-nee	The-né	Nwai-noh	....	Ndaisat	De-ee	De-nay
How?	Bay-hnay	Bhó-*th*o	Kala-row	....	....	Dee-laì	....
Why?	Bay-hnay-gyoung	Bhé-pyulo	Moo-tau-kla-row	Moo-dau. W.	Fari	M'nulaì	Mu-lai. N.
Yes	Hok-khay	Hokhé	Daum	Yo. W. Yooh. W.	Raia	Ma-lee	Ma. N. Meye. O.
No, not	Ma-hók-boo	Mahok	Ooshing	Hatsen. M. Au-theng. W. Hoo-saung. N.	Galai, ng phung	T'mabah	Tho-mi-bah. O.
And, also	Leegoung	Ligoung	Neai-noowà-[kop	....	....	Daw, sa-ʻkaw	Dau. N.
Or	Tho-ma-hók	Thomahok	Ha-tho-then	....	....	Magha	Má-t-má. N.
This	Thee	I', Thí	Anoh	....	Ndai	Tah-ee	....
That	Hto	Thó, hó	Eno	Akau. W. Kauh. N.	Orawá	Tahnu	A-ná. N.
Which	Bay-theng	Abhé	Ela-row	....	Gadénuá	Lir laì	Pai-lai-ga-lai. N.
Who	Bay-thoo	Bhé*th*ú	Nhea-ko-row	....	Gadaimá	[laì M'tah-tghah-	....
Eat	Tsá	Sá	Tsee	Tseet	Sháu	Anw	Au. N. W. Auh. O.
Drink	Thouk	*Th*ouk	Thoung	Thone. W. Soong N.	Luu	Owr-au	Aúh. O.
Sleep	Iek	Eik	Toik	Tayke. W. Hling. N. Tet. M.	Yúpu	Mee	Míh. O.
Wake	No	No	Ngoo	....	Dúmu	ʻPu-theenaw	....
Smoke	Thouk	....	Thoung	....	....	Tah-ʻkee	....
Laugh	Yay	Yé	Kraieng	Garihn. M. Krung. N.	Manía	Ne	Nih. O.
Weep	Ngo	Ngo	Yaun	Ran. M. Yehm. W.	Khrápu	Haw	Hauh. O.
Be silent	Htiek	Teik-sheik-né	Ka-nóp	Kanouk. M.	Temdingau	Obwah	....
Speak	Pyau	Pyo, s'ho	Hom	Ham. N.	Súu	K'to	Ta-thu-thah. O.
Come	Lá	La, youk	Kloung	Kló m. W.	Sáu	Haì	....
Go	Thwá	Thwá	Ah	....	Wán	Laì	Lé. O.
Stand up	Yat	Thá, Mát	Dau	K'tah. N.	Tsapu, Rotu	ʻSer-ter	Tshe-thu. O.
Sit down	Htaing	Tháing	Ka-tsau	K'chó. N.	Dúngu	ʻSanaw	Tshe-noh. O.
More	Hlók [thwa	Lé, kyuá	Khee	....	Th otu	Ghaì	....
Walk	Khyay-gyin-	....	Ah-taik	Kwaik. N.	Damu	Laìtah	....
Run	Pyay	Pyé	Khreet	Krape. N.	Gagátu	Kha	Hkhú. O.
Give	Pay	Pé	Kah	Kay. W.	Yáu	Halaw	Ha. N.

V. *Pwo-karen.*	VI. *Toungthoo. M.*	VII. *Munnipoori. (Stuart.)*	VIII. *Khyen. (Phayre.)*	IX. *Khamti. (Shan.)*	X. *Laos. (Shan.)*	XI. *Siamese. (Shan.)*	XII. *Shan (taken in Tenasserim).*
Róngniang-yoo [pung	Ngá-khayen	Huchik	Tú-a	Tsang, Ngai	Leng	Reu, Thanchai	Mayóh-nihn
Taungnaut-	Moung-ma	Asai	Nikho-a	....	.....	Müa	Chyain-hnigh ?
Taung	Teu-ma	Horén	I'kho-á	....	.....	Müa Dai	Chyain-lu
L'nee-yoo	Han-né	Ashi	Tun-ap	....	Wanni	Wanní	Ma-hniht
Kay-ghau-koh	Mureu	Aráng	Nhát-ta	Maphók	Phuk	Phrungni	Ma-hpot
Ler-moo-gah	Má-ha	Hai yeng	Yam-tú	Mangá	....	Wa, Wán	Ma-wa
Taung-yoo	Yo	Asída	Ní-ám	Phe, Thai	Ní	Ní	Kaniht
Taung-nau	Ea-hsú	Asómda	Tsú-á	Hanpun	....	Thi nau	Kapo
Shaing-lay	Eu-hmay	Keída	I'-ní-am	Thaü	Tinai	Thi nai	Kalau
Ler-tah, or A'-pangkoo	En-ke	Mathuk	Adamaka	Kanlu	Pin	Bón	Pamon
A'punglah	En-la	Makha	Dékan	....	Lum	Tí	Palon
A-bong-tsung	Ak-ha	Moyaida	Alhákaku	....	....	Wang	Akhun
Ler-kaung	Tah'tanu	Mapál	Klángáme	....	....	Thinok	Kanouk
Ler-a-pung	En-pu	Yimúng	Dú-gámé	Tinaü	....	Thinai	Kanoung
Yaing	Hyá	Arápa	Tsu-a a-lhau ame	Kai	Kaí	Kli	An-kéhn
Boh	Lau	Nuglé	A-shyo-zo-yan	Kaü	Kai	Klai	An-san
Ree-pu	Pá	Yámde	A-lákchái	Lek, Kye	....	Leknoi	Aeet
Ah-mah	A	Yamé	Apálúk	Nam	Nak, Lái	Lai, Bunda	Taima
Tsai-ah-lai	Kheing hmay	....	Hyau-úm	....	Kilam	Kí-lem	Hta-noung
Bayee	Nay-yó	Asundowna	....	Nang-nai	....	Yang-nan, Chen	Tso-na-youk
Baithelay	....	Kurumtauna	T'bau	....	....	Thau, Phrá het	Tso-hoo
Naulai	Htway-may	Karigi tumuk	I-na-to-ám	....	....	Phrá-aurai	Pen-htsau
Mwai	Mwá	Hoi	A-hi	Tsaü [Tak	Tsai, Men	Khá	Htsouk-hee
Mwai-aee	Ta-mwá-tew	Nate	Hi-a, Né-é	Ma-tsaü, Le,	Bo-tsai, Bo, [Mai, Ya	Michi, Mi, Ya	Ma-tsouk
Dai	La	Súng, amasúlei	....	....	Le	Le, Kap, Tak	....
A'L'Mwaibah	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
A'yoo	Yo	Ashí	Ní	Annai	Ní	Ni	Tso-niht
A'nau	Ta-hlón	Adú	Oní	Annan	Nau	Nan	Tso-nan
Lerlai	Lisa-may-nay	Kuri	I'-ni-aka	An-naü	....	Khon-dai	An-loung-lai
Ma-paw-lai	Pá-may-nay	Kunáno	U'-lí-am	Phaü	Khai, Phai	Krai, Süng	Hpoung
Awng	Am	Cháo	E'	Kin	Kin	Kin	Kyen
Aw	Nwá	Thouo	U'-é	Kin-nam	Kin-nam	Deum	Kyen
Mee	Píng	Hibo	I'p	Non, Lap	Non, Lap	Lap	Nonn
Nang tang	Ting	Hougolo	Kakák	Tün	Tün	Tün	Ten
Tser-koo	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Nee	Ngá	Noo	A-nwí	Khó	Hán, Khóa	Hóaro	Kho
Gang	Ngen	Kupbo	A-káp	Hai	Hai	Ronghai	Hihk
Auk-kser	Hnging	....	Mhé	Yú-tsip-tsip	Dak-dak-yú	Ning-yú	Yoo-hlseet-hlseet
Klaing	Ung-dau	Haio	Há-we	Wa	Pak	Phut	Sat
Ghay	Lóne	Láo	Lo	Má	Má	Má	Mha
Lay	Lway	Chulo	Tsit	Ká	Pai, Men	Pai	Kwa
Tsung-tung	Ung-h'hung	Lébo	Túa-e	Sau	Song	Yün	Tsot-roo
Tsur-nang	Ung-lan	Phumo	Ngúnge	Nang	Nang	Nang	Nau-yoo
Ghai	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Tsaing	Lay	Chulo	....	Pai	Men	Dün	Lay-yoo
Tsaing-t-laing	Law	Chélo	Cho-né	Len	Len-pai	Wing-pi	Len-kwa
Pee-long	Pha	Pio	Pe-ge	Haü	Hü	Hai	Pan

English.	I. *Burmese.*		II. *Talain.*		III. *Singpho.*	IV. *Sgau-karen.*	
	B.	A. (*Phayre*)	A.	B.		A.	B.
Take	Yoo	Yú	Kate (Két ?)	Kit. W. Keet. M.	Láu	He-na	Hé. O.
Strike	Yiek	Yaik, Pok	Ták	Tai. M.	Dúpu	Taw	Pa-tau. O.
Kill	That	*That*	Ka-tsát	Tsa. M.	Satu	Mah-thee	....
Bring	Yoo-ghay	Yú-ghé	Kit-nain	Keet-nen. M. Ganayung. W.	Láu	Halso	Hai-tso. N.
Take away	Yoo-thwá	Yú-thwá	Kit-nâ	....	Láu wáu	Sokwee	Ke-tcho. O. Ka-tso. N.
Lift up	Khyee	Mhyouk	Ka-ban	Hká-boung. W.	Phónu	So'taw	Hc-ká. N.
Hear	Kyá	Kyá	Moing	Kalán. M. Káloun. W. K'long. N.	Nángu	Nah-hoo	....
Understand	Na-lay	Lé, thí	Kla-tsat-rah	Klah-chot. N.	Chóiu	Nah-por	....
Tell	Pyau	S'ho, kyá	Haum	Ham. N.	Sáu	Taì	....
Good	Koung-thau	Koung	Ka-khway-rah	Khá. M.	Gajá	Gha	....
Bad	Hls'ho-thau	S'ho	Ookha	Hakha. M. H'keh. W. Ohkeh. W.	Ngaiá	Er	A-óhh. O
Cold	Khyan-thau	E'	Bhâ	Bá. M. Hboh. W.	Kaisí	Gho	....
Hot	Poo-thau	Pú	Katao	K'tou. N.	Káthet	Ko	....
Raw	Tsieng-thau	Seing	Kroung	....	Ketsing	Thee-'k'-saì	A-tsi. O.
Ripe	Hmay-thau	Mhé	Doo	Hdoo. W. Too. M.	Mir	Me	A-mhi. O.
Sweet	Khyó-thau	Khyo	Dat	Tat. M.	Dúi	'Sir	Tser. N. A-tchu. O.
Sour	Khyin-thau	Khyin	Phya	Hpya. M. Pyah. N.	Khrí	'Se	Tse. N.
Bitter	Khá-thau	Khá	Ka-taun	Katau. M. K'tong. N.	Khá	'Kah	Kha. N.
Handsome	Hál-thau [than	Lhá	Khoo	Gau. M. Kó. N.	Jásoi	A'khwee-bah	P'kwah ghá. N.
Ugly	Ayok-ts'hó-	Ayups'ho	Parray	P'reh. N.	Samnáng	T'khee-bah	....
Straight	Hpyoung-thau	Phyoung	Touk	S'toup. N.	Preng	Lo or blír	....
Crooked	Kouk-thau	Kouk	Ngauk	Tanouk. M. [N.	Mágo	Ká	T'blir. N.
Black	Net-thau	Net	Ka-tsok	Katsau. M. K'chok.	Chang	Thoo	Athu, O.
White	Phyoo-thau	Phyú	Pa-taing	P'tán. W.	Phrong	Wah	....
Red	Nee-thau	Ní	Pa-keet	Pa-ket. W.	Khyeng	Ghaw	Gáu. N.
Green	Tsieng-thau	Seing	Arong-thwee	Yhneet	Ketsing	Lah	....
Long	Shay-thau	Shé	Klaing	Kalein. M.	Gálú	'Taw	....
Short	To-thau	To	Khlee	Kle. N. N.	Kutún	'Pu	A-phu. O.
Fall	Myeen-thau	Myin	Lhoung	Thalon. M. Hloong.	Tsade	'Tau	....

V. *Pwo-karen.*	VI. *Toungthoo. M.*	VII. *Munnipoori. (Stuart.)*	VIII. *Khyen. (Phayre.)*	IX. *Khamti. (Shan.)*	X. *Laos. (Shan.)*	XI. *Siamese. (Shan.)*	XII. *Shan (taken in Tenasserim).*
Mah-nee	Khone	Louo	Sí	Au	Au	Au-nap	An
Doo	Tway	Yai-yo	Mo-lé	Po	Ti, bup	Ti, boe	Pau-tihn
Mah-thee	Ma-thay	Hato-o	Tú-e	Autai	Khá	Khá, autai	Out-tihn
Ghai-tsóh	Htoo-tone	Púrú-o	....	Aumá	Áumá	Aumá	Oung-ma
Tsóh-kwaik	Htoo-kway	Púkho	....	Sóng	Sóng, Thü	Thü	Oung-kwa
Tsóh tong	Hya or young	Thánga lao	Youk-ke	Yo, yŏng	Yá	Yók	Hók-khen
Tah Gung-	Heung	Tao	Ka-yauk	Ngin	Nyin	Dai-yin	Htan-loo
Nah-thee	Tha-na	....	Nĕ	Hu, Thom	Rü, hü	Rú	Hoo-likh
Lau-bah	Thou-than	....	....	Wa	Wá	Bokwá	Lat
Ghee (bung.)	Heu	Aphabá	Be	Ní	Dí	Dí	Lee-yau
Ung (u as in	Kay	Phutte	Po-ya	Maní	Hái, Bodí	Chua, Maidí	Ma-lee
Tser gaung	Khwá	Ayingba	Ka-young	Yen	Nau, Yeu	Yen, Náu	Kat
Tser-koo	Kheu	Asába	Kho-leik	Hon. Mai, Lüt	Hon	Ron	Meik
A-thaing	Ta-theet	Asungba	Tein	Nip	Dip	Dip	Chyo
A-maing	Hma	Amunba	Mhin	Súk	Súk	Súk	A-htsot
Esung	Neu	Athúmba	Tù-í	Wán	Wán	Wán	Tron
Tsaing	H'sya	Asinba	To	Sóm	Sóm	Sóm, Preo	Htsol
Khah	Khu	Akhába	Khau	Khóm	Khóm	Khóm	Khon
Thwee-lah	Tárá	Aphujaba	Pau-i	Ngám	Ngám	Ngám	Han-leen
Lah-ung	....	Sukthiba	Asi-á	Hang-hai	Hái	Rái	....
Gaung	Tsone	Chuné	Klún	Nan	....	Trong, Sü	Tsoo
Kaing	Ngá-ken	Khoyé	Kolak	Ngok	Kom, Kót	Ngo	Kot
Wung	Phren	Amooba	Kau	Nam	Dam, Nin	Dam	Lan
Bah	Bwá	Añgouba	Búk	Kháu, Phük	Khau, Pheuk	Khau	Khoung
Muh	Tá-nya	Añgañgba	Sen	Nong	Deng, Kam	Deng	Len
Le	Ling	Napú	Nau	Khyeu	Kheau	Kheau	Chyo
Lau	Hto	Ashangba	Sou	Yáu	Yám	Yau	Young
Pu	Deng	Téle	Twé	Lot	San, Hun	San	Tot
Tong-tang	....	....	Lhún	Sung	Sung	Súng	Tson

P.S.—After this was in proof, I received from Capt. Henry Hopkinson, Commissioner in Aracan, a triple list of Khyen vocables on different parts of the province. I very much regret to find that its insertion would involve a greater delay than can be risked under the pressure with which it is necessary to complete the Report for submission.

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